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St. Bonaventure, St. Francis and Philosophy

ANTON C. PEGIS

I

ST. Bonaventure began his career in a very humble way. Approaching the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, he remarked that a man might produce a book in four ways: as a *copyist*, as a *compiler*, as a *commentator*, and as an *author*.[1] At the beginning of the second book of his Commentary, he sets himself down as wishing to be a compiler of his predecessors, to walk in their well-trod and well-proved paths as a simple follower, and not to manufacture new opinions:

> Just as in the first book I adhered to the judgments of the Master of the *Sentences* and to the received opinions of the Masters, and especially of our father and master of good memory, Brother Alexander, so in the following books I shall not depart from their footsteps. For it is not my aim to seek to discover new opinions, but to re-express the commonly received and approved opinions. Nor should anyone think that I have any intention of producing an original piece of writing; for I feel and acknowledge that I am a poor and insignificant compiler.[2]

In the sequel to this text, St. Bonaventure calls attention to some eight doctrinal points on which Peter Lombard was not accepted by the Parisian Masters. In rejecting Peter Lombard, St. Bonaventure concedes that someone might possibly defend him; but he makes this concession only to insist that his

> . . . father and master of good memory, Brother Alexander, did not uphold him [Peter Lombard] on any of these points, but rather adopted the opposite position. My own intention is to follow especially in his footsteps.[3]

Such a humility is, in point of fact, a program which with the passing of years was to become a battlecry. Not that St. Bonaventure was ever any mere compiler. From the beginning, he lived his traditions too intimately and too intensely merely to repeat them. But his loyalties took on a conservative coloring during the years of the emergence of Aristotelianism;[4] and what had been originally a decision to follow in the pathway of Alexander of Hales, the Victorines and St. Augustine was bound to become, under the stress of controversy, not only a decision but also a frontier. In a sense, St. Bonaventure had settled *in principle* the question of the existence of theology and philosophy within the Franciscan Order when, after being elected General, he declared that he had become a follower of St. Francis because the Franciscan life began like the early Church. For, as the Church progressed from simple and untutored fisherman to the age of most illustrious and learned doctors, so did the Order of the Blessed Francis progress.[5] The simple Francis was succeeded, under the pressure of events, by the learned Bonaventure. But was this development, so opposed by the Franciscan Spirituals, in the spirit of the Poverello? How could Francis, he who had preached to the birds, how could he have a son who became a master of theology in the University of Paris? To answer this question we must consider whether St. Bonaventure had an ideal of philosophy and, if so, what it was.

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[1] *In I Sent.*, Proem., q. 4, Resp.; ed. minor, p. 12. In addition to the monumental edition of St. Bonaventure's works (*Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae . . . Opera Omnia*, 10 vols., Quaracchi, 1882-1902), I shall also use the following smaller editions:

- (a) *S. Bonaventurae Opera Theologica Selecta*, ed. minor, vol. I-IV, Quaracchi, 1934, 1938, 1941, 1949 (contains the Commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*);
- (b) *S. Bonaventurae Tria Opuscula*, 5th edition, Quaracchi, 1938 (contains the *Breviloquium*, the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, and the *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*);
- (c) *S. Bonaventurae Legendae Duae de Vita. S. Francisci Seraphici*, Quaracchi, 1923;
- (d) *S. Bonaventurae Collationes in Hexaemeron*, ed. F. M. Delorme O.F.M. (*Bibliotheca Franciscana Scolastica Medii Aevi* VIII, Quaracchi, 1934).

[2] *In II Sent.*, Praelocutio; ed. minor, p. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 2. Cp. *Chartularium U. Parisiensis* I, pp. 220-21.

[4] On Aristotelianism in the thirteenth century, with particular reference to the rise of Averroism, cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger dans l'histoire d l'aristotélisme* (Louvain, 1942); M. Grabman, *I Papi del Duecento et l'Aristotelismo* I-II (Rome, 1941, 1946).

Canon Van Steenberghen has raised many questions in his extensive work on thirteenth century Aristotelianism and Siger's place in it. The reader of the late Monsignor Grabmann's two volumes on the efforts of the popes of the thirteenth century to promote the Christian assimilation of Aristotle will find a different interpretation of the reaffirmation of the Bull *Parens Scientiarum* by Pope Urban IV early in 1263: Cf. A. C. Pegis, *Traditio*, V (1947), 391-93. Concerning a further point, namely, St. Bonaventure's knowledge, use and estimate of Aristotle at the time of his Commentary on the *Sentences*, the question must remain at best an open one until the many hundreds of Aristotelian quotations and references in the Commentary have been systematically studied.

II

According to St. Bonaventure, the Franciscan Order (himself, of course, included) belonged to a lower order of perfection than did St. Francis. There are, be it observed, three orders of contemplation in the Church. For, says Bonaventure, though they all direct themselves towards divine things, yet they differ according as they do so (a) by supplication, (b) by speculation, (c) by ecstasy. The suppliants give themselves to prayer, devotion and the divine praises; such are to be found among the Cistercians, Premonstratentians, Carthusians and Augustinian Canons. The second order adds to the work of prayer the investigation of truth, since you cannot understand the words of Paul unless you have the mind of Paul; such are the Dominicans and the Franciscans, of whom the former are given first to speculation and study and secondly to the devout life (*unctio*), while the latter are given first to the devout life (*unctio*) and secondly to speculation. The suppliants correspond to the angelic order of Thrones, while the speculatives correspond to the order of the Cherubim. Above the speculatives are those who are caught up in ecstasy, and correspond to the order of the Seraphim. St. Francis belonged to this ecstatic and seraphic order, in which the Church will be fulfilled. But as to who composed this seraphic order, or whether it was then in existence, this was for St. Bonaventure a very difficult question to answer. Indeed, according to him, it will flourish in the future when Christ has appeared and suffered in his mystical body. In fact, the Seraph who appeared to St. Francis on top of Mount Alverno that memorable morning some two years before his death signified that a seraphic order would correspond to him in the future and after tribulations.[6]

But perhaps the Seraph with six wings[7] taught St. Francis and St. Bonaventure more than this. For Francis had returned from the East with his heart set on martyrdom. And so, on the summit of Alverno, having thrice opened Scripture to the Passion of Christ, he took this as a sign "that, just as he had imitated Christ in the actions of his life, so, before departing from this world, he was to be like Christ in the affliction and sorrows of His Passion." St. Francis, therefore, in spite of his weakness, girded himself to bear a martyrdom of the flesh for his God. It was then that the six-winged Seraph appeared to him and impressed the stigmata of the Passion on his hands, feet and side; it was then Francis learned, when he beheld the crucified Seraph, that this vision was granted to him "so that the friend of Christ might foreknow that he was to be transformed into the likeness of the crucified Christ, not through a martyrdom of the flesh, but by a complete conflagration of his mind."[8]

---

[5] Cf. St. Bonaventure, *Epistola de Tribus Quaestionibus*, nos. 12-13; *Opera Omnia* VIII, pp. 335-36.

[6] *Collationes in Hexaemeron* XXII, 20-23; *Opera Omnia* V, pp. 440-41. The manual *Reportatio* of this text is much briefer (*Coll. in Hexaemeron* IV, 3, 20-23; p. 256).

[7] Cf. *Isaias*, vi, 2.

Is it fanciful to suggest that a St. Francis who learned, two years before his death, this total devotion of ecstatic love, is not only a father to whom Bonaventure looks back with tenderness, but also an ideal to whom he looks forward? Surely it is on Alverno, under the wings of the Seraph, that Francis and Bonaventure meet; and it is that meeting which marks, at once, the point of contact of Bonaventure with Francis and the point of departure of Bonaventure as a thinker. For through the labor of study, Bonaventure the learned doctor is destined to seek the peace that consumed Francis on Alverno. Study? Yes, the study of the way leading from creatures to God—that perennial Christian theme. Yet it is a devout study, and its goal is the seraphic vision of the crucified Christ. Hence, if St. Bonaventure changed the Franciscan Order into a learned Order, the learning had for its objective the ecstatic contemplation to which Francis had been raised. Had not Francis marvelled, as Bonaventure has told us, at the mystery of a winged Seraph appearing in the image of the crucified Christ? And had he not realized from the death on the Cross portrayed by the Seraph (who, being a pure spirit, was not subject to death) that what God wanted of him was not the death of his body but the all-consuming love of his soul?[9] This point unites the mind of St. Bonaventure as a faithful son of St. Francis, as Minister-General of the Franciscans, no less than as a theologian and a philosopher. If he set "the investigation of truth" as the object of the Franciscan Order, this investigation was to take place within the brilliant and fiery orbit of the wings of that Seraph who had descended so swiftly on Mount Alverno. For what were those wings?

Here we must read at least a part of the remarkable Prologue of the *Itinerarium:*[10]

> In the beginning I call upon the First Beginning from Whom descend all illuminations as *from the Father of lights* from Whom is *every best gift and every perfect gift* (*James* i, 17). This is the eternal Father upon Whom I shall call through His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that, through the intercession of the most holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the intercession of blessed Francis our leader and our father, He may give *enlightened eyes* (St. Paul, *Ephes.* i, 18) to our minds *to direct our feet in the way* of that *peace* (*Luke* i, 79) *which surpasseth all understanding* (St. Paul, *Phil.* iv, 7).
>
> This is the peace which our Lord preached and gave. Our father Francis reasserted that preaching. He proclaimed peace at the beginning and at the end in all his preaching; in his every greeting there was a message of desire for peace; and in all his contemplation he yearned for an ecstatic peace, as a citizen of that heavenly Jerusalem. Of this peace, that man of peace, who was *peaceable with them that hated peace* (*Ps.* cxix, 7), says: *Pray ye for the things that are for the peace of Jerusalem* (*Ps.* cxxi, 6). For he knew that the throne of Solomon rested only in peace, since it is written: *His place is in peace: and his abode in Sion* (*Ps.* lxxv, 3).

Our invocation is, therefore, that God may direct us to the seraphic peace of Jerusalem, the peace that was habitually in the soul of Francis. And now the drama of the seraphic visitation on Alverno:

---

[8] St. Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior S. Francisci*, Vita, XIII, 2-3 (ed. minor, pp. 138, 139-40); *Legenda Minor*; *ed. cit.*, pp. 256-59.

[9] *Legenda Maior S. Francisci, ibid.*, ed. minor, p. 139.

[10] The following translation of *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, Prologus, 1-5 (ed. minor, pp. 289-93), is taken from A. C. Pegis, *The Wisdom of Catholicism* (New York, 1949), pp. 273-76.

> And so, following the example of the most blessed Francis, I was seeking that peace with a breathless soul,—I a sinner who, though all unworthy, am the seventh to succeed as Minister-General of the brothers in the place of the blessed father after his death. It was then that, thirty-three years after the saint's death at a divine command, I stopped at Mount Alverno as at a quiet place out of the desire to seek peace of soul. While there, in the course of going through some mental elevations to God, there came to me among other things that miracle which happened in the aforementioned place to blessed Francis himself, namely, the miracle of the vision of the winged Seraph in the likeness of the crucified Christ. I immediately saw, while gazing upon it, that that vision brought out the elevation of father Francis himself in contemplation and the way by which that elevation is reached.
>
> For by those six wings we may rightly understand the elevations of the six illuminations by which the soul is disposed, as by certain grades or steps, to reach peace through the ecstatic excesses of Christian wisdom. Now the way is only through the most burning love of the Crucified, which so transformed Paul into Christ when he was *caught up to the third heaven* (II *Cor.* xii, 2) that he said: *with Christ I am nailed to the Cross; and I live, now not I, but Christ liveth in me* (*Gal.* iv, 19-20). This most burning love likewise so absorbed the mind of Francis, that his mind revealed itself in its flesh, as he carried the most sacred stigmata of the Passion in his body for two years before his death.
>
> The image of the six Seraphic wings, therefore, suggests the six graded illuminations which begin with creatures and lead us to God Whom no one rightly reaches except through the Crucified. For *he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way*, the same is a thief and *a robber* (*Jo.* x, 1). But *if any man enter in through* this door, *he shall go in and go out, and shall find pastures* (*Jo.* x, 9). That is why John says in the *Apocalypse*: *Blessed are they that wash their robes in the blood of the Lamb: that they may have a right to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gate into the city* (*Apoc.* xxii, 14). This is as much as to say that there is no entering the heavenly Jerusalem through contemplation unless it be through the blood of the Lamb as through a door. For one is not disposed in any way towards the divine contemplations which lead to excesses of soul except unless one be with Daniel *a man of desires* (*Dan.* ix, 23). Now desires are kindled in us in two ways, namely, through the cry of prayer which makes one roar with *the groaning of the heart* (*Ps.* xxxvii, 9), and through the brightness of speculation by which the soul turns itself most directly and most strenuously to the rays of light.

Here is St. Bonaventure, therefore, translating the winged Seraph of St. Francis into a ladder leading to ecstatic contemplation, but a contemplation which begins, as did that of St. Francis, with the crucified Christ. The six wings of the Seraph are the six steps of contemplation leading from creatures to God. But he who sets out on the road to the ecstatic contemplation of God (the *Itinerarium* is a guide on such a journey) must begin with Christ and he must be a man of desire. Now desire is kindled by prayer and speculation. Hence, St. Bonaventure invites his readers to *both*, but first to prayer. As for *speculation*, the reader can begin to appreciate its meaning from its association, in the continuation of the Prologue, with *speculum* or mirror:

> And so I first invite the reader to the groaning of prayer through the

> crucified Christ through Whose blood we are purged of the uncleanness of sins; and I invite him first to prayer lest perchance he believe that it is enough for him to have reading without holiness, speculation without devotion, investigation without admiration, circumspection without exaltation, industry without piety, knowledge without charity, understanding without humility, study without divine grace, a mirror without divinely inspired wisdom.
>
> To those who have been met by grace, therefore, the humble and the pious, those who have compunction and those who are devout, those who are anointed with the oil of gladness and those who love divine wisdom and who are afire with a desire for it, those who wish to give themselves to magnifying, admiring and even tasting God,—to these I propose the following speculations, with the contention that the mirror that is offered to us from the outside means little or nothing unless the mirror of our mind has been cleansed and polished.
>
> Exercise yourself, therefore, O man of God, on the prodding goad of conscience before you raise your eyes to the rays of wisdom reflected in wisdom's mirrors, lest, from the very vision of the rays, you might possibly fall into a deeper pit of darkness.[11]

Prayer, devotion, admiration and spiritual elevation, on the one hand, and reading, investigation, knowledge and understanding, on the other—these are the requirements for a climb from creatures to God. We must be pure within in order to *see* (this, clearly, is the meaning of *speculation*) the rays of wisdom reflected in the mirrors that are things.

The world of St. Bonaventure is thus beginning to take shape. It is a world of illumination, of which the divine Trinity is the source, a world in which man progresses in knowledge according as he turns to the light of God as would a veritable Daniel of burning desires, a world whose one secret is that God Himself is hidden within it. At the conclusion of the *De Reductione Artium,* St. Bonaventure has even given us the formula by which we might best express his position: "So, too, it is clear how broad is the *illuminative highway* [*via illuminativa*], and how in every thing, be it a thing sensed or a thing known, God Himself is is hidden within: *in omni re, quae sentitur sive quae cognoscitur, interius lateat ipse Deus.*[12]

Let us mark here a first summary. St. Bonaventure's whole effort was directed towards closing the distances which separated him (and his Order) from St. Francis. To him St. Francis was the ecstatic contemplative of Mount Alverno; for it was there that the Poverello saw what Christ wanted of him, namely, not the martyrdom and death of his body, but the total dedication of his soul. Taking as his model, therefore, a Francis raised to seraphic contemplation, St. Bonaventure set himself the task of marking the steps in the illuminative highway leading to the Jerusalem which finally claimed all the life and love of Francis. In this sense, the *thought* of St. Bonaventure and the ecstatic life of St. Francis are related to one another as two moments of one and the same reality—the highway leading to the heavenly Jerusalem and that celestial city itself. It is this highway to Jerusalem which gives to St. Bonaventure's thought its direction, its economy and its unity. This is literally no pedestrian thought that we are here considering; it is, if the expression be permitted, thought on wings, the wings of prayer, of devout admiration, and—even—of ecstatic soaring over the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem. St. Bonaventure cannot think without gaining spiritual altitude.

---

[11] The Prologue closes on this devout note: It seemed good to me to divide the tractate into seven chapters, giving the titles in advance for the easier understanding of the things that are to be said. I ask, furthermore, that you weigh the writer's intention rather than his execution, the meaning of his words rather than his unpolished language, the truth rather than the charm, the training of affection rather than the instruction of the intellect. To this end, the development of these speculations should not be run over perfunctorily; it should be mulled over very slowly. (*Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, Prologus, 5; ed. minor, pp. 292-93).

[12] *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, 26; ed. minor, p. 384.

The deep bond of continuity between St. Bonaventure and St. Francis, consequently, lies in the seraphic contemplation which the founder of the Franciscans possessed habitually and at which St. Bonaventure aimed. If the forging of this bond required that the Order take a direction which Francis himself had not visualized, that direction was nevertheless toward his achievement; if it meant that St. Bonaventure would have to defend the introduction of learning, indeed, of Aristotle himself into the primal simplicity of Franciscanism it meant also transforming Aristotle to the point where "the master of those who know" would hardly have recognized his spiritual wings. Aristotelianizing St. Francis (if I may dare use such scandalous language) was possible only because St. Bonaventure aimed also at Franciscanizing Aristotle.

This is the moment to look at the text of St. Bonaventure's defense of the legitimacy of introducing learning into Franciscan thought. We can then turn to the question of the Franciscanization of philosophy. An unidentified Franciscan master asked his General three questions on poverty, on manual labor and on studies. On this last question, St. Bonaventure began his answer by saying that both he and his zealous son are agreed in disliking curiosities. He has no defense for those who ponder childish writings. But perhaps there are those who are really serious students who yet appear merely curious. Suppose, for example, a man were to devote himself to the writing of the heretics so that, by rejecting them, he would have a better understanding of truth. Such a man would not be curious, he would not be a heretic, he would be a Catholic. When the words of the philosophers are on some occasions particularly helpful in the understanding of truth and the refutation of error, then he who sometimes devotes himself to the philosophers is not departing from the purity of truth, especially since there are many conclusions of faith which could not be reached without the help of the philosophers.

What is more, a severe judgment on this issue would condemn the saints themselves. And what could be more impious than to judge them to have been *curious*? Consider the case of St. Augustine.

> No one decribes the nature of time and matter better than St. Augustine does in the investigation and discussion he pursues in the *Confessions*. No one describes better the coming of forms and the procession of things than he does in *A Literal Commentary on Genesis*. No one handles better questions concerning the soul and God than he does in the book *On the Trinity*, nor the nature of the creation of the world than he does in the *City of God*. In a word: there are few if any things which the Masters have put in their books that you will not find in the books of St. Augustine.

And not only is St. Augustine a test case in defense of the introduction of philosophical studies within the Christian faith, he is also the author of a classic principle on this point:

> Read Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, in which he shows that Scripture cannot be understood without a training in the other sciences. Even more, he shows that, just as the children of the Jews carried away with them the possessions of Egypt, so the doctors of theology should carry away with them the teaching of philosophy: *sic doctores theologi doctrinam philosophicam.*

And it is because this spoiling of the Egyptians has already taken place that we learn from the saints what we have not learned from the philosophers about the teachings of philosophy. It is in this setting that St. Bonaventure gives us a glimpse of himself:

> Nor should you be disturbed that the brothers were in the beginning simple and uncultivated; this fact should rather confirm in you the faith of the Order. I confess before God that this is what made me love the way of life [*i.e.*, the Order] of the blessed Francis most, namely, because it is like the beginning and the perfection of the Church, which first began from simple fishermen and later progressed to most eminent and most accomplished doctors. This is what you will see in the Order of the blessed Francis, so that God might show that it was not discovered by human ingenuity but by Christ. And because the works of Christ do not fail, but progress, it is made clear that this was a divine work, when wise men as well did not disdain to stoop and join the company of simple men.[13]

Under the patronage of St. Augustine, therefore, and in the name of his work, the entry of philosophy within the simplicity of Franciscan fishermen is assured. Only, having entered, what does it become at the moment of beginning to live within the atmosphere of Franciscan devotion?

III

St. Bonaventure admits the existence of a power of seeing in the soul which is that of an understanding implanted by nature.[14] He likewise admits the existence of a philosophy whose function is specifically rational: "Philosophy deals with things, as they exist in nature or in the soul, according to a knowledge which is naturally implanted or even naturally acquired".[15] But this scarcely tells us the important story about philosophy. Let us consider, in fact, the examples of Plato and Aristotle.

St. Bonaventure, perhaps regretfully, assigns to Aristotle a considerable role in the origin of a major philosophical error. For, although all philosophers saw that God is the source and the end of things, some of them denied that there were divine exemplars of things. Now, "the leader of such philosophers seems to have been Aristotle, who, both in the beginning and in the end of his *Metaphysics*, as well as in many other places, reviles the Ideas of Plato. And so he says that God knows only Himself, He does not need the knowledge of any other thing, and He moves as an object of desire and love".[16] From this position the followers of Aristotle inferred that God does not know particulars. But the denial of the divine Ideas does not stop here. Since, indeed, God is said not to have in Himself the exemplars of things by which He might know them, He has neither foreknowledge nor providence. And there is even more. In order to avoid saying that the world is run by chance, the Arabian followers of Aristotle said that it was run by necessity. But in a world of necessity there are no future rewards and punishments; certainly Aristotle never spoke of the devil or of a future beatitude.[17]

This threefold Aristotelian-Arabian error (the suppression of exemplarism, of the divine providence and of the Christian dispensation of rewards and punishments) led to a threefold blindness among these same philosophers. There is first of all the doctrine of the eternity of the world. The Greek Fathers and the Arabian commentators are agreed, according to St. Bonaventure, in attributing this doctrine to Aristotle. You will never find Aristotle saying, he adds, "that the world had an origin or a beginning. Indeed, he attacked Plato who appears to have been the only one who held that time had a beginning".[18] From this there follows a second blindness, namely, the doctrine of the unity of the intellect. For if the world is eternal it necessarily follows [a] either that there is an infinite number of souls in existence, since there would have been an infinite number of men, or [b] that the soul is corruptible, or [c] that there is a transmigration of souls from body to body, or finally [d] that the intellect is one in all men. This last alternative is the error which "is attributed to Aristotle in Averroes". The third Aristotelian error now follows inevitably. Remove from men an individual intellect, and you take away from them their future life, whether of blessedness or of punishment.[19]

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[13] Cf. the reference in note 5.

[14] *Coll. in Hexaemeron* IV, 1; *Opera Omnia* V, p. 349.

[15] *Breviloquium*, Prol., III, 2; ed. minor, p. 98.

[16] *Coll. in Hexaemeron* VI, 2; *Opera Omnia* V, p. 360.

[17] *Op. cit.*, VI, 3; *ibid.*, p. 361.

But though he tries to soften Aristotle's guilt in relation to these errors, St. Bonaventure passes with evident pleasure to the consideration of the *illumined* philosophers who posited the Ideas. They worshipped the one God; they located all good things in a God of most perfect goodness; they posited exemplar virtues, from which descend the cardinal virtues first into our power of knowing, then, through that power, into our affective power and finally into our power of operation. Such was the position of that most noble Plotinus, of the sect of Plato, and of Cicero, of the Academy. These philosophers were truly illumined, and it seems as though they could possess felicity through themselves. But they too remained in darkness because they did not have what we have, namely, the light of faith. For what did these philosophers hold?

> Now these outstanding philosophers, though they were thus illumined but lacking faith, held that the cardinal virtues came into our knowledge by emanation. They are first called *political* because they teach us our deportment in the world; secondly, they are called *cleansing*, in relation to solitary contemplation; thirdly, they are called the virtues *of a cleansed soul,* whose purpose is to bring the soul to peace in the *Exemplar*. They said, therefore, that through these virtues the soul is *ordered*, *cleansed* and *reformed*.[20]

Nevertheless, Plotinus and Cicero remained in darkness because these virtues did not have in them the three operations which they should have. They should direct the soul to its end, they should rectify its affection, they should cure its illness. For Augustine says in the *City of God* that it is not a true virtue which does not direct the intention to God, the source of reality, that there it may rest in the certain possession of eternity and in perfect peace. Now an eternity that is certain cannot be lost, nor can there be perfect peace unless the soul is reunited to the body (since, being essentially inclined to the body, the soul will never be fully at peace unless its body is restored to it). The philosophers did not know eternity as certain, for they posited all sorts of peregrinations for souls after this life, including periodic returns to this life.

Now, pursues St. Bonaventure, it is a false beatitude that the soul should be in beatitude and then leave it in order to take up again a bodily abode of punishment. Furthermore, Plotinus and Cicero had no better knowledge of perfect peace. They did not know that the world would have an end and that bodies would rise again from the dust they had become. Nor is this surprising. For they investigated things according to the power of reason, and reason cannot arrive at knowing that bodies will rise again, or that the elements, though they have contrary qualities, can be harmonized with one another without any inter-action. They did not therefore relate the soul to eternal life, but placed it in a continuous circulation. In sum, they were ignorant of the faith without which, as Augustine says, the virtues have no power.

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[18] *Op. cit.*, VI, 4; *ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.* For a Bonaventurean 'apology' for Aristotle's errors, cf. *op. cit.*, VII, 2; *Opera Omnia* V, p. 365.

[20] *Coll. in Hexaemeron* VII, 3-4; *ibid.*, pp. 365-66. Cp. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I-II, q. 61, a. 5. For the source, cf. Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis* I, 8; ed. F. Eyssenhardt (Berlin, 1893), pp. 517-18. On St. Bonaventure and the Plotinian doctrine of virtue, cf. H. van Lieshout, *La théorie plotinienne de la vertu* (Freiburg, 1926), pp. 159-63.

Ignorant of the end, they were no more successful in rectifying the affections through these virtues. The four affections (fear, grief, joy and confidence) are not rectified unless they become a holy fear, a just grief, a true joy and a certain confidence. But if, for example, confidence becomes presumption, then the affections have fallen away from their nature. Now the point is that these virtues cannot be rectified through themselves. Confidence or hope is of that which is not seen, namely, the life of blessedness. This life is not given except to those who are worthy of it; and no one is worthy of it unless he have sufficient merit. But merit cannot be acquired through the power of free choice except through the divine condescension, that is to say, through grace.

Ignorant of faith and grace, they were ignorant of man's illness, but not entirely. Evidently you cannot cure an illness unless you know the disease and the cause, as well as the medicine and the doctor. The illumined philosophers knew of the corruption of the affections. But they thought that the disease came to the soul from the body. They thought, in other words, that man's illness had its location in the body, whereas the intellectual soul tended naturally to go, not downwards towards matter, but upward towards the higher realities. In this they were deceived, however, for man's infirmities are to be found in the intellectual part of the soul, and not only in the sensible part. And if a philosopher like Plotinus misread man's intellectual and moral illness, it was because he did not know its cause. Its cause is from a guilt originating with the sin of Adam. Now reason could not tell the philosophers that Adam ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree; the reason could know it by hearing, but for this faith is necessary. Philosophizing without the mediation of Christ, they had no belief in the announcement of His coming by the prophets or in the announcement of His arrival by the Apostles. Hence, not knowing that human illness began with a crime against the majesty of God, they did not know the proper medicine for it; they did not know of the atonement by the God-man. They did not know that the doctor of their illness was the Incarnate Word, and that the medicine for it was the grace of the Holy Spirit. They did not know this because "philosophy cannot reach this doctor and this medicine."

How much the philosophers did not know! To this St. Bonaventure's reaction is quite typical. He is not concerned with the literal meaning of this inability on the part of philosophy; rather than stress the fact of its limits, he stresses its errors beyond its limits. Why do you glory, he asks, you who do not know through your own knowledge either your infirmity or its cause or its doctor or its medicine? The philosophers, the illumined philosophers, possessed in St. Bonaventure's eyes "the wings of ostriches", for their affections, in the absence of faith, were not cleansed or ordered or rectified. Such is the darkness in which, in spite of their illumination, they fell.[21]

IV

This result is surely paradoxical. Admitting adequately its proper rationality, St. Bonaventure yet seems to blame philosophy for not going whither, even according to him, it cannot go. Aristotle stands condemned because he denied exemplarism; that is a condemnation of a philosopher within philosophy, and St. Bonaventure has a clear right to make it. But Plotinus and Cicero stand condemned because they did not reach what they could not reach, namely, grace, faith and charity. Does philosophy, then, stand condemned simply because it is incomplete? And is this incompleteness of philosophy part of its nature, or merely a recognition that it has limits beyond which it is not competent? These are awkward questions for the student of St. Bonaventure because the occupation of the Seraphic Doctor is quite different from that of his historian. St. Bonaventure's objective in discussing philosophy in his conferences on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and on the work of the six days, given during the very troubled late 60's of the thirteenth century, has a very specific situation in view. Wihout intending to condemn *reason, nature* and *philosophy* within themselves, he was yet faced by an Averroistic Aristotelianism in which these were, in fact, *closed* against the supernatural. The Parisian Averroists in the Faculty of Arts were doing the very thing against which St. Bonaventure was vigorously protesting. His strong rhetoric on philosophy and on those who have confidence in it has at least good provocation.[22]

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[21] *Op. cit.*, VII, 5-12; *ibid.*, pp. 366-67. The references to St. Augustine are *De Trinitate* XIII, 20, 26 (PL 42, 1036); *De Civitate Dei* XIX, 25 (PL 41, 656).

If he derides the opinions of the philosophers of this world, furthermore, it is only after recognizing the natural and innate light of reason. The gift of science, he writes, is preceded by two others. It is preceded, first of all, by the innate light of reason, and it is preceded, secondly, by the infused light of faith. The innate light he calls "the light of the natural power of judging, or the reason"; and he goes on to say that God impressed the light of the natural power of judging upon the rational creature, and by this he means that God gave to the rational creature both a possible and an agent intellect. Only after having said this does St. Bonaventure distinguish, to the detriment of philosoophy, between the brightness or evidence of philosophy and that of theology and the other sciences. "The brightness of philosophical science is great according to the opinion of worldly men, but it is dim in comparison with the brightness of Christian science. On the other hand, the brightness of theological science seems dim according to the opinion of worldly men, but in truth it is great".[23] But let us observe: it is not the specific nature of philosophy which is disturbing Bonaventure; it is its air of self-sufficiency, the assumption of its disciples that it can give man his final beatitude. Something of what was in his mind on this point may be grasped if we look at some propositions condemned in 1277. Consider:

> That felicity is found in this life, and not in another. That all the good that is possible for men is found in the intellectual virtues. That just as man can be sufficiently ordered as to his intellect and his affection through the intellectual and the moral virtues, of which the Philosopher speaks in the *Ethics*, so he is sufficiently disposed for eternal felicity. That there are no raptures or visions except through nature.[24]

To repeat: the problem is not whether St. Bonaventure admits the evidence of philosophy. Philosophical science, he writes, is "nothing other than the *certain* knowledge of investigatable truth". But this definition of philosophy is for him the beginning of man's ascent in a world of light; for, as he says, he who knows the true content of the philosophical sciences, has at his disposal a great mirror in order to know "that there it nothing in any one of these sciences that does not signify a vestige of the Trinity".[25] That is why philosophy is a *way* to sciences higher than itself. To consider it a *terminus* is to suffer the darkness which overtook the otherwise illumined Plotinus and Cicero. St. Bonaventure states his position clearly in the following well-rounded text:

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[22] *Op. cit.*, IV; *ibid.*, pp. 349-53.

[23] *De Donis Spiritus Sancti* IV, 3; *Opera Omnia* V, p. 474.

[24] Cf.*Chartularium U. Parisiensis*, propositions 176, 144, 157, 33; I, pp. 553, 552, 545. As an example of the naturalism of the Averroist ethics, cf. Boethius of Dacia, *De Summo Bono*; ed. M. Grabmann, *Archives d'hist. litt. et doctr. du moyen âge*, VI (1934), 297-307.

[25] *De Donis Spiritus Sancti* IV, 3, 11; *Opera Omnia* V, pp. 474, 475.

> The first brightness, namely, that of philosophical science, is great according to the opinion of worldly men; but it is easily eclipsed unless a man defends himself from the head and tail of the dragon. If something is placed between him and the sun of justice, he suffers the eclipse of folly. As Jeremias says, '*every man is made a fool by his own* [Douai, *for*] *knowledge*' (x, 14); that is, it is the occasion not the cause. He who has confidence in philosophical science and on this account prizes himself and considers himself to be superior, such a one is made a fool—that is to say, when he believes that through this science, without any higher light, he can apprehend the Creator. This is much as though a man wanted to see the heavens and the body of the sun by means of candles!
>
> It is certain that rational philosophy is perfected in rhetoric; for there is a threefold division of deliberative science, namely, when a man deliberates about the useful, about the secure and about the honorable, as well as about their opposites, namely, the injurious, the dangerous and the sinful or dishonorable. Now a man cannot know what is useful, what injurious, without the addition of something beyond this science. It is written in the Gospel: '*What doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?*' (*Matt.* xvi, 26). For of what worth is it that a man should know many things, if true honorableness is lacking to his soul?
>
> It is likewise certain that through moral science a man cannot know what is useful and what is injurious, except through an addition beyond moral science,—defining moral science as a mode of worship, a form of living and a rule of judging. For who can know the mode of worship (*ritum colendi*) through natural philosophy?
>
> And grant that a man have the science of nature, and metaphysics, which includes under itself the highest substances; and grant that a man arrive at the point of resting there. This is impossible without falling into error unless a man be aided by the light of faith, so that he may believe God to be triune, most powerful, and most good according to the farthest reach of goodness. If you do not believe this, you are talking madness about God: you attribute to another what is proper to God, you are a blasphemer and an idolator. This would be the same as though a man were to attribute the simplicity of God or the like to another being.
>
> Therefore this science drove the philosophers headlong and confounded them, because they did not have the light of faith. Hence the Apostle says: '*Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified him as a God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. For, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools*' (*Rom.*, i, 21-22). And in the *Book of Wisdom* it is said: '*For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world: how did they not more easily find out the lord thereof?*' (*Sap.*, xiii, 9).
>
> Philosophical science is a way to the other sciences; but he who wishes to halt in it falls into darkness.[26]

The issue, therefore, is between philosophy as a terminus and philosophy as a way. Hence, behind St. Bonaventure's critique of philosophy, which was occasioned by the Averroistic halt within philosophy, we must see two further and distinctive Bonaventurean points. The proper location of philosophy as a *way* lies within the universe conceived as a hierarchy of light descending from God, and within human life itself conceived as a devout journey leading to the ecstatic contemplation of Francis on Alverno. For it is to be noticed that, though he might join St. Thomas in attacking the rigid and closed physicism of the Averroists, St. Bonaventure is far from agreeing with St. Thomas in giving to philosophy a mode of development inspired by its specific rationality.

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[26] *Op. cit.*, IV, 12; *ibid.*, pp. 475-76.

It is easy to see what separates St. Bonaventure from the Averroists; it is not easy to put one's finger on the issue which distinguishes St. Bonaventure from St. Thomas. Indeed the disagreement of the historian suggests extreme caution at this point. Perhaps, however, it would not be wrong to suggest that the world of St. Bonaventure is through and through a trinitarian world, and that the philosophy which is proper within such a world is, even as philosophy, trinitarian in structure and devout in impulse. All creatures, we are told, are either *vestiges* or *images*: corporeal creatures are vestiges, while spiritual creatures are images. Now both vestiges and images are a witness to the Trinity, although vestiges are a witness from a distance. The spiritual creature, on the other hand, as an image of God, is a nearer witness to the divine Trinity. Vestige and image together make up what St. Bonaventure calls the book of the creature, which he also considers to be an efficacious witness to the Trinity. He adds, however, that though the book of nature (the book of the creature) was efficacious in the state in which God created nature, since in that state neither was the book obscure nor was the eye of man darkened, nevertheless, through sin man's eye became darkened, the mirror of creation became clouded and obscured, and the ear of his interior understanding became deaf to the testimony of that mirror. That is why the divine providence provided for man the testimony of another book, the *Book of Scripture*, through the divine revelation.[27]

It is not difficult to see that the trinitarian story told by the book of nature is better told by the *Book of Scripure*. What is somewhat more difficult is to see how far this conclusion takes us towards the understanding of St. Bonaventure. Had St. Bonaventure condemned and repudiated philosophy, the work of the historian would be much simpler than it is. Had he accepted and developed philosophy within Christian thought in the manner of St. Thomas, the historian would likewise have a simpler task than he does. In that situation, since it is a fact that St. Bonaventure did not become another St. Thomas, the historian would say that St. Bonaventure was a confused Thomist. Unfortunately for the historian, however, St. Bonaventure never set himself such an ideal. Both he and St. Thomas repudiated Averroism, but they drew different conclusions from these repudiations. The problem for the historian lies at this point, and it is a historical one. It is the problem of understanding St. Bonaventure as he was in himself and in his objectives as a Christian thinker.

St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure were both theologians; neither set out to be a philosopher. But they followed different roads and they formulated theologies of different types. St. Bonaventure became a theologian in the very texture of whose thought knowledge and understanding ministered to devotion and were perfected in it. On the other hand, St. Thomas became a theologian whose personal devoutness lay, not in the expression of his thought, but in the dedication of his thinking. And just as the rationality of philosophy was not lost in St. Thomas by being the instrument of a theologian who set out devoutly to understand the revealed word of God, so it was not lost in St. Bonaventure by the fact of being the instrument of a theologian who set out on a spiritual journey to the heavenly Jerusalem. From this point of view, we must distinguish between philosophy considered in its specific rationality and philosophy considered in terms of the mode of employment it receives in the historical states which men give it. The philosophy of St. Bonaventure is a devout, or devoted, philosophy. This devoutness does not at all diminish its rationality; but it gives to that rationality a historical state of existence, a sympathy, a direction and a language, that distinguish it from the life of reason as we see it at work in the *Summa Theologica*.

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[27] *De Mysterio Trinitatis*, Quaest. I, a. 2, Concl.; *Opera Omnia* V, pp. 54-5.

What motivates and makes possible St. Bonaventure's distinctive use of philosophy is a doctrine dear to his heart, the doctrine of the divine exemplarism. There were many exemplarisms in the thirteenth century. There was St. Thomas' exemplarism of infinite act. There was Henry of Ghent's exemplarism of eternal and distinct essences in the divine intellect. The Bonaventurean exemplarism, deeply Platonic and Augustinian in inspiration, conceived of creatures as related to God not only as to their Creator but also as to their *Forming Model*.[28] So understood, creatures naturally reveal the Truth Who is their source, in whom they are contained more perfectly than in themselves, and without whose forming light they would have no share in stability and truth. The scarcely hidden nature of any creature, consequently, is the trinitarian light within it, forming and shaping it, and drawing it to its source. That is why the world of St. Bonaventure, being a divine scripture, is made for meditation rather than for investigation. Yet, what am I saying? Investigation has its roots in *vestigium*. Hence let us rather say that there is a Bonaventurean philosophical investigation of the world, but it is, *qua* investigation, devout. For St. Bonaventure is seeking, not to discover a God whom he does not know, but to admire and to contemplate and to be united in love to a God who shines forth in all creatures. This admiring search of God in His creatures is a deeply Christian theme which those who are pure philosophers can easily forget. The *Benjamin Major* of Richard of St. Victor is an eminent and even classical example of the devout synthesis and use of knowledge. Nor it it without reason or meaning that St. Bonaventure looks back to the school of St. Victor, and especially to Richard, for his own origins.

Exemplarism and devoutness, in brief, give to the philosophy of St. Bonaventure its distinctive signature. Such a philosophy unites the learned Bonaventure to the simple Francis. Being totally a devout philosophy, it can have for its term, even as philosophy, the contemplation of Francis on Alverno. This ideal of philosophy distinguishes the Seraphic Doctor from the Angelic Doctor.[29] It would be a historical injustice to both not to recognize this fact. That is why, for the student of St. Bonaventure, those two precious tracts, *On the Reduction of the Arts to Theology* and the *Journey of the Soul to God*, are the very pillars of what is unique in his philosophy. St. Bonaventure was being deeply true to his trinitarianism in reducing philosophy to the governance of theology in the first of these tracts;[30] and he was being equally true to the devout inspiration of his thought in locating philosophy as a religious instrument in the ascent of the soul to the ecstatic contemplation of God.

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[28] Cf., among many texts, *Breviloquium* II, 12 (ed. minor, pp. 93-5); *Itinerarium* I, 2, 15; II, 11, 12-13; III, 1, 3 (ed. minor, pp. 295, 302-8; 312, 313; 314, 317-8). On exemplarism and the existence of God, cf. *In I Sent.*, part I, a. 1, qq. 1-2; ed. minor, pp. 116-17, 119-21.

[29] The point of the present paper has been to insist upon the intimate continuity of St. Bonaventure's doctrine with the St. Francis who substituted the total dedication of his mind for his earlier desire of martyrdom. Hence, this is not the occasion to consider the disagreements among historians of St. Bonaventure's philosophy. One may question in St. Bonaventure the Augustininan doctrine of illumination understood in function of the Platonic notion of participation: the thirteenth century is the battleground of such questioning. One may also question some of the inferences drawn by St. Bonaventure on meeting the *closed* naturalism of the Averroists. But whatever be our questions on St. Bonaventure's philosophy, we cannot doubt or contest its character and coherence as a devout philosophy.

[30] *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, nos. 7 and 26; *Opera Omnia* V, pp. 322, 325.

Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy. Part II.*

SISTER MARY VINCENTINE GRIPKEY S.C.L.

GROUP IV.

1. ANALYSIS OF MANUSCRIPT VATICAN CITY VAT. *BARBERINIANO LAT.* 4032 AND CORRESPONDING LEGENDS IN MANUSCRIPT FLORENCE BIB. NAZ. *MAGLIABECHIANO* XXXVIII. 70.

M*SS* Vatican City Vat. *Barberiniano lat.* 4032 (*Rv*^{3}),[1] containing 187 legends, and Florence Bib. Naz. *Magliabechiano* XXXVIII.70 (*Fn*^{4}) with 152 are both collections in which the compilers drew from various sources. The compiler of *Rv*^{3} identifies himself in the prologue:

> Qui cominciano alquanti miracoli della gloriosa vergine Maria, gli quali Duccio di Gano da Pisa ha tratto di più volumi e messoli insieme in questo libro in più tempo nella ciptà di Firenza a sua laude e a sua riverentia (fol.11^{v}).

Ezio Levi d'Ancona held the conviction that Duccio di Gano is to be identified with *Duccius Iohannis sellarius* whose name is found in the *Registrum Vexilli Draconis Viridis Quarterii Sancti Iohannis de septem Maioribus Artibus et Scioperatis* for the year 1381,[2] who met with other citizens to correct the statutes of the *Arte degli Speziali* on December 29, 1385,[3] and who figures among the ten priors of Florence in 1369, 1375, and 1390.[4] In a letter to this writer, dated December 25, 1939, Levi d'Ancona indicated that workers in leather, frequently residents at the *stationes* where parchment and manuscripts were sold, were themselves copyists.

However, in the burial records of the Church of Santa Croce, preserved in *Ms* 44 C (fol. 46) in the Biblioteca Marucellana at Florence, one finds an entry for the wife of Duccio di Gano: *Dominae Bartolae uxoris Duccini Ghani.* No date is given but her name follows that of others listed in the fourteenth century. Likewise, for the Quarter of Santa Croce there is a record in the *Registrum de Quarterio S. Crucis et de Vexillo Bovis Nigri septem Maiorum Artium et Scioperatorum* that *Duccius Iohannis magister* cast his vote on February 3, 1381.[5] It would seem reasonable that the latter by profession would be more inclined to engage in literary pursuits than *Duccius Iohannis* saddler or worker in leather.

Although the Vatican catalogue dates the manuscript as fourteenth century,[6] a date which is accepted by Levi d'Ancona,[7] a study of the watermarks in the paper indicates to this writer that it is of the *Quattrocento*. The filigranes, a pincher[8] and a shears,[9] correspond to watermarks found in paper manufactured in Italy about the date 1454. The calligraphy is also of the fifteenth. Fols. 11^v-123^v which present the legends of Duccio di Gano are in the same handwriting as fols. 1-11^v, giving the life of the Blessed Virgin and fols. 124-138 containing hagiographical tales of saints. According to the prologue, his part of the compilation is restricted to the *miracoli della gloriosa vergine Maria.* From the character of the deletions, and corrections made, and after a comparison of Rv^3 with manuscripts containing similar legends,[10] one concludes that Rv^3 is not the original copy of Duccio di Gano but the work of a fifteenth-century copyist who was responsible for the rest of the manuscript.

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* Groups I-III of the Mary Legends in Italian manuscripts in the major libraries of Italy were published in volume XIV (1952) of *Mediaeval Studies*, 9-47. References to Groups I-III are made to this portion of Sister Mary Vincentine's study.

[1] For more details concerning this manuscript, cf. Group I of this study, *Mediaeval Studies*, XIV (1952), 11.

[2] Ed. Fr. Ildefonso di San Luigi, *Delizie degli eruditi Toscani XVI* (Florence, 1783-9), p. 222.

[3] *Statuti dell'Arte dei medici e speziali* (Florence, 1922), p. 325; cf. also the *Carte della mercanzia, cod.* 202 under the year 1382, no foliation, at the Archivio del Stato, Florence; Raffaele Ciasca, *L'arte dei medici e speziali nella storia e nel commercio fiorentino dal secolo xii al xv* (Biblioteca storica toscana, IV, Florence, 1927), p. 709.

[4] *Delizie degli eruditi Toscani* XVI, pp. 86 and 160; XVIII, p. 123.

[5] *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 159.

[6] D. Sante Pieralisi, *Inventarium codicum mss. Bibliothecae Barberinae* XVI (Rome, ca. 1902), p. 126.

[7] *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine* (Bologna, 1917), p. lxxix.

Comparing Rv^3 with Fn^4, Levi d'Ancona in his introduction to *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine* considers Fn^4 to be the work of Duccio di Gano:

> E la raccolta di Duccio di Gano da Pisa. Il nome non risulta da questo codice, forse per la costante ommissione delle rubriche.[11]

A mere analysis of the two manuscripts, without making a study of linguistics or style, would cause one to disagree with Levi. The compiler of Fn^4 does not acknowledge his source nor admit like Duccio di Gano that he *ha tratto di più volumi.* Instead one reads:

> Seguitano alquanti miracholi della gloriosa vergine Maria molto grandi in ne' quali si dimostra quanto sia avochata de' pecatori che rricorrono a llei per impetrare misericordia del suo figliolo, sendosi pentiti del loro fallo (fol. 16^v).

Fn^4 is the work of a compiler who drew only fifty-three of his tales from the first seventy-two in Rv^3. Legends 1-28 in Fn^4 are drawn without omission; nos. 29-41 are chosen more selectively. Then the compiler of Fn^4 goes back and for his nos. 42-53 copies those he has at first rejected. A close examination of the following table will convince one that they are far from being identical; moreover, that the compiler of Fn^4 drew from the collection of Duccio di Gano and not vice versa.

Fn^4	Rv^3	Fn^4	Rv^3	Fn^4	Rv^3
1-11	1-11	34	57	42	41
12	13	35	58	43	42
13	12	36	59	44	43
14-28	14-28	37	61	45	44
	29 ('Painter')	38	65	46	45
29	30	39	66	47	46
30	31	40	71		47 ('Painter')
31	32	41	72	48	48
32	33			49	49
33	37			50	50
				51	51
				52	52
				53	53

After no. 53 in Fn^4 the two manuscripts are quite dissimilar. For the last part of his collection, nos. 127-187, Duccio di Gano used the *Libro del Naufragio*;[12] for the last part of Fn^4, nos. 104-153, the compiler used the *Libro del Cavaliere.*[13]

In Group IV of this study the first seventy-two legends in Rv^3 with the corresponding tales from *Fn*^{4} are presented. Then the Vatican manuscript is considered as a whole. A similar analysis of the entire collection, *Fn*^{4}, follows. Only one other manuscript contains legends found in Group IV and in no other Group. These are the first two tales in *Ms* Florence Bib. Naz *Palatino* CXXXVII (*Fp*^{4}) of which nos. 4-6 have been analysed in Group I.[14]

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[8] C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* IV (Rome, 1907), no. 14089, p. 715.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, no. 3668, p. 236.

[10] Cf. *supra*, *art cit.*, 29.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. lvii. For Fn^4 see Group II, *art. cit.*, 30.

[12] Cf. *supra*, Group I, *art. cit.*, 10.

[13] Cf. *supra*, Group III, *art. cit.*, 36.

2. THE CONTENT OF EACH LEGEND IN GROUP IV.

1. Blinded by The Virgin's Glory.[15] A scribe is told by an angel that his great desire to behold the Blessed Virgin Mary is to be granted but that he will lose his vision. He peers at her with one eye, and this glimpse so increases his longing to see her more perfectly that he is willing to lose the sight of both eyes. Pleased by his desire, Mary restores his sight. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 11^v; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 16^v.

2. Orphan Protected.[16] Both father and mother before dying leave their only daughter in the protection of the Virgin Mary. The girl is miraculously supplied with food and drink, much to the surprise of the neighbours who circulate the report that she is not as penniless as they believed. Hoping to rob her, a youth enters her home but drops dead before he can despoil her of her virtue. At the command of Mary, she touches him and he is brought back to life, repents and enters a monastery. Some time later, the Virgin invites the orphaned girl to enter the joys of heaven. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 12^v *Fn*^{4}, fol. 17; *Fp*^{4}, no. 1, fol. 23^v.

3. Mary's Name in Gold Letters.[17] Cf. Group I, 14; *Rv*^{3}, fol. 13^v; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 18.

4. Astrologer Escapes Death. An astrologer is imprisoned and sentenced to death. Contrite, he composes verses in praise of the Virgin and promises her never again to invoke the devil in his incantations. He is liberated and perseveres in living a saintly life. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 13; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 18.

5. Widow's Son Released.[18] A widow's son is to be hanged. Just as his mother is threatening to take the image of the Christ-Child from the arms of Mary, he appears free. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 14; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 18.

6. Broken Vow.[19] A rich woman vows that she will give her first-born to the service of God, if through the intercession of Mary she is granted a son. She fails to keep her vow and her son dies. She is so repentant that the Virgin resuscitates the son who becomes a monk. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 14; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 18^v.

7. St. Elizabeth's Dress.[20] Because of her charity to the poor, Elizabeth of

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[14] The six legends have been published by Giovanni Tortoli, *Miracoli della Madonna e storia della Samaritana* (Florence, 1898). Cf. *supra*, Group I, *art. cit.*, 11, note 17.

[15] Johannes Herolt tells a similar tale of a scholar of Paris, *Promptuarium Discipuli de miraculis beate Marie Virginis* (Venice, 1606), no. 79, p. 34. See also Villecourt, 'Les collections arabes des miracles de la sainte Vierge,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLII (1924), no. 35, 277; *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, ed. John Major (Venice, 1608), viii, no. 59, p. 522; Silvano Razzi (ed.), *De' miracoli di nostra donna*, (Florence, 1595), iii, no. 5, pp. 172-4; *infra*, Group V, *Fr*^{10}, no. 60. Cf. *Mss* British Museum *Additional* 33956, (fol. 74), *Additional* 19909 (fol. 248) and *Additional* 15833 (fol. 161^v) described by H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* II (London, 1890), 674 (29), 687 (79) and J. A. Herbert, *ibid.* III (London, 1910), 593 (123).

[16] Giovanni Tortoli, *op. cit.*, no. 1, pp. 11 ff.

[17] In the version in Group IV the Virgin does not appear to the cleric on his deathbed, but before he dies, letters of gold issue from his mouth forming the words *Ave Maria*.

[18] This is a brief variant of the 'Christ-Child Seized as a Pledge'. Cf. *supra*, Group I, 34 with note 61, *art. cit.*, p. 17; *infra*, nos. 105, 114, and 116 in *Rv*^{3}.

[19] See the version, 'Son Restored,' in which the woman is the wife of a French knight, in the Pez collection, reprinted by Thomas Frederick Crane, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae* (Ithaca, 1925), no. 24, pp. 29-30. For variants of this version, cf. Evelyn Faye Wilson, *The* Stella Maris *of John of Garland* (Mediaeval Academy of America Publication, 45, Cambridge, Mass., 1946), no. 4, p. 159.

[20] A fuller account in which not only the garment but also a crown is bestowed by an angel occurs in the series of legends on St. Elizabeth, which follows the Mary legends in *Rv*^{3} (fol. 123^v). See also F. Henricus Sedulius O.F.M., *Historia seraphica vitae B. P. Francisci Assisiatis illustriumque virorum et feminarum qui ex tribus eius ordinibus relati sunt inter sanctos* (Antwerp, 1613), p. 593; Holik Barabás, *Santa Elisabetta di Ungheria* (Assisi, 1931), pp. 13-4; J. Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, ii, Heidelberg, 1911), no. 73, pp. 57-8.

Hungary has no apparel fit to attend a royal wedding. Two maidens sent by the Virgin Mary provide her with a dress of great magnificence for the occasion. Rv^{3}, fol. 14; Fn^{4}, fol. 18^{v}.

8. Incest.[21] Cf. Group II, 31; Rv^{3}, fol. 14^{v}; Fn^{4}, fol. 18^{v}.

9. Mary's Apparel on Fridays.[22] A nun beholds the Mother of God in magnificent robes, except on Fridays when her dress is of rough and coarse material. Mary explains that is in remembrance of her Son's passion and death. Rv^{3}, fol. 14^{v}; Fn^{4}, fol. 19.

10. Composer's Vision.[23] A devotee of Mary composes hymns in her praise and is honored by an apparition of the Virgin after which he strives to live a more perfect life. Rv^{3}, fol. 15; Fn^{4}, fol. 19.

11. Hand Cured.[24] Anthony, a Cistercian monk, cannot sleep because of the pain in his hand which was cut while harvesting. Suddenly Mary appears and loosens the bandage. The cure is immediate, and in gratitude he enters an Order especially dedicated to her honor. Rv^{3}, fol. 15; Fn^{4}, fol. 19.

12. Judge Slain in Church. Cf. Group III, 22; Rv^{3}, no. 12, fol. 15; Fn^{4}, no. 13, fol. 19^{v}.

13. King Richard's Ring.[25] St. John the Baptist, disguised as a pilgrim, begs alms of Richard of England who, not having money upon his person, gives the saint a ring. Sometime later, London merchants miss their boat at Marseilles because they have stopped to hear Mass. St. John appears to them, shows them an overland route and, when they are in sight of London in a phenomenally short time, requests that they return the ring to the King and warn him to treat it with reverence as it has been worn by the Mother of God. Rv^{3}, no. 13, fol. 15^{v}; Fn^{4}, no. 12, fol. 19; Fp^{4}, no. 2, fols. 26^{v}–28^{v}.[26]

14. Compassionating Image. In times of adversity an image of Mary darkens and seems to share the sorrow of its owner, a devotee of the Blessed Virgin; contrariwise, it becomes resplendent in times of prosperity. Rv^{3}, fol. 15^{v}; Fn^{4}, fol. 19^{v}.

15. Wife in Adultery.[27] A husband prays that his wife be punished for her sin of adultery. The Virgin tells him not to expect justice but repentance, inasmuch as the wife says the *Ave Maria* 100 times daily. When told this, the wife amends her ways. Rv^{3}, fol. 16; Fn^{4}, fol. 20.

16. Vision of Mary to a Dominican Monk. A Dominican monk, while praying in a church, is led by an angel into the presence of Mary. Thereafter, he becomes one of the great masters of theology. Rv^{3}, fol. 16; Fn^{4}, fol. 20.

17. Miracle of Pentecostal Tongues.[28] As Dominican monks intone the *Salve Regina* at their General Chapter held at Montpellier, the Virgin Mary appears in their midst. On the following day, the Vigil of Pentecost, during the singing of the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, tongues of fire descend upon each one present. Rv^{3}, fol. 16^{v}; Fn^{4}, fol. 20.

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[21] Legend no. 81 in Rv^{3} corresponds more closely to Group II, 31, *art. cit.*, 33.

[22] A Latin version is in *Ms* Rome Casanatense 890 (fol. 50), no. 4.

[23] Cf. T. F. Crane, 'Miracles of the Virgin,' *Romanic Review*, II (1911), no. 14, 255-6.

[24] A somewhat similar story is told of a peasant by Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* II, ed. by La Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1889), no. 289, 403-4.

[25] There is a brief Latin version in *Ms* Rome Casanatense 890 (fol. 50^{v}). Caesarius of Heisterbach tells the tale of a pilgrim of Elsloo, in the diocese of Liége, who insists on attending all the Easter services in Jerusalem. He is left behind by his companions but a horseman overtakes him, insists that he mount behind him and in a few hours is set down close to his home, cf. *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange in 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), IX, 2, ii, 218-19. In *Ms* British Museum *Harley* 2851 (fol. 176) the pilgrim is an Englishman, cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 508 (66).

[26] Giovanni Tortoli, *op. cit.*, no. 2, pp. 14 ff.

[27] For the usual version of 'Wife and Mistress,' cf. *infra*, Group IV, Fn^{4}, no. 65.

[28] The incident, told in the letters of Guido Fulcodius, Bishop of Le Puy and Archbishop of Narbonne in 1259, is said to have happened at the General Chapter held in Montpellier on May 19, 1247; cf. Gerard de Fracheto, *Vitae Fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum necnon chronica ordinis ab anno MCCII usque ad MCCLIV* I, 7 (4), ed. Fr. B. Maria Reichert O.P. (Rome, 1896), pp. 60-3. See also *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, no. 42, p. 444.

18. Minstrel Freed from Prison.[29] While making a pilgrimage to Compostella, the jongleur, William, is put in prison and condemned to death with fourteen others because he has lampooned the King of Castille. He bids his companions to trust in Mary and, as he is singing a new anthem in her honor, he sees a great light appear and a ladder by which he and thirteen who were credulous escape. He and his companions are pardoned by the King, who then puts to death only the one who ridiculed the idea of deliverance through Mary. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 16^v; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 20.

19. Blaspheming Clerk.[30] Having lost to a Jew in a gambling game, a clerk begins to blaspheme the Virgin Mary and is stricken with madness. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 17; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 20^v.

20. Cure of Reginald.[31] Reginald, having made a vow to become a Dominican monk, falls ill. Physicians despair of his life, but St. Dominic prays for him and the Virgin Mary appears and anoints him. Restored to health, he takes the habit three days later. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 17; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 20^v.

21. Thieving Rustic.[32] A peasant, who says many prayers and gives alms in honor of the Mother of God, also steals without making restitution. At his death devils and angels dispute over his soul. Because of his alms, his soul is permitted to return to his body that he may do penance. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 17^v; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 21.

22. King who Dies as a Monk. A king has great devotion to the Mother of God who reveals to him the day of his death that he may do penance for his misdeeds. He becomes a monk, and at his death devils claim his soul, but are put to flight by the angels who say that they have come, not for the soul of a king but for that of a monk. *Rv*^{3}, *fol.* 17^v; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 21.

23. Abbess: Bishop Comes Unexpectedly.[33] Cf. Group III, 62. In this version there is no mention of confidence betrayed. The bishop is so impressed by the miracle that he rears the child. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 18; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 21.

24. Monk Promised Beatitude.[34] A monk's daily recitation of the words, *Benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus,* is rewarded by the apparition of Mary who promises him special blessings in heaven. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 18; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 21^v.

25. Sleeping Monk Awakened.[35] The chaplain of Narbonne falls asleep while saying his prayers in honor of the Mother of God. She places her hand on his forehead and awakens him. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 18^v; *Fn*^{4}, fol. 21^v.

26. Devil put to Flight.[36] A Canon becomes a Franciscan. As he strives towards greater perfection of life, he is more grievously tempted. On one occasion

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[29] The same story is told in *Ms* Rome Casanatense 890 (fol. 50^v) and *Mss* British Museum 33956 (fol. 73) and *Additional* 27336 (fol. 79); cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 674 (20) and Herbert, *ibid.*, III, 673 (343). Alfonso el Sabio tells the story of a trovador imprisoned by Count Simon de Montfort. He promises Mary to dedicate all his songs to her and suddenly finds himself free near a hermitage of the Blessed Virgin; *op. cit.*, II, no. 363, 506.

[30] The unhappy death of blasphemers, who are usually stricken with a sudden death, is a common theme in Mary legends; cf. *supra*, Group I, 39, *art. cit.*, 18; II, 16 and 23, *ibid.*, 32; *infra*, Group IV, *Rv*^{3}, no. 101.

[31] The cure of Reginald is related in the biographies of St. Dominic by Jordanus Saxo, Bartholomew of Trent and Theodoric de Appoldia; cf. *Acta sanctorum, 4 August*, pp. 547, 556 and 578. Cf. Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit*, ed. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), no. 127, p. 108; H. Isnard, 'Recueil des miracles de la Vierge du XIII^e siècle,' *Bulletin de la Société archéologique . . . du vendomois*, XXVI (1887), no. 60, 292-6; Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria* II, no. 204, 287-8; Petrus de Natalibus, *Catalogus sanctorum et gestorum eorum* (Venice, 1493), VII, 22; *Legenda aurea*, cap. 113, ed. T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850), pp. 472-3.

[32] This is a variant of 'Landmarks Removed,' cf. *supra*, Group I, 50 with note 82 for variants, *art. cit.*, 20.

[33] Cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 2, pp. 93-4, with variants on pp. 156-7.

[34] See *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 27909 (fol. 5) described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 465 (18).

[35] Caesarius of Heisterbach relates two tales of religious sleeping at time of prayer; cf. *Dialogus miraculorum* IV, 30, i, 198; VII, 35, ii, 43-4.

[36] Cf. *supra*, Group I, 58, *art. cit.*, 21; also R. Tryon, *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), no. 1, pp. 367-8.

the evil spirit appears to him in a horrible form but disappears immediately upon the invocation of the name of Mary. Rv^3, fol. 18^v; Fn^4, fol. 21^v.

27. Light on the Masthead.[37] Cf. Group 1, 2; Rv^3, fol. 18^v; Fn^4, fol. 21^v.

28. Abbot Freed from Prison.[38] On his way to Rome Abbot Maiolo is captured by Saracens and imprisoned. He and his companions are freed by Mary who commands him to return to his monastery to celebrate there her Feast of the Assumption. Rv^3, fol. 19; Fn^4, fol. 22.

29. Painter.[39] Cf. Groups I, 7 and II, 14; Rv^3, fol. 19.

30. Counseled to Avoid Blasphemy. The Virgin Mary appears to a clerk by the name of Peter of Castel-Jaloux and commands him to exhort the other clerks to be faithful in their devotions and to avoid blasphemy, foretelling the complete ruin of a nearby castle because of this sin. She invites him to higher perfection in an Order dedicated to her honor. Rv^3, fol. 19^v; Fn^4, no. 29, fol. 22.

31. The Prior of St. Saviour's in Pavia.[40] Years after his death, the prior of St. Saviour's in Pavia appears to a sacristan and tells that he has been suffering in a place of torment, but that the Virgin Mary, whose Hours he had said, led him into a region of happiness. Rv^3, fol. 19^v; Fn^4, no. 30, fol. 22.

32. Charitable Almsman.[41] Cf. Group I, 19; Rv^3, fol. 19^v; Fn^4, no. 31, fol. 22^v.

33. Thief Sustained. In this version the man steals to support his family. Cf. Group I, 60; Rv^3, fol. 20; Fn^4, no. 32, fol. 22^v.

34. The Priest of one Mass. Cf. Group I, 63; Rv^3, fol. 20; omitted in Fn^4.[42]

35. Five Joys.[43] Cf. Group I, 31; Rv^3, fol. 20^v; omitted in Fn^4.[44]

36. Jerome made Bishop of Pavia.[45] The clergy and laity of Pavia spend three days in fasting and prayer prior to the election of their bishop. The Virgin Mary appears to a saintly man and requests that her *cancelliere*, Jerome, be appointed. Rv^3, fol. 21; omitted in Fn^4.

37. Death from Remorse.[46] A Paris scholar commits adultery and then remembers that it is Saturday, a day which he has vowed to spend chastely in honor of the Virgin Mary. His contrition is so great that he dies of grief. The next day his companions find a script in his hand in testimony of his eternal salvation. Rv^3, fol. 21; Fn^4, no. 33, fol. 23.

38. Pope Leo. This is a brief version of the legend, 'Severed Hand.'[47] The Mother of God promises a clerk a benefice of great importance if he will strive to overcome his temptations against chastity. He does so and becomes Pope Leo. When his temptations are renewed, he loses his peace of soul. For this he is scolded by Mary who is said to have led him to the glory of Paradise after

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[37] The legend briefly told here is recounted in greater detail as no. 129 in Rv^3, cf. Group I, 2, *art. cit.*, 12.

[38] Cf. Group III, 57 with note 100, *art. cit.*, 43; *infra*, Group IV, 104; V, Fr^{10}, no. 76.

[39] The legend 'Painter' occurs both as nos. 29 and 47 in Rv^3. The compiler of Fn^4 omits both versions, but inserts the legend later on as no. 74 in his collection, using a manuscript related to Group II; cf. *supra*, II, 14, *art. cit.*, 32.

[40] The legend is in the *HM* series; cf. Crane's reprint of Pez for variants, *op. cit.*, no. 12, p. 87; R. Becker, *Gonzalos de Berceos Milagros und ihre Grundlagen mit einem Anhange: Mitteilungen aus der lat. Hs. Kopenhagen, Thott 128* (Strassburg, 1910), no. 12, p. 66.

[41] See also *infra*, Rv^3, no. 56.

[42] The compiler of Fn^4 inserts the legend as no. 120, using a manuscript related to Group III as his source; cf. III, 27, *art. cit.*, 40.

[43] The priest in this version ends his prayer with the thought that he is reminding Mary of her five joys to console her for her grief at beholding the five wounds of Christ; cf. F. Zambrini (ed.), *Dodici conti morali d'anonimo senese* (Scelta di curiosità letterarie, no. 9, Bologna, 1862), no. 5, pp. 20-1. Duccio di Gano repeats this tale, cf. *infra*. no. 96 in Rv^3.

[44] The legend of 'Five Joys' occurs in Fn^4 as no. 72 where the compiler uses Group II, 9, *art. cit.*, 31 as his source.

[45] *Acta Sanctorum, 22 July*, pp. 321-3. Cf. Pez, no. 13, p. 16 with variants on pp. 87-8; R. Becker, *op. cit.*, no. 13, p. 68; A. Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach* III (Bonn, 1937), no. 68, 200-1, and note 86 for variants; cf. *infra*, Group V, Fp^3, no. 7.

[46] A Latin version is in *Ms* Rome Casanatense 890 (fol. 51), no. 12. Levi prints the Latin text as the source of a similar story in *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine*, no. 34, p. cxxxix.

[47] Cf. *supra*, Groups III, 38, *art. cit.*, 41, and *infra*, V, Fr^{10}, no. 61.

his death. No mention is made of the amputation of his hand. Rv^3, fol. 21^v; omitted in Fn^4.[48]

39. Host in a Beehive.[49] A peasant is persuaded by a widow who is a wizard that, if he places the Eucharist in his beehive, all the bees from neighboring hives will be attracted to his and he will become rich. He does so and, returning later to investigate, finds instead of the Host the Virgin Mary holding the Christ-Child in her arms. He confesses his sacrilege to the priest who takes the Host in procession to the Church. A Mass of reparation is said and at the fracture of the Host, the Christ-Child resumes the form of bread and the Virgin disappears. Rv^3, fol. 21^v; omitted in Fn^4.

40. Buried Outside the Churchyard. Cf. Group III, 14; Rv^3, fol. 22; omitted in Fn^4.[50]

41. Aves seen as Roses. Cf. Group III, 67; Rv^3, fol. 22^v; Fn^4, fol. 27.

42. Chorister Killed by a Girl.[51] A youth sings for a girl after which she attempts to force her attentions upon him. Hearing her father's footsteps, she hides him under the bedclothes and smothers him. She has a servant bury the body in an orchard. The mother searches in vain for her son. Some time later the girl's father has guests and one of them begs for a lily of surpassing beauty which is in the orchard. They dig it up and find that it issues from the mouth of the boy who is still living. The mother identifies her son, the girl repents, and all three increase in their devotion to the Mother of God. Rv^3, fol. 24; Fn^4, no. 43, fol. 28^v.

43. Food Changed to Flowers.[52] The daughter of a Saracen ruler steals away to a Christian camp and is enthralled with the stories of the mercies of the Virgin Mary. She determines to give alms to the poor in her honor. The king notices that the large quantity of food provided is scarcely sufficient and demands an explanation from the cook who discloses the cause. The next time that the girl takes food, the cook brings her to her father, but the food changes to roses and lilies in his presence. The king with his barons witness the miracle and become Christians. Rv^3, fol. 25; Fn^4, no. 44, fol. 29.

44. Unwilling to Deny the Trinity.[53] A disobedient boy quits his home in an angry mood and accompanies a stranger on horseback to an unknown mansion

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[48] The compiler inserts the version of the 'Severed Hand' from Group III, 38 as his no. 130, cf. Group III, 38, *ibid.*

[49] The earliest extant version of this legend is given by Peter the Venerable and is not Marian, cf. *De Miraculis* I, 1 (PL 189, 851-3); a few varying details are added by Herbert of Torres, *De Miraculis* III, 30 (PL 185, 1374-5). Cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* IX, 8, ii, 172-3; Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 317, pp. 266-7; *Giraldi Cambrensis opera* II, edd. Brewer, Dimock and Warner (Rolls Series, XXI, London, 1861), 42; Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* (Cologne, *ca.* 1473), II, 40; *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium*, ed. A. G. Little (Aberdeen, 1908), p. 9; Joseph Klapper (ed.), *Erzählungen des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1914), no. 71, pp. 288-9; *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, no. 68, p. 390; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, no. 128, 193-5; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 26, p. 49. For the tales in the manuscripts of the British Museum, cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 23 (191), 647 (55), *et passim.* In the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan there is a Latin version in the thirteenth-century manuscript C 150 *inf.* (fol. 28).

[50] The compiler of Fn^4 uses Group III, 14, *art. cit.*, 38, as the source for his no. 108.

[51] This is a unique variant of the 'Chorister,' cf. *supra,* Group III, 49, *art. cit.*, 42.

[52] A similar story is told of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, a saint of whom the compiler, Duccio di Gano, is very fond. She is a protagonist in legends nos. 7 and 153, and her life is given in the folios which follow the Marian legends (fols. 123-8^v). See Holik Barabás, 'La leggenda sulle rose di Sant' Elisabetta d'Ungheria,' *Frate Francesco,* IV (1931), 445-9; J. Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters*, no. 73, pp. 57-8; Pelbart of Temesvar, *Pomerium de SS. Sermones Pomerii de Sanctis* (Hagenau, 1501), no. xcvi, p. 96.

[53] See E. Galtier, 'Byzantina,' *Romania,* XXIX (1900), 524-7, where the story of the servant of Mésitès corresponds closely to the Italian version. According to Galtier, many variations were introduced into the original tale in the Occident and he adds that 'en cette occasion comme dans d'autres l'Italie a pu servir d'intermédiaire', (*ibid.*, 527). See also Moriz Haupt and Heinrich Hoffmann, *Altdeutsche Blätter* II (Leipzig, 1840), 77. Related to no. 44 are the versions in *Mss* British Museum *Additional* 28682 (fol. 234) and *Additional* 11284 (fol. 22), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 85 (30) and 382 (154). Cf. Johannes Monachus, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. M. Huber (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, V, Heidelberg, 1913), no. 2, pp. 36-9.

where he is asked to do homage to the lord of the castle. He answers that he is a servant of the Blessed Trinity and immediately everything vanishes. When he next enters a church, the crucifix bows to him. Rv^3, fol. 25^v; Fn^4, no. 45, fol. 29^v.

45. Pirate Granted the Last Sacraments. Cf. Group III, 71; Rv^3, fol. 27; Fn^4, no. 46, fol. 30^v.

46. The Devil Carries a Pilgrim Home.[54] In order to honor the Mother of God the knight Martin is most hospitable to a leper who is really the devil in disguise. He makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and is imprisoned by the Saracens for thirteen years. His wife is about to remarry when the Blessed Virgin commands the devil to carry him back to his home. Rv^3, fol. 28; Fn^4, no. 47, fol. 31.

47. Painter. This is the same story as no. 29 in this group except that the devil appears as a youth and the dialogue is given more at length. The compiler of Fn^4 omits both nos. 29 and 47.[55] Rv^3, fol. 28^v.

48. Desecration of the Host.[56] This is a Eucharistic *exemplum* rather than a Mary legend, no mention being made of the Mother of God. Two Jews are foiled in their attempt to renew the passion of Christ on the Host. One is converted; the other dies impenitent. The incident is said to have occurred in 1305. Rv^3, fol. 29; Fn^4, no. 48, fol. 32.

49. Laborer Prays for Usurer.[57] A devout laborer stays so long in church that he misses his chance of being hired. A usurer takes pity on him and hires him to pray for him all day. The laborer receives a rich recompense, but is told by an angel in disguise to go back and demand more. After he has delivered this message several times, the usurer follows him and hears the angel say that because of the prayers he is being given thirty days before his death in which to restore ill-gotten gains. The usurer makes full restitution and enriches the laborer for life. Rv^3, fol. 30; Fn^4, no. 49, fol. 32^v.

50. Incest, Parricide and Death from Remorse.[58] A German, guilty of blasphemy, incest and parricide, happens by chance to hear an outdoor sermon. Touched with compunction, he interrupts the preacher, begging him to hear his confession. The time being inopportune, he is told to wait and soon after is found dead. Reputed among the wicked, he is not given honorable burial until the Mother of God appears to a monk and reveals that the sinner is saved and entitled to be buried properly. Rv^3, fol. 31^v; Fn^4, no. 50, fol. 33^v.

51. Dainties in a Foul Dish.[59] A youth in vision is offered by the Virgin Mary dainty food in an unclean dish as a symbol of his *Aves* in a life of sin. Rv^3, fol. 32^v; Fn^4, no. 51, fol. 34^v.

52. Legend of St. Michael. This is a non-Marian *exemplum* in which a youth dreams that he is overtaken by a terrible storm and is refused entrance into

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[54] The story of the husband who arrives home in time to prevent the nuptials of his wife is a familiar one to Italian readers. Cf. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. A. F. Massera (Scrittori d'Italia, Bari, 1927), nov. ix, pp. 291-308; P. Rayna, 'La Novella Boccaccesca del Saladino e di Messer Torello,' *Romania*, VI (1877), 359-68. See also the tale of Gerard of Holenbach by Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* VIII, 59, ii, 131-2; *Ms* British Museum *Royal* 15 *D v.* (fols 279^v and 312^v) described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 444 (6) and 446 (22).

[55] Cf. *supra*, note 32.

[56] The story is also told of two Jews of Arli in *Ms* Florence Bib. Riccardiana 1290 (Fr^4, fol. 192).

[57] Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fp^3, no. 26. In the *Magnum speculum exemplorum* the employer is an old man (ix, no. 146, pp. 644-5). In *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 33956 (fol. 24), described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 628 (31), a devout laborer is hired by a burgher to pray for him, but when the laborer receives his pay, he is told by an angel to return the wages inasmuch as he has earned the Kingdom of Heaven.

[58] Jacobo Passavanti, *Lo specchio della vera penitenza* I (Milan, 1808), p. 133. See also W. L. Heuser, 'Dux Moraud,' *Anglia*, XXX (1907), 180-208. Herbert lists many manuscripts on this or similar themes in which the protagonist is usually an incestuous girl, cf. *op. cit.*, III, 259 (72), 432 (23), 469 (34), 518 (136), *et passim*.

[59] Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 36, p. 67; *infra*, Fr^{10}, no. 134. For variants, cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 100, 215, note 100. Compare this version with 'Dainties Covered by a Soiled Cloth,' *supra*, Group II, 28, *art. cit.*, 33, and III, 53, *ibid.*, 42. Alfonso el Sabio offers a variant in which the platter is beautiful, but the food is untouchable, *op. cit.*, II, no. 152, 223-4.

various dwellings, which symbolize purity, humility, patience and perseverance. St. Michael reproves him for his evil life; he amends, only to die soon after. Rv^3, fol. 33; Fn^4, no. 52, fol. 35.

53. Ripe Pears. This is a non-Marian *exemplum* in which a robber, grown old in thievery, loses his way and, being hungry, picks an unripe pear which almost chokes him. Fifteen days later he passes the same tree, and the sight of the ripened fruit makes him realize that forty years have not been sufficient for him to amend his life. Rv^3, fol. 33^v; Fn^4, no. 53, fol. 35^v.

54. Priests Doubts the Transubstantiation.[60] A priest begins to doubt the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist and prays to Mary for the return of his faith. On Saturday at the *Pater Noster* of the Mass the Host disappears and, looking up, he sees Mary holding the Christ-Child in her arms. She explains why her Son has assumed the appearance of bread and wine, deducing long proofs from Scripture. The priest continues his Mass with the Infant before him on the altar but, at the point in the Mass where rubrics demand the breaking of the Host, the Christ-Child resumes the appearance of bread. Rv^3, fol. 34.

55. Drowned Monks Sing *SALVE REGINA.* Cf. Group III, 17; Rv^3, fol. 35.

56. Charitable Almsman. Cf. Groups I, 19 and IV, 32. In this version the poor man on his death-bed hears the voice of the Mother of God reassuring him. Rv^3, fol. 35.

57. Girl Named Mary.[61] Cf. Group III, 24; Rv^3, fol. 35^v; Fn^4, no. 34, fol. 23.

58. Lay-Brother Celebrates the Assumption.[62] A Cistercian lay-brother, herding cattle, laments that he cannot join his fellow religious in their celebration of the Feast of the Assumption. In his presence the Virgin Mary and her choir sing the service, an event which is revealed to St. Bernard who alludes to it in his sermon the next day. Rv^3, fol. 36; Fn^4, no. 35, fol. 23^v.

59. 150 *AVES* Daily. Cf. Group II, 6;[63] Rv^3, fol. 30; Fn^4, no. 36, fol. 23^v.

60. Mary Assists at Death-Bed. Cf. Group III, 12; Rv^3, fol. 36^v; omitted in Fn^4.[64]

61. Accused Unjustly of Theft. Cf. Group III, 23; Rv^3, fol. 37; Fn^4, no. 37, fol. 24.[65]

62. *O INTEMERATA:* Buried Outside the Churchyard. Cf. Group III, 68; Rv^3, fol. 37^v; omitted in Fn^4.[66]

63. Devil as Servant. Cf. Groups I, 36; II, 2; III, 2; Rv^3, fol. 38; omitted in Fn^4.[67]

64. Pilgrim's Staff. Cf. Group II, 8; Rv^3, fol. 38^v; omitted in Fn^4.[68]

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[60] Cf. *supra*, Group I, 56, *art. cit.*, 21, and III, 25, *ibid.*, 40 where the priest does not doubt. For the alteration of the story from a Eucharistic *exemplum* to a Mary legend in which the priest prays to Mary to allay his doubts, cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 618 (167). Caesarius of Heisterbach tells a similar tale of a doubting celebrant in the *Dialogus miraculorum* IX, 5, ii, 42. See also Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 42, pp. 279-80; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, no. 149, 220-2 with variants on p. xc; P. Meyer, 'Notice d'un légendier français conservé à la Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg,' *Notices et extraits*, XXXV^2 (Paris, 1901), 711. Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 673 (12) and Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 283 (50), 287 (50), 292 (48), 295 (48), 300 (50), 311 (54), 480 (23).

[61] Cf. *infra*, Group IV, Rv^3, no. 109.

[62] *Cisterciensium seu verius ecclesiasticorum annalium, an*, 1129, cap. VI, 1, compiled by F. A. Manrique (Lyons, 1642-59), I, pp. 200-1; Isnard, *op. cit.*, no. 15, p. 56 and p. 314; *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, iii, no. 37, pp. 207-8. Caesarius of Heisterbach relates the vision of the monk, Bertram, on the Feast of the Assumption in the *Dialogus miraculorum* VII, 37, ii, 45-6.

[63] The story in Group II, 6, *art. cit.*, 30, is not the source of Rv^3, no. 59 nor of Fn^4, no. 36, in which the legend is told on the authority of an abbess of saintly life. The compiler of Fn^4 inserts the same tale in different words in his no. 70, where it is evident that he is drawing upon manuscripts described in Group II.

[64] The legend is omitted here but inserted later as no. 106 from Group III, 12, *art. cit.*, 38.

[65] See also no. 117 in Fn^4 which the compiler draws from Group III, 23, *art. cit.*, 39.

[66] The legend is inserted later on as no. 149 from Group III, 68, *art. cit.*, 44.

[67] The compiler of Fn^4 inserts the legend as no. 74, using Group II, 2, *art. cit.*, 30, as his source.

[68] Group II, 8, *art. cit.*, 31, presents a somewhat similar version which the compiler of Fn^4 uses for his no. 71.

65. Drowned Monk. Cf. Group I, 18; Rv^3, fol. 39; Fn^4, no. 38, fol. 24^v.

66. Pilgrim of St. James. Cf. Group I, 28; Rv^3, fol. 39^v; Fn^4, no. 39, fol. 25.

67. Monks at Their Field Work. Cf. Group III, 29; Rv^3, fol. 40; omitted in Fn^4.[69]

68. Hermit Freed From Impure Temptations. Cf. Groups III, 56; Rv^3, fol. 40^v; omitted here in Fn^4.[70]

69. Hermitess Delivered From The Devil. Cf. Group III, 32; Rv^3, fol. 40^v; omitted here in Fn^4.[71]

70. Unjust Accusation of Adultery. Cf. Group III, 30; Rv^3, fol. 41; omitted here in Fn^4.[72]

71. Bag of Good Deeds.[73] A citizen of Carthage, seeing many die from a pestilence, leaves the city with his wife to do penance. He yields to the temptation of adultery, dies soon afterwards and is buried within the monastery walls. The monks are disturbed by moans from his tomb and find that he is alive. He relates to the saintly Thesalius that after death he was making his way to heaven, the angels paying the toll for his passage from a bag of good deeds, but that just before arriving, his fund of good works was exhausted, and he was dragged by evil spirits to a place of torment. Thanks to the angels who obtained for him another chance, he has been resuscitated to do penance. Rv^3, fol. 41^v; Fn^4, no. 40, fol. 25.

72. Christ-Child Taught *AVE MARIA*.[74] A noble woman sees an attractive child with his mother in church and asks him if he knows the *Ave Maria*. He replies in the affirmative but will not say it until she prompts each line. At the words, *benedictus fructus ventris*, he replies, *Io sono esso*, and with his mother vanishes. Rv^3, fol. 43; Fn^4, no. 41, fols. 26^v-27^v.

From the first seventy-two legends in Rv^3 the compiler of Fn^4 has drawn fifty-three for his collection. Agreement between the two manuscripts now ceases except in so far as both compilers made use of Group II, independently of each other. An analysis of the rest of Rv^3 follows, and subsequently Fn^4 is treated as a whole.

Nos. 73-81 in Rv^3 correspond to nos. 21-23, 25-27, 29, 31-32 in Group II.

82. Musa.[75] The Virgin Mary appears to a young girl, Musa, promising to receive her into her company within thirty days if she will abstain from frivolity. The girl dies on the thirtieth day. Rv^3, fol. 45^v.

83. The Hundredfold.[76] Hearing a sermon on the hundredfold with which an act of charity is rewarded, a peasant gives away his cow. He begins to suffer want and is about to kill the preacher when he finds a gold coin with which he buys a hundred cows. Rv^3, fol. 45^v.

84. Desecration of the Host.[77] This is a Eucharist *exemplum* in which a

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[69] The legend is inserted later as no. 122, Group III, 29, *art. cit.*, 40, being used.

[70] Group III, 56, *art. cit.*, 43, is used directly for Fn^4, no. 138.

[71] Cf. Group III, 32, *art. cit.*, 41, for Fn^4, no. 125.

[72] Cf. Group III, 30, *art. cit.*, 40, for Fn^4, no. 123.

[73] The angels, not Mary, act as mediators in this legend. At the end one reads that it may be believed that the man and his wife were eventually saved: . . . che Idio et la gloriosa Vergine Maria alla fine loro avessono misericordia dell' anime loro.'

[74] Cf. *supra*, Group II, note 24, *art. cit.*, 32; also cf. Ward in his description of *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 18929 (fol. 83^v), *op. cit.*, II, 658 (19).

[75] Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, 18, ed. Umberto Moricca (Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Rome, 1924), pp. 255 ff.; *infra*, Group V, Fp^8, no. 9. For variants, cf. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the* Sermones vulgares *of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane, (London, 1890), no. 275, p. 245; H. Kjellman (ed.), *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des miracles de la sainte Vierge et son original latin* (Paris and Upsala, 1922), pp. lii-iii; A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 160-1 with note 39.

[76] Etienne de Bourbon tells the story on the authority of Odo of Cheriton, *op. cit.*, no. 142, p. 121; cf. *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 21147 (fol. 100) described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 703 (27). It is a merchant who gives all his money to the poor in the *Speculum laicorum*, ed. J. T. Welter (Paris, 1914), no. 253, p. 51; again it is a peasant of Burgundy who finds a precious stone in reward in *Un nouveau recueil franciscain d'exempla de la fin du xiii^e siècle*, ed. J. T. Welter (Paris, 1930), no. 148, pp. 56-7.

[77] Cf. *Ms* British Museum *Harley* 206 (fol. 98^v) described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 699 (13).

female dwarf takes the Eucharist and places it in a hot baking pan. A voice from the Host remonstrates and in terror she buries it in her stable. It is discovered when the animals kneel to adore. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 46.

85. Saint Lo.[78] Saint Lo is to be beheaded by the Lombards because he has freed a priest for whom he stood bond. The arm of the executioner is stayed in mid-air until Saint Lo prays to God and to the Virgin Mary that he recover the use of his arm. Many are converted. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 46^v.

86. Captive's Chains Fall Off During Mass.[79] A knight is imprisoned by the Saracens but eventually escapes, for his bonds become less each time his wife has a Mass said for him. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 46^v.

87. Sailor Fed by an Angel.[80] A shipwrecked sailor, Varga, is brought bread by an angel and rescued by a passing boat, on the day that Bishop Agatho of Palermo offers Mass for him. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 47^v.[81]

88. St. Humiliana.[82] This is a non-Marian legend in which Saint Humiliana offers to undergo a sickness for a complaining youth. He is cured and, as she lies stricken, a little child enters and plays at her bedside. She begs that he remain but he replies that she will only be satisfied when she is with him in heaven. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 49.

89. Water from a Leper's Feet. The governor of a hospital washes the feet of a leper and, under the inspiration of grace and in the spirit of penance, drinks the water, finding it sweet and delightful to his taste. No reference is made to the Virgin Mary. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 49^v.

90. St. Bernard Serves the Sick. St. Bernard, wrapt in ecstasy, is conversing with Christ and Mary when a sick monk asks him to pick up a fallen cane. The saint does so, and his heavenly visitors tell him that this service to the sick is more pleasing to them than his prayerful conversation. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 49^v.

91. Christ as a Leper Shown Hospitality.[83] Robert of Apulia, returning from a hunt, meets a leper who refuses money but asks that he be permitted to mount behind the duke. This he grants and even allows him to occupy his own saddle.

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[78] Saint Lo (Laudus or Lauto) is regarded in the diocese of Coutances (Normandy) as a Saint Martin in Tours, cf. Réné Toustain de Billy, *Histoire ecclésiastique du diocèse de Coutances* I (Rouen, 1874-80), p. 18. According to Orderic Vitalis, he was made Bishop of Coutances about 525, cf. *Historiae ecclesiasticae*, ed. A. Le Prevost II, (Paris, 1835-55), p. 341. See also E. A. Pigeon, *Vies des saints du diocèse de Coutances* I (Avranches, 1892), pp. 37-44; B. Baedorf, *Untersuchungen über Heiligenleben der westl. Normandie* (Bonn, 1913), p. 42-9. Among the Florentines Saint Lo was adopted as the special patron of the *manescalchi* who erected his statue in the Church of San Michele in Florence. In *Ms Magliabechiano* 133, *Cl*, 26 (fol. 165) of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence one reads that in the year 1394 this guild of veterinarians vacated a hospital dedicated to Saint Lo on Via S. Galli to found a new one under his patronage. The Gallic saint had, therefore, a certain prestige among the Florentines. Duccio di Gano compiled his collection (*Rv*^{3}) in Florence.

[79] Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* IV, 59, p. 320. Nos. 86 and 87 ('Sailor Fed by an Angel') are both in the *Dialogues* of Gregory; they occur in sequence in *Mss* British Museum *Harley* 2851 (fol. 107^v) and *Harley* 268 (fols. 40^v-41^v), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, II, 505 (27, 28) and 571 (181, 182).

[80] Gregory the Great, *ibid.*, p. 321. See also A. G. Little (ed.), *Liber exemplorum*, no. 20, pp. 12-3; Welter (ed.), *Speculum laicorum*, no. 259, p. 52; *Legenda aurea*, cap. clxiii, p. 735; Johannes Herolt, *Promptuarium Discipuli de miraculis beate Marie Virginis*, no. 45.

[81] At this point in *Rv*^{3} the rubrics introduce a sermon from St. Gregory. It is possible that Levi mistook the sermon for a legend; hence, his wrong enumeration of contents, there being 183 legends instead of 184.

[82] St. Humiliana, a Florentine saint, died in 1246. See *Acta sanctorum, 6 May*, pp. 385-418; R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* II (Berlin, 1896-1927), pp. 129-35; *Leggenda della beata Umiliana de' Cerchi*, ed. D. Moreni (Florence, 1827), pp. 95-102.

[83] The story of the kindness shown to Christ in the guise of a leper is a common one in mediaeval collections. Jacques de Vitry tells an *exemplum* of a woman who lays a leper on her bed and whose husband finds that he has disappeared, leaving a celestial odor behind him (cf. Crane's edition, no. 95. pp. 44-5 with variants on pp. 174-5). In Gregory's homilies on the Gospels there is a story of Martyrius who carries Christ upon his shoulders disguised as a leper or offers Him hospitality as a pilgrim (cf. PL 76, 1183 and 1300). The writer of this legend errs historically. William the Conqueror (d. 1087) was the bastard son, not of Robert of Apulia (d. 1085), but of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Arletta, the daughter of a tanner at Falaise. The Duke of Normandy had no other sons.

In spite of the ridicule of his friends, he has the leper given supper and a warm bed. Later the duke and duchess find that he has disappeared, but the sweet odor which pervades the room leads them to suspect the supernatural character of their guest. That night in a dream Christ promises Robert three sons, one of whom will become emperor, the other a king and the other a duke. Duccio di Gano adds that one became Emperor of Constantinople, the other, named William, conquered England and became king, the third was made Duke of Apulia. *Rv^3*, fol. 50.

92. Unwilling to Deny Mary.[84] An impoverished French knight renounces God but will not deny the Mother of God. His reconciliation with Christ through Mary's intercession is witnessed by the King of France. *Rv^3*, fol. 50^v.

Nos. 93-100 in *Rv^3* correspond to legends nos. 4, 7, 9-13 in Group II (cf. *supra*).

101. Sudden Death of a Blasphemer.[85] A drunkard and gambler blasphemes before a crucifix and is completely paralyzed, except for his tongue, a grace he receives because of his daily prayer to the Blessed Virgin. He dies two days later. *Rv^3*, fol. 54.

102. Monks by the Seashore.[86] This version is slightly different from that noted in Group I, 30. As the monks stand gossiping, they hear a great wind and in their terror recommend themselves to the protection of the Mother of God. A voice curses the one who has taught them this devotion, for otherwise they, too, would have been carried off with the soul of the Abbot of St. Gall. The monks return and cannot find the body of the abbot who has not lived an exemplary life. *Rv^3*, fol. 54^v.

103. Christian does not Repay Jew.[87] A Christian borrows 100 florins from a Jew and then falsely swears that he has repaid them. The Jew calls upon an image of Mary to bear witness to the Christian's perjury, promising to be baptized if she will do so. She inclines her head and the Jew with his family becomes Christian. *Rv^3*, fol. 55.

104. Knight Freed from Prison.[88] A knight, who has always given a feast for the poor on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, is captured by his enemy. He is praying that his sons will continue this custom when Mary appears and requests that he do it instead. *Rv^3*, fol. 55^v.

105. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. Cf. Group I, 34; *Rv^3*, fol. 56.

106. Jew Lends to a Merchant.[89] A Florentine merchant borrows from a Jew 500 florins with a time limit of eight months. On the day of maturity he places the money in a small boat and sends it adrift with complete trust that it will arrive at its destination. The Jew hides the money and refuses to acknowledge its receipt until the picture of the Virgin Mary, which had been given as surety, gives testimony. *Rv^3*, fol. 56^v.

107. One-Eyed Knight. Cf. Groups II, 30 and III, 54; *Rv^3*, fol. 57^v.

108. Severed Hand. This is fundamentally the same narrative as in Group I,

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[84] The King of France is a witness in the story of Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, II, no. 281, 392-4. See Introduction to Jean Miélot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ed. G. F. Warner for the Roxburghe Club (Westminster, 1885), no. 39; *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 11872 (fol. 136), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 696 (38); *infra*, Group V, *Fp^3*, no. 23.

[85] Cf. Climente Sanchez, *El libro de exenplos*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio in *Romania*, VII (1878), no. 47, 511.

[86] Gil de Zamora similarly identifies Ebroin: . . . animam ebronii prepositi monasterii sancti galli, qui ab ordine apostatavit. . . . Fidel Fita, 'Cincuenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, VII (1885), no. 46, 132-3. For variants, cf. *supra*, Group I, note 55, *art. cit.*, 16.

[87] For the usual version of 'Jew Lends to Christian' cf. *infra*, *Fn^4*, no. 100 analyzed at the end of group IV. See also the variant in *Rv^3*, *infra*, no. 106. The four versions of the legend among which no. 103 is not found are given by Evelyn Faye Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 19, pp. 173-5.

[88] Compare this version with the story of Alfonso el Sabio. A squire is whipped by his captors, the Moors, because he grieves that he cannot celebrate the Feast of the Assumption. Mary releases him. *Op. cit.*, II, no. 227, 316-7.

[89] Cf. *infra*, note 113.

21, but with the slight difference that Pope Leo is not portrayed as having temptations against chastity after the kissing of his hand. He severs his hand because he no longer enjoys the sweetness of consolation in the saying of his Mass. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 57^v.[90]

109. Girl Named Mary. This version differs from nos. 37 and 57 in *Rv*^{3} (cf. *supra*). Upon finding out that the girl's name is Mary, the young man strikes his head against the wall and dies. The girl, in fear that she will be blamed for his death, prays to the Mother of God and he is resuscitated. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 58.

110. Fisherman Saved. A fisherman is in danger of drowning when a terrific wind threatens to capsize his boat. He prays to Mary in whose honor he has always fasted on Saturday, and there is a calm. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 58^v.

111. Bloody Dart.[91] This is a non-Marian-legend in which an archer, disappointed with his bad luck at dice, shoots at heaven. Three days later the dart falls stained with blood. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 58^v.

112. St. Gregory's Love of the Poor.[92] As a child St. Gregory is so lavish in almsgiving that his mother forbids it. One day while she is absent, he gives away all her provisions and, upon her return, she accuses him of disobedience. He then leads her to the granary and wine cellar, and she finds more than she had before. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 59.

113. Virgin Comes to the Devil Instead of his Victim. Cf. Groups I, 29, II and III, 1; *Rv*^{3}, fol. 59.

114. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. Unlike no. 105 in *Rv*^{3} (cf. *supra*) the son is to be hanged in punishment for wrong-doing.[93] *Rv*^{3}, fol. 60.

115. Rejuvenated Monk.[94] An old monk is much concerned because he is unable to practice his former devotions in honor of the Mother of God. He suddenly finds himself young and is unrecognized by his fellow-religious. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 60.

116. Christ-Child Taken Because Son Becomes a Monk. A mother has placed her child from infancy in the care of the Virgin. When he enters the Franciscan Order, she at first attempts to remove him from the monastery by force, then is just about to seize the image of the Christ-Child from a statue of Mary, when the Virgin speaks, reprimanding her for her blindness. The mother's chagrin is changed to joy in her son's vocation. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 60^v.

117. Resuscitated Girl.[95] A young girl, deeply religious, remains alone at home to spend the time in prayer. Her privacy is intruded upon by a young man in her father's service. Seeing that she will not yield to his advances, he beheads her. Coming to his senses, and most contrite, he confesses all to his uncle, a bishop. The girl is restored to life by the Virgin Mary, a circlet of gold marking the wound. The boy becomes a Friar Minor. *Rv*^{3}, fol. 60^v.

118. Boy Saved From Drowning. Cf. Group III, 31; *Rv*^{3}, fol. 61^v.

119. Child Saved From Fire. Cf. Group III, 51; *Rv*^{3}, fol. 62.

120. Jewish Boy. Cf. Group I, 57; *Rv*^{3}, fol. 62^v.

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[90] Cf. *supra*, *Rv*^{3}, no. 38.

[91] Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, II, no. 154, 225-6 with variants in I, xvii-xviii; A. G. Little, *op. cit.*, no. 193, p. 111 with variants on p. 154, note 193. Similar tales may be found in *Mss* British Museum *Harley* 268 (fol. 4^v) and *Harley* 3244 (fol. 72^v), cf. Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 560 (9) and 458 (8).

[92] Bonavesin da Riva narrates a similar story of St. Boniface on the authority of St. Gregory:

> Ancora san Grigol si narra d'un fantin
> k'haveva nom Bonifacio. . . .

Cf. *Vulgare de Eleemosynis*, ed. I Bekker in the *Bericht über die Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Konigl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1850), pp. 451-3, ll. 546-609.

[93] Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, no. 76, pp. 122-3.

[94] Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, no. 141, pp. 210-1; Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 26, pp. 50-1; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 27, pp. 49-50 and no. 32, p. 276. The same story is in *Ms* Milan Ambrosiano C 150 *inf.*, no. 53, fols. 27^v-8.

[95] *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ministrorum ordinis Fratrum Minorum* in *Analecta Franciscana* III (Quaracchi, 1897), 294. In this Latin version the girl's Guardian Angel joins her head to her body. The miracle is said to have happened in the time of Brother John of Parma (1243-57). See also Gil de Zamora in *Boletín*, XIII, 189, no. 52.

121. Rejected Suitor Becomes Franciscan. A young girl prays that her rejected suitor will become a Franciscan. He does so. Later she sends for him to be present at her death. The burial rites are being performed when he arrives. The dead girl speaks, telling him of her own glory and foretelling that the Virgin Mary and St. Francis will come for his soul within thirty days. He dies according to her prophecy. Rv^3, fol. 62^v.

122. Four Caskets.[96] A king's barons are indignant when he dismounts and shows respect to two friars in patched habits. Later the king makes them choose between four caskets, two of gold and silver, filled with bones and putrefying matter and two of wood, covered with haircloth, but containing precious stones and perfumes. After their ill choice he upbraids them for their love of exterior splendor and their neglect of interior virtue. Rv^3, fol. 63^v.

123. Unworthy Communion.[97] This is a Eucharistic *exemplum* in which a monk, who has concealed a grevious sin in confession and who has been warned of his unworthiness by St. Bernard, falls dead as the saint gives him the Host. Rv^3, fol. 64.

124. Animal Adores the Host.[98] This is a non-Marian *exemplum* in which a Jew starves a puppy for two days, then offers it a consecrated Host with unconsecrated ones. The animal eats all except the former, before which it kneels. Many Jews are converted. Rv^3, fol. 64.

Nos. 125-127 correspond to nos. 17, 18, 20 in Group II (cf. *supra*).

Nos. 128-187 agree with the legends in the *Libro del Naufragio* or Group I.

As Duccio di Gano writes in his prologue *ha tratto di più volumi*. Rv^3 is the one compilation in which the compiler drew from all four Groups analyzed in this study:

1. Nos. 1-28, 30-31, 33, 37, 41-46, 48-53, 57-59, 61, 65-66, 71-72 correspond to the first fifty-three legends of Fn^4, considered in Group IV.
2. Nos. 73-81, 93-100, 107, 125-128 correspond to legends in Group II.
3. Nos. 55, 57, 59, 60-63, 67-70, 118-119 agree with tales in the *Libro del Cavaliere* or Group III; nos. 8, 12, 23, 29 (47), 34, 40-41, 45, 113 are similar in subject to legends in this series.
4. Nos. 128-187 are a literal rendering of the legends in Group I, except for no. 184 which is an original version of the 'Virgin Acts as Knight.' Other tales which are on subjects found in Group I are nos. 3, 21, 27, 32-35, 56, 102 and 105.

Nos. 31-36, 65-66 are stories from the *HM* series, a group of legends which constitute the oldest of the Marian collections and make up the first seventeen numbers in the Pez collection. The *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great are the source of nos. 82, 86 and 87. Duccio di Gano also drew freely from the chronicles of various religious Orders: Franciscans figure in nos. 26, 88, 116, 117 and 121; Dominicans in nos. 16, 17 and 20; Cistercians in nos. 11, 41, 55, 58, 67, 90 and 123. Sixteen[99] of the tales are non-Marian and many of these are Eucharistic

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[96] This is a non-Marian legend which forms the second half of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. According to Thomas F. Crane, the earliest European mediaeval version is the *exemplum* of Jacques de Vitry (*op. cit.*, no. 67, pp. 153 ff.) See also F. Liebrecht, 'Die Quellen des *Barlaam und Josaphat*,' *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, II (1860), 314 ff. Cf. *Mss* British Museum *Additional* 17299 (fol. 13^v) described by Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 122 (2, 3) and British Museum *Additional* 11284 (fol. 67^v) analyzed by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 398 (458). Bonavesin da Riva in his legend, 'De rege qui amplectebatur pauperes' tells of the brother who rebukes the king and hears the trumpet of doom sound that night. There is no mention made of the caskets, cf. *Vulgare de Eleemosynis*, no. 6, pp. 462-4, ll. 989-1054.

[97] J. T. Welter (ed.), *Speculum laicorum*, no. 269c, p. 55. See also *Mss* British Museum *Additional* 17723 (fol. 68) and *Additional* 18351 (fol. 43) as described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 407 (5) and 420 (69).

[98] See *Ms* British Museum *Royal* 15 *D.v.* (fol. 345) in Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 448 (39).

[99] Cf. nos. 48, 52, 53, 71, 83, 84, 86-9, 91, 111, 112, 122-4.

exempla. The compiler does not hesitate to tell the same legend twice if he finds it given in more detail in another source. No. 27, 'Light on the Masthead,' is briefly sketched; no. 129 is a much longer version from the *Libro del Naufragio.*[100] For this reason his compilation is of unequal merit. Some of the legends are summarily told, while others have great vividness of narration and dialogue.

3. ANALYSIS OF UNRELATED LEGENDS IN Fn^4

It has already been shown in this study that the compiler of *Ms Magliabechiano* XXXVIII.70 (Fn^4) had various sources: 1. *Ms* Vaticano *Barberiniano lat.* 4032 (Rv^3) for nos. 1-53; 2. Group II for nos. 67-97; 3. Group III for nos. 104-152. It remains to describe the tales not included in the above or nos. 54-66, and 98-103.

54. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION.[101] During the siege of a castle, Alberto, one of the defenders, is mortally wounded but miraculously lives until he has confessed — a grace which is attributed to his having fasted on the vigils of the Feast of th Annunciation. Fn^4, fol. 36.

55. THE LION OF ST. JEROME.[102] A lion, tamed by St. Jerome, is set to guard the monastery ass and is made to do its work when the ass is stolen. Some time later the thieves stop at the monastery but flee when the lion stalks out to retrieve its charge. Fn^4, fol. 36^v.

56. NO DRINK TO A LAZY MONK.[103] A monk who has ceased to rise for Matins reforms, when he sees a fervent monk receiving from Mary a drink from a golden goblet. Fn^4, fol. 37.

57. SLEEPING MONK SHOWN THE CRUCIFIED.[104] A monk who makes no endeavor to refrain from sleep during the Office is awakened by Mary and shown the suffering Christ. Fn^4, fol. 37^v.

58. ECSTASY DURING *TE DEUM.*[105] Cf. Group II, 27; Fn^4, fol. 37^v.

59. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY.[106] A knight is summoned to appear before his lord and is embarrassed to do so in his impoverished condition. The devil appears, promising him great wealth if he will deny God and Mary. He refuses and suddenly finds himself in a position where he can appear at court as honorably as other knights. Fn^4, fol. 37^v.

60. STRIFE FOR A RUSTIC'S SOUL.[107] A peasant, who has been most devout to the Mother of God, lies dying. Angels and devils strive for his soul at his death and, after a brief period in purgatory, he is conducted to heaven by the angels. Fn^4, fol. 38^v.

61. STAINED CORPORAL.[108] A youthful priest, named Anselm, while offering Mass in the Church of St. Michael at Chiusa, spills the chalice of wine upon the corporal. Upon his fervent prayer Mary with her angels appears and removes the stain. Fn^4, fol. 38^v.

62. SAVED FROM A SHIPWRECK. A monk, Brother James, leaves his Order and, as captain of a ship, becomes quite rich; however, while acquiring great wealth,

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[100] Cf. *supra*, Group 1, 2, *art. cit.*, 12.

[101] Cf. *supra*, Group I, *Ma* 77-*Rc* 72, *art. cit.*, 25; Group II, 29 and 33, *ibid.*, 33-4; III, 18, *ibid.*, 39; *infra*, Group V, Fr^{10}, nos. 45, 46, 47, 75, 77, and 122.

[102] The story is told of St. Gerasimus by Johannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, 107, (PL 74, 172). It is later attributed to St. Jerome, cf. *Acta sanctorum, 30 September*, p. 661. See also *Legenda aurea*, cap. 146, pp. 655-6; J. Ulrich, 'Recueil d'exemples en ancien italien,' *Romania*, XIII (1884), no. 17, 38; *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 22557 (fol. 30), a collection of Italian tales and fables, described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 180 (17). It is scarcely a Mary legend; only the final sentence contains a reference to the Virgin: . . . et quelli monaci sempre la groliosa (*sic*) Vergine Maria ringratiavano.

[103] Cf. *supra*, Group III, 29, *art. cit.*, 40.

[104] Compare with the version of Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 43, pp. 74-5.

[105] The present version, no. 58, agrees substantially with no. 81 in Fn^4 drawn from Group II, 27, *art. cit.*, 33.

[106] Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 43, p. 58.

[107] No. 60 is somewhat similar to 'Landmarks Removed,' cf. *supra*, Group I, 50, *art. cit.*, 20.

[108] In the Pez collection the miracle also occurs in the Church of St. Michael in Chiusa, Piedmont, cf. Crane, *op. cit.*, no. 14, pp. 16-8 with variants on p. 88. Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 608 (20).

he never fails to say five *Aves* daily for his eternal salvation. During a storm at sea his ship is wrecked. He has recourse to prayer and like an arrow he is brought to shore. He returns to his Order. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 38^v.

63. Lost Foot Restored.[109] Mary appears to a devotee in Viviers and with her own hands medicates his wounds and restores the use of his limb. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 39.

64. Almsgiving Patriarch.[110] The Patriarch of Constantinople regrets that he has nothing more to give away as alms. In a vision Mary commands him to offer Mass. At the Offertory two angels appear and leave much gold upon the altar, ordering him to give generously, out of love for God to whom belong all things. A short sermon on the hundredfold follows. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 39.

65. Wife and Mistress.[111] An injured wife asks the Virgin to avenge her on her husband's mistress. Mary informs her that she herself must first obtain the forgiveness of God. The wife pardons the sinner who repents. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 39^v.

66. Vision of St. Boniface. On the Feast of All Saints, Boniface is favored with a vision in which he beholds the Mother of God accorded a position at the right hand of her Son, there interceding for sinners. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 39^v. Nos. 67-97 correspond to legends in Group II (*supra*).

98. Girl Named Catherine or Mary. A man makes a resolution never to cause a girl named Catherine or Mary to lose her virginity. On one occasion when he finds that his companion's name is Catherine, he leaves her, and thanks to a providential storm evades pursuit. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 47.

99. Blaspheming Dicer.[112] A gambler blasphemes the name of Mary and is suddenly whisked away and never seen again. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 47.

100. Jew Lends to Merchant.[113] Theodosius[114] of Constantinople borrows money from Abraham, a Jew, giving a picture of the Virgin as security. He is still in Alexandria on the date of maturity and places the money and a note in a casket which he sets afloat on the waves, confident that it will arrive safely. The Jew rescues it from the sea but refuses to confess that he has received the money. Whereupon the Christian calls upon the image to speak in testimony of his payment of the debt. The Jew is converted by the miracle. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 47.

101. Taper Left Behind by an Angel.[115] Cf. Group I, 35. In this version the wife is prevented by her husband from going to Mass on the Feast of the Purification. She dreams that she is attending a Mass at the Offertory of which she receives a lighted candle and awakens to find it in her hand. The husband is unable to extinguish the flame and at the end of the second day the candle is borne in procession to the church where it immediately goes out. Thereafter he does not oppose her attendance at Mass. *Fn*^{4}, fol. 47^v.

102. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. A mother loses one of her children and takes the image of the Infant Jesus from the statute of the Madonna, intending to keep it until Mary has restored her child. She is robing the Christ-Child in

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[109] Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 4, p. 14 with variants on pp. cxii-cxiv; Crane, *op. cit.*, no. 18, pp. 89-90; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 51, pp. 200-1; *infra*, *Fr*^{10}, no. 115. The story in Group I, 59, *art. cit.*, 21, agrees more with the original version of Guibert de Nogent, *Liber de laude S. Marie,* xi (PL 156, 568-70).

[110] Compare no. 64 with the story of St. John the Almoner, *supra,* Group I, 40, *art. cit.*, 18.

[111] Guibert de Nogent, *op. cit.*, xii, *ibid.*, 576; Walter of Cluny, *De Miraculis B. Marie*, 2 (PL 173, 1382). For variants, cf. A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, 221, note 109; J. Morawski, 'Mélanges de littérature pieuse: Les miracles de Notre-Dame en vers français, I-III,' *Romania*, LXI (1935), 190-1.

[112] Alfonso el Sabio tells a similar tale of one who blasphemes the Blessed Sacrament, *op. cit.*, II, no. 238, 331-3.

[113] Add to the variants listed by Crane in his reprint of Pez (no. 33, pp. 97-9), R. Becker, *Gonzalos de Berceos Milagros und ihre Grundlagen mit einem Anhage: Mitteilungen aus der lat. Hs. Kopenhagen, Thott* 128, no. 27, pp. 84-6. Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 35, pp. 53-5, and E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 19, pp. 173-5, classify the different versions. Cf. *supra*, *Rv*^{3}, nos. 103 and 106.

[114] Instead of the traditional name of Theodore the compiler of *Fn*^{4} gives that of Theodosio. No names are given in *Fr*^{10}, no. 113 (cf. *infra*, Group V).

[115] Cf. Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 34, p. 53.

the richest of apparel when Mary appears and informs her where she will find her son.[116] Fn^4, fol. 47ᵛ.

103. Jewish Boy. Cf. Group I, 57.

Nos. 104 to the end of Fn^4 correspond to the legends in Group III (*supra*).

The compiler of Fn^4 displays less originality than Duccio di Gano of Pisa who frequently elaborates on his original and introduces a moralizing thought as a conclusion to a legend. He avoids repetition of subject matter, more than the compiler of Rv^3 and draws less from *exempla* in Franciscan, Dominican or Cistercian chronicles. There are fewer Eucharistic or non-Marian tales in his collection.

GROUP V.

1. MISCELLANEOUS MANUSCRIPTS OF MARY LEGENDS IN ITALIAN.

In the introduction to *Il libro dei cinquanta miracoli della Vergine* Levi d'Ancona indicates thirty-seven manuscripts containing Mary Legends in Italian.[1] The writer has added four to the list: two already considered in Group I, *Mss* Florence Bib. Medicea Laurenziana *Ashburnham* 546 (FLa^2) and Milan Bib. Ambrosiana P 172 *sup.* (*Ma*); two of minor importance, *Mss* Florence Bib. Riccardiana 1354 (Fr^{12}) and Riccardiana 1676 (Fr^{13}). Of these, only related manuscripts have been analyzed in Groups I to IV, fifteen fully and three partially. This study of the Mary legend in Italian would be incomplete without an analysis of the occasional legends in the manuscripts which remain.

Below to the left are listed the manuscripts yet to be treated; to the right those analyzed in the first four sections of this study.

BOLOGNA

Biblioteca Universitaria	
B^1—*Cod.* 158	
B^2—*Cod.* 2070	

FLORENCE

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale	
Fn^1—*Cod.* II.II.445	
Fn^2—*Cod.* II.IV.51	
Fn^3—*Cod.* II.IV.56	
	Fn^4—*Maglb.* XXXVIII.70, Groups, II, III, IV
Fn^5—*Maglb.* XXXVIII.110	
Fn^6—*Panciatichiano* XL	
Fp^1—*Palatino* XIX	
Fp^2—*Palatino* LIII (nos. 40-41)	Fp^2—Group I (nos. 1-39)
Fp^3—*Palatino* LXXIII (nos. 1, 2, 4-9, 19-26, 28-30)	Fp^3—Group II (nos. 3, 10-18, 27)
	Fp^4—*Palatino* CXXXVII, Groups I, IV
Biblioteca Laurenziana	
FLa^1—*Ashburnham* 394	
	FLa^2—*Ashburnham* 546, Group I
Biblioteca Riccardiana	
	Fr^1—Riccardiano 1277, Group III

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[116] Cf. *supra*, Groups I, 34, *art. cit.*, 17, and III, 47, *ibid.*, 42.

[1] Two of the thirty-seven manuscripts cited by Levi are in Latin: *Cod.* 292 (S^1) and *Cod.* 302 (S^2) in the library of the Monastery of St. Scholastica at Subiaco. Cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxi. A third manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco at Venice, *Ms* Marciano *it.*v.28. (V^1), contains miraculous events in the life of the Blessed Virgin while she lived on earth and an account of her Assumption into Heaven. As the tales are of a distinctly different category, the manuscripts will not be treated in this study. Cf. Sister Mary Vincentine, 'A Fifteenth-Century Italian Version of the *Transitus Mariae*,' *Italica*, XXVIII (1951), 23-7.

Fr^2—Riccardiano 1279
Fr^3—Riccardiano 1284, Group I
Fr^4—Riccardiano 1290
Fr^5—Riccardiano 1345 (nos. 37-43)
Fr^5—Group I (nos. 1-36)
Fr^6—Riccardiano 1406, Group I
Fr^7—Riccardiano 1408, Group II
Fr^8—Riccardiano 1431, Group II
Fr^9—Riccardiano 1661
Fr^{10}—Riccardiano 1675
Fr^{11}—Riccardiano 1700
Fr^{12}—Riccardiano 1354
Fr^{13}—Riccardiano 1676
Biblioteca Landau
Fl—Landau 213

MILAN

Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Ma—Ambrosiano P 172 *sup.*, Group I

NAPLES

Biblioteca Nazionale
N^1—*Cod.* VI.F.12, Group III
N^2—*Cod.* XII.F.25, Group III

PADUA

Biblioteca Antoniana
P^1—*Cod.* 220

ROME

Biblioteca Casanatense
Rc—Casanatense 281, Group I

VATICAN CITY

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Rv^1—Vat. *lat.* 5086
Rv^2—Vat. *lat.* 8085, Group II
Rv^3—Vat. *Barberiniano lat.* 4032, Groups I-IV

VERONA

Biblioteca Comunale
V^2—*Cod.* 1224

Only one of the manuscripts to be analyzed in Group V is of considerable length: *Ms* Fr^{10} with 135 legends. A mere cross-reference will suffice for tales similar in narrative to legends in Groups I to IV of this study.

2. ANALYSIS OF OCCASIONAL MARY LEGENDS IN MANUSCRIPTS OF GROUP V.

B^1

B^1—*Cod.* 158[2], a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Regia Biblioteca Universitaria at Bologna, contains seven legends which occupy fols. 13-21^v. Two indicated by Levi are non-Marian.

1. CHASTE WIFE.[3] This is a variant of the legend, 'The Chaste Empress.' A

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[2] Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia* XV (Forlì, 1909), p. 157; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. liv-lv.

[3] Francesco Zambrini has printed the legend from B^1, cf. *Novelle d'incerti autori del secolo xiv* (Scelta di curiosità letterarie,

woman of high nobility refuses the advances of her brother-in-law who avenges himself by killing her only child and accusing her of the deed. The credulous husband invites her to accompany him on a trip to Alexandria, intending to kill her secretly. He is dissuaded by her piteous confession of innocence and ties her to a tree instead. The wild beasts do not touch her, and in a vision a beautiful lady tells her to follow a lion as guide and to pick the foliage from a certain tree. She does so and finds that it will cure the sick. The brother-in-law, stricken with an incurable disease, hears of her and begs to be cured. She forces him to confess his misdeeds and is reconciled with her husband whom she persuades to build a monastery and convent into which they retire. B^1, fol. 13.

2. ABBESS. Cf. Group III, 61; B^1, fol. 19.

3. INCEST. Cf. Group II, 31; B^1, fol. 19^v.

4. GIRL NAMED MARY. Cf. Group III, 24; B^1, fol. 20. In this version the youth dies of remorse[4] and the girl conceals his body under a bed. All the church bells in the city begin to ring and continue to do so until she has made a full confession of the incident and the youth is buried in consecrated ground.

5. FAILURE TO DO PENANCE. This is not a Mary Legend. A count never performs any penance for his misdeeds. One day while banqueting, he vaingloriously counts the number of his subordinates. Soon afterwards he jousts with a black knight, is thrown up into the air and, when his body descends, it disappears and, according to the tale, is whisked off into hell. B^1, fol. 20^v

6. NO DENIAL OF MARY. In this version the knight will not deny the Virgin to obtain riches. He is signaled out by Mary who bows to him[5] and to no other passing her statue. This is told to the bishop who enriches him. B^1, fol. 21.

7. DEATH FROM CONTRITION. This is a non-Marian legend in which a king confesses to a friar who, in consideration of his penitent's sad disposition, does not give him a penance. The friar leaves him weeping over his sins and later finds him dead. When he asks for prayers for the king's soul, a voice answers that he has no need of them. B^1, fol. 21^v.

B^2

B^2—*Cod.* 2070[6] is also a fourteenth-century manuscript in the University Library at Bologna. It contains several *exempla* which are non-Marian and one only which may be classified as a Mary Legend.

1. INCEST. Cf. Group II, 31; B^1, fols. 21^v-22^v.

Fn^1

Fn^1—Cod. II.II.445[7] in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence was compiled by Zanobi di Paolo d'Agnolo Perini in the years 1407 to 1409. It contains the famous Fridolin legend, dated February 4, 1408. Cf. 'Youth Saved from Death,' Group I, *Ma* 81-*Rc* 75[8]; Fn^1, fols. 60^v-61.

Fn^2

Fn^2—*Cod.* II.IV.51[9] is the work of the Augustinian monk, Simon da Cascia, who used such sources as the works of Peter Damian, Jacques de Vitry, the

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I, Bologna, 1864), no. 2, pp. 31-80). This version corresponds closely to the miracle play 'Santa Guglielma,' cf. A. D'Ancona (ed.) *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI* III (Florence, 1872), pp. 199-234. For references to variants, cf. Levi, *op. cit.*, no. 15, pp. cxxvi-cxxviii; E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 14, pp. 168-70.

[4] Cf. *supra*, Group IV, 37.

[5] Mary bows to the knight in the version of Jacques de Vitry, cf. T. F. Crane, *op. cit.*, no. 296, pp. 124-5 with variants on pp. 263-4; see also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* (Venice, 1494), VII, 106; Isnard in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique . . . du vendomois*, XXVI, no. 10, 48; Villecourt in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLII, no. 50, 60: *infra*, Fr^{11}, no. 3. For the version which derives from Caesarius of Heisterbach, cf. *supra*, Group I, 73, *art. cit.*, 23-4.

[6] Francesco Zambrini, *Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV* (Bologna, 1884), cols. 712-3; G. Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, XXIII, pp. 19-20; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lv.

[7] G. Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 128; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lv-lvi.

[8] As in Group I, *Ma* 81-*Rc* 75, *art. cit.* 26, the king is persuaded that there is an intrigue between the innocent youth and the queen.

[9] G. Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, X, p. 107; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lvi.

Vitae patrum etc. Levi lists Fn^{2} as containing five 'exempli'[10] from the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach. A close examination of the narratives does not permit one to include them in the category of Mary legends. The one for which Levi gives the *incipit, Legessi scritto da Cesario che ffu uno cherico grande prebendata e calonaco di Parigi* . . . , is drawn from the tale in Caesarius which begins: *Parisiis in ecclesia sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae canonicus qui nuper obiit*. . . .[11] It is the story of a canon of Paris who appears after his death to say that he is damned because he did not have a true contrition for his sins. He is a canon of the Church of Notre-Dame, but the Virgin Mary plays no role in the legend.

Fn^{3}

Fn^{3}—*Cod.* II.IV.56[12] is a collection of religious *exempla* and legends of the saints, compiled by Tommaso de' Pulci who began his work, April 15, 1380. Levi notes two tales[13], but just one is a Mary legend.

1. Suor Dea and Giubideo. Cf. 'Eyes Removed,' Groups II, 24 and III, 13 and 51*A*. Giubideo's visit to the convent chapel, his love for Sister Dea, his threats because she will not requite his passion, his contrition when she plucks out her eyes which he said inspired his love, are most dramatically told in this version. Fn^{3}, fols. 42-46^{v}.[14]

Fn^{5}

Fn^{5}—*Magliabechiano* XXXVIII.110, a fourteenth-century manuscript of Venetian origin, has been edited by Wilhelm Friedmann.[15] Legends, properly Marian, are the following:

7. Suor Dea and Zibideo. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fn^{3}; Fn^{5}, fols. 15^{v}-22.[16]

10. Theophilus. Cf. Group I, 43; Fn^{5}, fol. 36.[17]

11. Julian the Apostate. Cf. Group I, 47; Fn^{5}, fol. 37^{v}.[18]

12. Devil as Servant. Group I, *Ma* 78-*Rc* 73 where the devil's identity is discovered by his remarks on the age of the moon; Fn^{5}, fols. 40^{v}-42^{v}.[19]

16. Plague at Rome. During a pestilence in Rome Pope Gregory carries in procession the image of the Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke. As the *Regina caeli* is sung and the image advances, the air becomes purified. At the Tiber an angel is seen to sheathe his sword above the fortification of Crescentius which is thereafter called the Castel San Angelo. Fn^{5}, fol. 57.[28]

Fn^{6}

Fn^{6}—*Panciatichiano* XL[21] is a legendary of the fourteenth century, containing two Marian tales which are also found in *Ms Palatino* LXXIII (Fp^{3}, *infra*):

1. Two Devils in Prison. Cf. Group I, 5; Fn^{6}, fols. 69^{v}-73; Fp^{3}, no. 30, fols. 215-218.

2. Prayer of Childless Woman Heard. A very rich woman prays to the Mother of God for a child in the hope that this will keep her husband from

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[10] *Loc. cit.*,

[11] *Dialogus miraculorum* II, 15, i, 83-4.

[12] G. Mazzatinti, *op. cit.*, X, p. 109; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lvi-lvii.

[13] The legend excluded from consideration here is that of 'Vergogna.' It ocurs in other manuscripts analyzed in this study but is not noted by Levi, cf. Fn^{6}, fols. 57-63 and Fr^{9}, fols. 22-4. See also F. Zambrini, *Novella d'un barone di Faraone* (Lucca, 1853), pp. 1-33; A. D'Ancona, *La leggenda di Vergogna* (Scelta di curiosità letterarie, 99, Bologna, 1869), pp. 1-60; R. Köhler, 'La leggenda di Vergogna,' *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, XI (1870), 313-24. Fn^{3} likewise contains the story of St. Basil from which the Mary legend, 'Love by Black Art,' originated (cf. *supra*, Group I, 13 and note 31, *art. cit.*, 13), fols. 187-8^{v}.

[14] Cf. *infra*, Group V, Fn^{5}, fols. 15^{v}-22; Fr^{4}, fols. 189-92; Fr^{11}, fols. 55-61; Fr^{12}, fols. 57^{v}-9.

[15] *Altitalienische Heiligenlegenden nach der Hs XXXVIII. 110 der Bib. Naz. Centrale in Florenz* (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, XIV, Dresden, 1908).

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-22.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-2.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8. Cf. *S. Gregorii Magni vita*, i (PL 75, 280); *Legenda aurea*, cap. 46, pp. 191-2 (4); Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 44, p. 280; *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 33956 (fol. 70^{v}) described by Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 672 (1). See also Silvano Razzi (ed.), *De' miracoli di nostra donna*, III, no. 1, pp. 168-9.

[21] A. Bartoli, *I codici Panciatichiani* I (Florence, 1879), pp. 82-3; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

committing adultery. One night she dreams of a monastery and awakens with the assurance that she will have a son. As an act of gratitude she persuades her husband to build a monastery like to her dream even before her son's birth and, later at the death of the son, both devote themselves to the service of God. Fn^6, fols. 86-89; Fp^3, no. 29, fols. 212-215.

Fp^1

Fp^1—*Palatino XIX*,[22] a manuscript of the fifteenth century, contains thirteen[23] Mary legends. The compiler notes that the dignity of the Blessed Virgin Mary demands that more space be given to her miracles, but because there are no more in the *Reginale* from which he has copied these, he must include so few:

1. VISION OF JUDGMENT. Cf. Group I, 32; Fp^1, fol. 134^v.
2. THE JEWISH BOY.[24] Cf. Group I, 57; Fp^1, fol. 135^v.
3. MONKS BY THE RIVERSIDE. Cf. Group I, 30; Fp^1, fol. 136.
4. PRAYER PUTS DEVIL TO FLIGHT. Cf. Group I, 58; Fp^1, fol. 136.
5. CHRIST-CHILD SEIZED AS PLEDGE. Cf. Group I, 34; Fp^1, fol. 136.
6. OCTAVE OF THE NATIVITY OF THE VIRGIN. Cf. Group I, 26; Fp^1, fol. 136^v.
7. VIRGIN ACTS AS KNIGHT. Cf. Group I, *Ma* and *Rc*, n. 115; Fp^1, fol. 137.
8. THE VIRGIN'S CHOIR. Cf. Group I, 33; Fp^1, fol. 137^v.
9. THIEF SUSTAINED. Cf. Group I, 60; Fp^1, fol. 137^v.
10. MARY AND BRIDEGROOM. Cf. Group I, 61; Fp^1, fol. 138.
11. PRIEST OF ONE MASS. Cf. Group I, 63; Fp^1, fol. 138^v.
12. VISION OF JUDGMENT. Cf. Group I, 62; Fp^1, fol. 138^v.
13. THEOPHILUS. Cf. Group I, 43; Fp^1, fols. 139-140.

It is to be noted that all thirteen legends are on subjects found in the *Libro del Naufragio* or Group I. This agreement occurs in the main details of the narratives, not in the wording of the text.

Fp^2

Fp^2—*Palatino* LIII,[25] a collection of the fifteenth century, contains forty-one[26] Mary legends of which thirty-nine have already been analyzed in Group I. The two tales which remain are as follows:

40. IMPERSONATED BY AN ANGEL. Cf. Group II, Rv^2, no. 21[27]; Fp^2, fol. 50.

41. THE VIRGIN'S RING OF ESPOUSAL. Cf. Group II, 20; Fp^2, fols. 54^v-56. The two legends are also found in *Ms* Riccardiano 1345 (Fr^5, *infra*).

Fp^3

Fp^3—Palatino LXXIII[28] is a fifteenth-century manuscript in which the thirty Mary legends occupy fols. 198-219. Legends nos. 3, 10-18, and 27 correspond to Group II, but the compiler selects the others from various sources.[29] The subject matter of the tales is as follows:

1. VIRGIN COMES TO DEVIL INSTEAD OF HIS VICTIM. Cf. Groups II and III, 1; Fp^3, fol. 198.
2. THIEF SUSTAINED. Cf. Group I, 60; Fp^3, fol. 198^v.
3. DAINTIES COVERED BY A SOILED CLOTH. Cf. Groups II, 28 and III, 53; Fp^3, fol. 199.
4. THE JEWISH BOY.[30] Cf. Group I, 57; Fp^3, fol. 199.

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[22] L. Gentile, *I codici Palatini* I (Rome 1889), pp. 20-1; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lviii-lix.

[23] Levi *(loc. cit.)* lists twelve but overlooks no. 1, 'Vision of Judgment.'

[24] The legend begins: In una città d'Abruçi in anni domini 628 . . . In the early Greek version of Evagrius Scholasticus the incident is said to have happened during the patriarchate of Menas of Constantinople (536-52), cf. E. Wolter, *Der Judenknabe* (Bibliotheca Normannica, II, Halle, 1879), pp. 28-9.

[25] L. Gentile, *op. cit.*, I, p. 61; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lix-lx.

[26] Cf. *supra*, Group I, note 15, *art. cit.*, 11.

[27] The legend 'Impersonated by an Angel,' does not properly belong to Group II but is analyzed at the end of this series.

[28] L. Gentile, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lx. Cf. *supra*, Group II, note 9, *art. cit.*, p. 30.

[29] It is to be understood that cross-references to summaries in Groups I to IV presuppose an agreement in narrative only; the wording in every case is different.

[30] Minor details in the version of Fp^3 resemble those of *Ms* Paris Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 410 (fol. 41), cf. E. Wolter, *op. cit.*, no. 26, p. 124.

5. Leper in Bed.[31] A saintly woman, who has a great repugnance for the sick, overcomes this feeling when she finds that a leper, to whom she has given a bed, miraculously vanishes, leaving behind him a celestial odor. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 199^v.

6. Priest of One Mass. This is similar to the legend, 'St. Thomas of Canterbury,' in which the bishop's hairshirt is given as a sign of Mary's intervention (cf. Group I, 72). The name of the bishop is not given. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 200 .

7. Jerome Made Bishop of Pavia. Cf. Group IV, 36; *Fp*^{3}, fol. 200.

8. The Child and the Abbot.[32] An abbot assumes responsibility for his orphaned nephew. The little five-year-old takes delight in feeding the image of the Christ-Child painted on a wall. One day he is spied upon by a monk who sees the image take the bread and invite the orphan to dine with him. The abbot is told and realizes the significance of these words. He has the child include himself in the invitation. On the day foretold both die a happy death, a prelude to their eternal banquet. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 200^v.

9. Musa. Cf. Group IV, 82; *Fp*^{3}, fol. 201. The compiler of *Fp*^{3} gives the story on the authority of 'santo Girolamo,' whereas its source is in the *Dialogues* of Gregory.[33]

For nos. 10-18 cf. Group II, 5-6, 8-12, 14-15.

19. Unwilling to Deny Mary.[34] In this version a rich and youthful merchant enrages the devil because he will not deny Mary in order to win the love of a girl. The evil spirit assumes the young man's form, tries to ruin his reputation and even succeeds in having him accused of murder. The youth goes to confession and the devil becomes powerless. The murdered man suddenly rises and vanishes in stench. Th young man enters a monastery. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 204.

20. Seducer Punished. A young girl in Apulia is led by thoughts of death to reform her life. As she is going to a hermitage to confession, a young man uses flattery and threats to shake her good resolutions. He is seized by evil spirits. His body, found in pieces, is buried outside the cemetery where his moans at night disturb the caretaker. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 205^v.

21. Brother of the King of Hungary. Cf. Group I, 48; *Fp*^{3}, fol. 206.

22. Vision of Six Virgins. A girl, devout to Mary, enters a religious Order. She has a vision of six virgins devoted to the service of the Mother of God and understands that she is to be the seventh. She has a happy death. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 207.

23. No Denial of Mary by French Knight. Cf. Group IV, *Rv*^{3}, no. 92; *Fp*^{3}, fol. 207.

24. Thief Sustained. Cf. *supra,* Group V, *Fp*^{3}, no. 2. In this version Mary not only sustains the thief three days, but also intercepts the weapon with which they would pierce his throat. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 208.

25. Reform of Two Youths. Two youths are companions in evil. One reforms and enters an Order dedicated to Mary; the other, visiting him, mocks at him and at the Order. Suddenly the scoffer finds himself stripped naked and outside the hospice. The shame of the punishment brings him to his senses and he joins his companion in his life of reform. *Fp*^{3}, fol. 208.

26. Laborer Prays for Usurer. Cf. Group IV, 49; Fp^3, fol. 209.[35]

27. Incest. Cf. Group II, 31; *Fp*^{3}, fol. 210.

28. Charitable Almsman. Cf. Group I, 19; *Fp*^{3}, fol. 211^v.

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[31] See Crane's edition of the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, no. 95, pp. 44-5 with variants listed on pp. 174-5.

[32] No. 8 is a variant of the legend 'Bread offered to the Christ-Child' (cf. *supra,* Group I, 20, *art. cit.,* 14). See Ruth Tryon, 'Miracles of Our Lady in Middle-English Verse,' *PMLA,* XXXVIII (1923), 386-8; Alfonso el Sabio. *op. cit.,* II, no. 353, pp. 22-2; E. F. Wilson. *op. cit.,* no. 49, pp. 198-9; *infra,* Group V, *Fr*^{10}, no. 65.

[33] *Dialogi* IV, 18, pp. 255 ff.

[34] For the ordinary version, cf. Group I, 73, *art. cit.,* 23-4.

[35] In the version of Group IV, 49 the laborer stays so long at the Mass that he is too late for the hour of hiring; in *Fp*^{3} he is unable to find any employment and is found by the usurer as he laments his plight before a statue of the Virgin.

29. PRAYER OF CHILDLESS WOMAN HEARD. Cf. *supra,* Group V, Fn^6, no. 2; Fp^2, fol. 212.

30. TWO DEVILS IN PRISON. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fn^6, no. 1; Fp^2, fols. 215-218^v.

FLa^1

FLa^1—*Ashburnham* 394[36] in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence is an anonymous compilation of Venetian origin, having the date October, 1448 on fol. 60^v. The content of its two Mary legends is as follows:

1. HERMIT OVERCOMES DEVIL'S WILES. The devil, first in the form of a hermit, then as a knight, promises a hermit 500 ducats towards the construction of a monastery if he will be his guide through a forest. The hermit accepts the offer but becomes suspicious when the knight takes a girl on the crop of the horse and later suggests that they share a room in a questionable hostel. There is a scene. The girl cuts her throat and the hermit is accused of the murder. Before he is beheaded, he is permitted to say a short prayer to the Mother of God who inspires him to make the Sign of the Cross over the body of the dead girl who rises and vanishes in stench. FLa^1, fol. 5^v.

2. CRUST IN CHRIST'S WOUNDS. Cf. Group I, 77; FLa^1, fol. 7.

Fr^2

Fr^2—Riccardiano 1279[37] in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence is a miscellaneous manuscript of the fifteenth century, containing one Mary legend:

1. WIFE RESUSCITATED. Cf. Group I, 80; Fr^2, fol. 74^{r-v}.[38]

Fr^4

Fr^4—Riccardiano 1290[39] is a fifteenth-century legendary. Of the ten *miracoli*[40] listed by Levi only one is Marian:

1. SUOR DEA AND GIUBIDEO. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fn^3; Fr^4, fols. 189-192.

Fr^5

Fr^5—Riccardiano 1345, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, is the work of a Brigittine Nun,[41] who includes in her compilation thirty-six of the legends in the *Libro del Naufragio.*[42] It is likely that she used *Ms* Fp^2 for her nos. 1-38 and the *Libro del Cavaliere* for others. The content of the seven tales which have not yet been analyzed is as follows:

37. IMPERSONATED BY AN ANGEL. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fp^2, no. 40; II, Rv^2, no. 21; Fr^5, fol. 142.

38. THE VIRGIN'S RING OF ESPOUSALS. Cf. Fp^2, no. 41; Groups II, 20 and III, 45; Fr^5, fol. 144.

39. PRAYERS OFFERED FOR A ROBBER'S SOUL. Cf. Group III, 26; Fr^5, fol. 145.

40. YOUTH SAVED FROM DEATH. Cf. Group I, *Ma* 81-*Rc* 75; Fr^5, fol. 145^v.

41. MOTHER-IN-LAW AND SON-IN-LAW. Cf. Groups II and III, 4; Fr^5, fol. 146^v.

42. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. Cf. Groups II and III, 5; Fr^5, fol. 146^v.

43. PACT WITH THE DEVIL. Cf. Groups II, 10 and III, 9; Fr^5, fol. 147.

Fr^9

Fr^9—Riccardiano 1661[43] was compiled in 1371 by Philip, a notary in the house of James *de Humeltatibus de contrata Sancti Quirici Verone.* It contains twenty-two prose legends of which three[44] are strictly Marian:

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[36] Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxi.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. lxii-lxiii; S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze: I codici italiani* I (Rome, 1900), p. 340.

[38] 'Wife Resuscitated' in Fr^2 contains many details in common with the Latin version in the collection of Roc-Amadour, cf. Edmond Albe, *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au xii^e siècle* (Paris, 1907), no. 7, p. 85. Cf. *supra*, Group I, note 117, *art. cit.*, 25.

[39] S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 348-9; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxiii.

[40] No. 9 listed by Levi is similar to the non-Marian tale, 'Desecration of the Host,' found in two large collections, Rv^3 (fols. 29-30) and Fn^4 (fol. 32^{r-v}) described in Group IV, 48.

[41] Cf. *supra*, Group I, note 16, *art. cit.*, 11.

[42] She follows the sequence of the *Libro del Naufragio*, omitting only nos. 4, 7 and 17. Cf. *supra*, Group I.

[43] S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 612-4; Levi, *op. cit.*, p. lxv; A. Graf, 'Di un codice riccardiano di leggende volgari,' *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, III (1884), 401-14.

[44] Levi and Morpurgo list only one *(loc. cit.)*

18. Jewish Boy. Cf. Group I, 57; Fr^{9}, fol. 43^{v}.

19. Silent Vigil as Penance.[45] After an evil life a knight of Navara repents and is given as penance the spending of an entire night in church in silent vigil before an image of Christ and Mary. He is unshaken despite the devil's attempts by various delusions to make him break his silence and leave. Fr^{9}, fols. 45-46^{v}.

21. Mary and Bridegroom. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fp^{1}, no. 10; Fr^{9}, 47^{v}-48.

Fr^{10}

Fr^{10}—Riccardiano 1675,[46] a palimpsest of the fifteenth century, contains 135 legends.[47] The compiler is not a mere copyist. The wording of the text for tales which occur with the greatest frequency in manuscripts considered so far is usually different. Many of the legends are peculiar to Fr^{10}. The content of each legend is as follows:

1. Fighting Devils with a Taper.[48] A sinner, who has burned a blessed candle daily in honor of the Mother of God, has a vision of judgment. When the devils come to claim his soul, he is permitted to fight them off with a candle. He awakens and makes immediate resolutions to amend his life. Fr^{10}, fol. 1.

2. The Thief-Monk.[49] An abbot reluctantly admits into the monastery a thief, who, as a religious, is most devout to the Virgin Mary and advances rapidly in holiness. Upon his death-bed he has a vision of Mary, standing at the end of the ladder of perfection, ready to welcome him into heaven. Fr^{10}, fol. 1^{v}.

3. Girl Named Mary.[50] In this version a knight on his way to a tournament spares a girl's virginity because her name is Mary and makes it possible for her to enter a convent. He is killed and the Virgin appears to the girl and secures for the knight proper burial. Fr^{10}, fol. 2.

4. Mary Assists at Death-Bed. Cf. Group III, 12; Fr^{10}, fol. 3.

5. Charitable Almsman. Cf. Groups I, 19, IV, 32 and 56; Fr^{10}, fol. 3^{v}.

6. The Dullard Hermit. A hermit of very little intelligence can say only the *Pater* and *Ave*. At death he worries and is shown that his few good deeds are of weighty merit. Fr^{10}, fol. 4.

7. Vision of Christ. An abbess has a great desire to see Jesus who satisfies her wish. Fr^{10}, fol. 4^{v}.

8. Three Virgin Martyrs. The Mother of God appears to three virgins, recent converts to Christianity, and encourages them to martyrdom. They are summoned to appear before the Prefect, who attempts to embrace them. Repulsed, he orders their decapitation. Fr^{10}, fol. 5^{v}.

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[45] Etienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, no. 37, pp. 48-9; A Jubinal, *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédites* I (Paris, 1839), pp. 352-9; Casimiro Stolfi (ed.), *Corona de' monaci compilato da un monaco degli Angeli* (Prato, 1862), no. 12, pp. 44-7. See also Rheinold Köhler, 'Die legende von dem Ritter in der Capelle,' *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, V (1865), 326-31. Cf. *infra*, Fr^{10}, no. 67. Related versions may be found in *Mss* British Museum *Royal* 7 C 1 (fol. 117), *Additional* 16589 (fol. 89), *Egerton* 1117 (fol. 185^{v}), *Harley* 2851 (fol. 101), *Additional* 27336 (fol. 37^{v}) as described by Herbert, *op. cit.* III, 131 (100), 468 (28), 474 (35), 504 (11) and 659 (178).

[46] S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 624; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxv-lxvi.

[47] Incomplete rubrics for no. 136 and the mutilated state of the last folio of Fr^{10} make impossible the identification of this last tale.

[48] Johannes Herolt, *Promptuarium Discipuli de miraculis beate Marie Virginis*, no. 49, p. 23. Cf. *Ms* British Museum *Additional* 18929 (fol. 83) described by Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 658 (17).

[49] John, the Italian disciple of St. Odo, Abbot of Cluny (879-943) tells in his biography of the Abbot that it was his custom to invoke the Virgin under the title of *Mater Misericordiae* because she had once presented herself as the Mother of Mercy to a monk who had entered his monastery to expiate a life of thievery by prayer and penance. cf. *Sancti Odonis vita*, ii, 23 (PL 133, 72). Nalgodus, a monk of Cluny, who wrote in the twelfth century gives the same account in abridged form, cf. *Sancti Odonis vita*, 44 (PL 133, 101-2). Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* XXXIV, 61; C. Neuhaus, *Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den alt-französischen Adgar'schen Marienlegenden* (Aschersleben, 1886-7), pp. 26-8; H. Kjellman, *La deuxième collection anglo-normande des miracles*, no. 6, pp. 19-23. For the legend 'Mother of Mercy,' cf. E. F. Wilson, *op. cit.*, no. 16, pp. 171-2.

[50] Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, 102-3. Cf. *supra*, Group III, 24 with note 76, *art. cit.*, 39.

9. Mystery of the Nativity. A hermit sets up a small crib in order to meditate better upon the nativity of Christ. As he entones the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, he has a vision of the Madonna and Child. Fr^{10}, fol. 7.

10. Pagan Child Resuscitated.[51] A devotee of Mary resuscitates the pagan child of a widow for Baptism. Fr^{10}, fol. 8.

11. Nun Visits Holy Land. A religious is wont to contemplate in spirit the scenes of Christ's life, sufferings and death. She becomes an abbess, and is able to visit Palestine. While at the Holy Sepulcher, she has a keen sense of the presence of the Mother of God accompanying her. Fr^{10}, fol. 8^{v}.

12. Taper Left Behind by an Angel. Cf. Group I, 35; Fr^{10}, fol. 10.

13. Husband Raised to Life. A devotee of Mary asks the Virgin to obtain from God the resuscitation of her husband who has died from burns. The favor is granted. Fr^{10}, fol. 10^{v}.

14. The Miraculous Cloak. A hermit uses his cloak to sail miraculously over waters. One day he yields to the imperfection of querying why God does not water a field of barley and his mantle sinks. Fr^{10}, fol. 11^{v}.

15. A Miser's Alms.[52] A miser is saved because once in his life he gave an alms in Mary's honor. Fr^{10}, fol. 13.

16. Robber Saved by Almsgiving. A woman begs money from a robber in order to get her husband out of prison for debt. Soon after giving it, the robber dies and is saved. Fr^{10}, fol. 13^{v}.

17. Discord Between Husband and Wife. Cf. Groups II, 11 and III, 40; Fr^{10}, fol. 14^{v}.

18. Monk Saved by Penance. A monk, deceived by the devil, makes a denial of God and the saints but repents and expiates by thirty years of penance. Fr^{10}, fol. 16^{v}.

19. Girl Saves Mother. A woman is saved from her evil ways by her daughter, a devotee of Mary, who refuses to follow her mother's example. Fr^{10}, fol. 18^{v}.

20. Nobleman Saved from Death. A nobleman, devout to Mary, stops to pray at a chapel. His would-be assassins are diverted from their intent by an apparition of Mary protecting him. Fr^{10}, fol. 20.

21. Merchant Saved from Death. Robbers about to kill a merchant are halted by a vision of Mary. In gratitude he dedicates himself to the service of the sick. Fr^{10}, fol. 21.

22. Youth Saved from Death.[53] In this version two servants arouse the hatred of the king towards a youth who serves his table, by saying that the young man complains of his bad breath. The king believes the calumny and sends him to his death at a lime-kiln. Unaware of the plot the youth enters a chapel to honor the Mother of God and falls asleep. During the interval the two servants go to the kiln to make inquiries and are put to death instead. Fr^{10}, fol. 21^{v}.

23. Refusal to Sin on Saturday. In honor of the Mother of God a harlot refuses to sin on Saturday. The band of robbers in whose company she finds herself kills her. Her miraculous resuscitation brings about her repentance and that of the robbers. Fr^{10}, fol. 22^{v}.

24. Could Learn Only *AVE MARIA*. Cf. Groups I, 55, II and III, 3; Fr^{10}, fol. 23.

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[51] Alfonso el Sabio tells the story of a Moorish woman whose child is resuscitated and who becomes a Christian, *op. cit.*, II, no. 167, pp. 239-40.

[52] In the life of St. John the Almoner, one reads of Peter, the toll-collector, who was saved by a loaf which he threw in anger at a beggar, cf. *Vitae patrum* (PL 73, 356). Cf. *Legenda aurea*, cap. 27, p. 127; Jacob Ulrich, 'Recueil d'exemples en ancien italien,' *Romania*, XIII (1884), no. 7, 32-3; E. A. W. Budge (ed.), *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London, 1900), no. 86, pp. 305-6.

[53] *Gesta romanorum*, ed. Hermann Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), p. 688; A. Morel-Fatio, 'Fragment d'un conte catalan,' *Romania*, V (1876), 453-65; M. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes inédits* II (Paris, 1823), no. 15, pp. 331-61; Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, I, no. 78, pp. 125-7 with variants listed on pp. xlvi-xlvii; Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 64, p. 286.

25. Drowned Monk. Cf. Group I, 18; Fr^{10}, fol. 23^{v}.

26. Mary Intercepts Weapon. A nobleman escapes death at the hands of his enemies when the Virgin Mary, to whom he has been praying, places her hand before the weapon. In gratitude he becomes a religious. Fr^{10}, fol. 24.

27. The Priest of One Mass. Cf. Groups I, 63 and III, 27; Fr^{10}, fol. 25.

28. Clerk [Jerome] Made Bishop of Pavia. Cf. Group IV, 36; Fr^{10}, fol. 25.

29. Mary and Bridegroom. Cf. Groups I, 61 and V, Fp^{1}, no. 10; Fr^{10}, fol. 25^{v}.

30. Jewish Boy. Cf. Group I, 57; Fr^{10}, fol. 26.[54]

31. Apparition of Mary to the Dying.[55] A devotee of Mary is comforted by her on his death-bed. Fr^{10}, fol. 26^{v}.

32. Mother-in-Law and Son-in-Law. This is the usual version as found in Groups II and III, 4, but localized at Lodi: *Fue nel distritto di Lodi,* Fr^{10}, fol. 26^{v}.

33. Apparition of the Dead. A man has promised a priest to appear after death. He does so and informs the priest that both he and his father are saved. Fr^{10}, fol. 28.

34. Equal in Merit.[56] A devout monk is inspired to ask of God whether anyone is equal to him in merit. Led by the Spirit, he is able to interview his equal and both advance in perfection. Fr^{10}, fol. 30.

35. Theophilus. Cf. Groups I, 43 and III, 36; Fr^{10}, fol. 32.

36. Accused Unjustly of Theft. Cf. Groups III, 23 and IV, 61; Fr^{10}, fol. 33.

37. Robber Converted. A robber is converted by the prayers of his relative, a hermit, who is a devotee of Mary. Fr^{10}, fol. 34.[57]

38. Vision of the Punishment of Heresy. A Christian is deceived into accepting heresy but, after a horrible vision of its punishment, he retracts and is saved. Fr^{10}, fol. 35.

39. Excessive Penance. Excessive austerities on the part of a monk bring about a fatal illness from which he is cured when the Virgin Mary appears and makes him eat a small portion of bread dipped in water. Fr^{10}, fol. 36^{v}.

40. One Knee. Cf. Group II, 26; Fr^{10}, fol. 37.

41. A Woman Spared Embarrassment. Humility prompts a woman to pick up the crumbs left on a tablecloth and eat them. One day she is a guest at a wedding feast and her action is noticed. She would have been derided, but the Virgin changes the crumbs in her hand into a Host. Fr^{10}, fol. 37^{v}.

42. Vision of Hell. A dissolute youth of Montepulciano amends his life after a vision of hell in which he seems to suffer intolerable torments and is freed from them only through the intercession of Mary. Fr^{10}, fol. 38.

43. Son Freed from Prison. This is a variant of the 'Christ-Child Seized as Pledge,' cf. Group I, 34. In this version the mother prays before a statue of the Madonna but does not take the image of Christ as hostage. Mary appears in the prison and sets the boy free. Fr^{10}, fol. 39.

44. No Death Without Confession. Although wounded mortally, a knight of Lombardy survives to receive the sacraments—a grace he has merited because of his fasting on the vigils of Marian feasts. Fr^{10}, fol. 39^{v}.

45. No Death Without Confession. Cf. Group II, 29; Fr^{10}, fol. 39^{v}.

46. No Death Without Confession.[58] A man who has fasted on the vigils of Marian feasts boasts before his enemies that they will not be able to put him to death until he has confessed. Fr^{10}, fol. 40.

47. Virgin Acts as Knight. Cf. Group I, *Ma* and *Rc*, note 115; Fr^{10}, fol. 40.

48. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. Cf. Group I, 34; Fr^{10}, fol. 40^{v}.

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[54] Cf. *infra,* Fr^{10}, no. 135.

[55] Cf. Herbert of Torres, *De Miraculis* I, 34, II, 44 and III, 9 (PL 185, 1306, 1354 and 1360); *Exordium magnum ordinis Cisterciensis* III, 21 (*ibid.,* 1080).

[56] Cf. 'Rappresentazione di San Panunzio' in *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI* (ed. Alessandro d'Ancona), II, pp. 65-70.

[57] At this point the handwriting changes and the new scribe misnumbers the legend, *miracolo lii,* and all the tales that follow.

[58] Cf. Group I, *Ma* 77-*Rc* 72, *art. cit.,* 25; Johannes Herolt, *op. cit.,* no. 55, p. 25.

49. Thief Sustained. Cf. Group I, 60; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 41.

50. Unwilling to Deny Mary. Cf. Group I, 73; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 41 where the legend is localized at Lodi.[59]

51. Devil as Servant. Cf. Group I, 36; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 42.

52. Abbess. Cf. Group III, 62; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 43.

53. St. John Damascene. Cf. Groups I, 44 and III, 65; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 44.

54. Electuary. Cf. Group I, *Ma* 79-*Rc* 77; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 45.

55. Beatrice the Sacristan. Cf. Group I, 75; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 45^{v}.

56. Hermitess Delivered from Devil. Cf. Group III, 28; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 46.

57. Freed from Temptations. A penitent, tempted by the devil, has recourse to Mary and the evil spirit, blaspheming, departs. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 46^{v}.

58. Nun Who Saw the World. Before leaving her convent, a nun stops to say the *Ave Maria* before a statue of Mary and is unable to move from the spot. This occurs twice, but the third night she deliberately omits the prayer, leaves the convent to live a wretched existence and, finally penitent, returns to do penance.[60] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 46^{v}.

59. Child-Prophet. A child has a vision of the Mother of God who tells him that he will die in three days. A merchant, hearing this, desires to interview him. Although he is a stranger, the child calls him by name and reveals to him that his soul is very pleasing to the Virgin, who wishes him to give his goods in alms to the poor. The child dies as foretold. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 47^{v}.

60. Plague at Rome. Cf. *supra*, Group V, *Fn*^{5}, no. 16; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 48^{v}.

61. Severed Hand. Cf. Groups I, 21 and III, 38; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 48^{v}.

62. Ploughing on the Magdalen's Day. Cf. Group I, 59; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 49.

63. Demon as Swine. Cf. Group I, 49; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 49^{v}.

64. Three Counsels in Humility. Cf. Group II, 32; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 50.[61]

65. Bread to the Christ-Child. A novice becomes very thin and the novice-master finds that he is giving his portion of bread to an image of the Christ-Child, who speaks to him. Learning that the image has invited the youth to a banquet in Heaven, the novice-master has himself included in the invitation.[62] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 50^{v}.

66. Blinded by the Virgin's Glory. Cf. Group IV, 1; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 51.

67. Silent Vigil as Penance. Cf. *supra*, Group V, *Fr*^{9}, no. 19; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 52.

68. Child Resuscitated.[63] A boy thrown by the devil into a boiling cauldron is restored to life by the Virgin. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 54.

69. Hours Sung Daily. Cf. Group I, 3; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 55^{v}.

70. Garments of Prayers. In a vision a novice is shown how he has clothed Christ with a garment of *Paters* and *Aves*.[64] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 56^{v}.

71. Virgin Comes to the Devil instead of his Victim. Cf. Groups I, 29, II and III, 1; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 58.

72. Drowned Sacristan. In this version the sacristan is saved because of the prayers of a friend.[65] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 59^{v}.

73. Two Brothers at Rome. Cf. Group I, 24; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 61.

74. Child Resuscitated. A child dies as the result of a fall from a bridge but

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[59] The legend has its source in the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach who says that it occurred *in diocesi Loediensi iuxta Florentiam*, cf. II, 12, i, p. 78.

[60] Cf. Groups I, 75, *art. cit.*, 24 and II, 7, *ibid.*, 31.

[61] Cf. *infra*, *Fr*^{10}, no. 117.

[62] Cf. *supra*, Group V, *Fp*^{3}, no. 8; *infra*, *Fr*^{10}, no. 97.

[63] Bonavesin da Riva tells the story of St. Donatus in the *Vulgare de eleemosynis*, no. 4, pp. 456-60, ll. 738-886. See also A. Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, III, no. 54, p. 174; A. Meister, *Die Fragmente der* Libri VIII Miraculorum *des Caesarius von Heisterbach* (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, Supplementheft, 13, Rome, 1901), no. 34, pp. 162-3; *Mss* British Museum *Egerton* 1117 (fol. 176^{v}) and *Additional* 27336 (fol. 16) described by Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 669 (26) and Herbert, III, 652 (70).

[64] Cf. 'Incomplete Garment,' *supra*, Groups I, *Ma* 82-*Rc* 76, *art. cit.*, 26 and III, 50, *ibid.*, 42.

[65] For variants, cf. Pez, no. 40, p. 104.

is raised to life by the Virgin and later becomes a religious. *Rr*[10], fol. 62.

75. No Death Without Confession. Two men from Monte Ritondo are thrown into a lagoon. Sometime later their fleshless bones float to shore. A priest, passing by, hears their confessions before they die. *Fr*[10], fol. 63.

76. Freed from Prison. A knight, while making overtures of peace to an enemy who has killed his son, is imprisoned by him. On the Feast of the Assumption he is freed by the Virgin. In view of the miracle his enemy humbly begs his pardon.[66] *Fr*[10], fol. 63ᵛ.

77. No Death Without Confession. A man is beheaded and his body thrown into a cistern. He cannot die until a priest comes to hear his confession—a grace granted to him because he has always fasted on Saturdays and the vigils of the Assumption.[67] *Fr*[10], fol. 64ᵛ.

78. Prayers Offered for a Robber's Soul. Cf. Group III, 26; *Fr*[10], fol. 65.

79. Tongue Restored.[68] Saracens cut off a priest's tongue which is restored by the Virgin. *Fr*[10], fol. 66.

80. Saved from Fire. Cf. Group III, 51; *Fr*[10], fol. 66ᵛ.

81. Painter; Baby Saved. Cf. Group I, 7 where the two tales are found together. In *Fr*[10] the painter is a priest who is decorating the church. He is found miraculously sustained by the bishop who has come to consecrate it. *Fr*[10], fol. 67.

82. Mary's Hand on the Scale. At the judgment a sinner's good and bad deeds are being weighed. He is saved only because Mary puts her hand on the balance pan with his few good deeds.[69] *Fr*[10], fol. 68.

83. Pilgrim in the Sea. Cf. Group I, 1; *Fr*[10], fol. 68ᵛ.

84. Emperor in the Mine. Cf. Group I, 9; *Fr*[10], fol. 69ᵛ.[70]

85. Child Unhurt.[71] A child falls from the balcony of a tower and is found uninjured. The miracle is attributed to the father's almsgiving in honor of the Mother of God. *Fr*[10], fol. 70ᵛ.

86. Son Resuscitated. A knight is having a church built in honor of the Virgin Mary. An enemy causes his son to be killed by the falling of a wall, but the dead boy is miraculously raised to life. *Fr*[10], fol. 71.

87. Merchant Escapes from Enemies. A merchant, who has always shown reverence to St. Luke's painting of the Virgin, escapes from his enemies. *Fr*[10], fol. 72.

88. Widow's Son Resuscitated. A widow's son drowns but is raised to life by the intervention of Mary. Henceforth he dedicates his life to the service of the Virgin. *Fr*[10], fol. 72ᵛ.

89. Vision of Pagan Father in Hell. A pagan, who adores the sun as a god, keeps his daughter in a secluded palace. Upon seeing a strange light in the mountains, the girl investigates and finds that it is the light from an angel, who visits a saintly hermit there. Her father dies and she receives instructions in the Christian faith from the hermit. The devil appears to her, holding a burning taper, saying that it is the soul of her father in glory because of his adoration of the sun. She sends for the hermit. He prays and she is granted a vision of

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[66] Cf. *supra*, Group III, 57, *art. cit.*, 43; Group IV, 104.

[67] Cf. the tale of the beheaded knight in Group II, 29 and note 38, *art. cit.*, 33; also, Silvano Razzi, *op. cit.*, II, no. 42, p. 143.

[68] In most versions the priest's tongue is cut out by the Albigensians, cf. Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* VII, 23, ii, pp. 31-3; Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 109, p. 97; Herolt, *op. cit.*, no. 30, p. 15. The term, heretics, without further qualification is used by Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, II, no. 156, pp. 228-9, and Silvano Razzi, *op. cit.*, III, no. 38, p. 219. For variants, cf. J. Morawski in *Romania*, LXI, 186, note 1 and 381.

[69] Cf. *supra*, Group I, 32 and note 59, *art. cit.*, 16. E. A. W. Budge notes that the idea of weighing good and bad deeds is of Egyptian origin, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[70] The name of the emperor is not given in *Fr*[10], no. 84.

[71] Alfonso el Sabio tells of the son of Diego Sanchez of Segovia who falls from a height but is uninjured because the Virgin Mary catches him in her arms, cf. *op. cit.*, II, no. 282, pp. 394-5.

Mary who commands the devil to show her the soul of her father in torment. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 74.

90. JULIAN THE APOSTATE. Cf. Group I, 47; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 76.

91. SALVATION THROUGH MARY'S INTERCESSION. A priest repents of his worldly life and enters a religious Order. After his death he appears to the members of his Community, informing them that he has been saved through the prayers of the Mother of God. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 77.

92. LIGHTNING TAKES TOLL. Every year a monastery loses one of its members by lightning until, after an apparition of the Virgin, the Order begins to observe in a solemn way the feasts of the Mother of God. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 77^{v}.

93. VISION OF MARY. A devotee of the Virgin fasts on the vigils of Marian feasts that she may one day feast with her. She is granted a vision of Mary. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 79.

94. VOW OF VIRGINITY. When a father attempts to force his daughter to break her vow of virginity and to marry, she is miraculously placed in a state of immobility. Prayers to the Virgin, but not physical force, are alone effective in removing this condition and she is permitted to keep her vow.[72] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 80.

95. KING IN BOND TO THE DEVIL. In order to avenge himself successfully upon a rival, a king gives himself and his family in bond to the devil. The Virgin obtains their freedom from the pact, but the king, not being repentant, is damned. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 81^{v}.

96. NOT BEHEADED. Gigone of Perugia is sentenced to be decapitated. Two times the executioner's axe breaks without severing his head. He is released uninjured. It is discovered that at the risk of his life he had saved an image of Mary from being destroyed by fire. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 84^{v}.

97. BREAD TO THE CHRIST-CHILD. In this version an abbot gives alms to a poor woman with two children, both of whom become novices at the monastery. They consume so much bread that the abbot investigates and finds them offering it to the image of the Christ-Child. Some time later they are missing and the novice-master discovers them in a meadow, recreating with Mary and her Son. Upon taking leave of their heavenly companions, they are told by Mary to receive the Last Sacraments the following Sunday. They die an unexpected but happy death on that day.[73] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 85^{v}.

98. GIFT OF WISDOM: RESUSCITATED CHILD. A child, who is born after many prayers on the part of parents, is too stupid to learn. Through the intercession of Mary he receives the gift of wisdom. Later the evil spirit throws him into a river, but Mary raises the drowned boy to life. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 87^{v}.

99. RESUSCITATED FOR CONFESSION. A youth, devoted to the Virgin, is reluctant to confess his sins and dies without doing so. He is restored to life for confession. *Fr*^{10}, fol. 88^{v}.

100. THE 'MANEKINE.' In this version the evil spirit promises the father that he will recover his wealth if he will cut off his daughter's hand. A second time impoverished, the father is promised riches by the devil if he will kill his daughter. She runs away and is met by the Virgin who finds her a refuge in a convent where the abbess is sister-in-law to the king. The girl weds the king's son and later a child is born. Her husband sends a message to her, but the evil spirit changes it to an order for her death and that of her son. Her would-be slayers are moved to compassion and let her escape. They confess this to the king's son upon his return and it is the Virgin who conducts the searching party to her hiding place and restores her hand.[74] *Fr*^{10}, fol. 89^{v}.

101. UNWILLING TO DENY MARY. Cf. Group I, 73; *Fr*^{10}, fol. 92^{v}.

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[72] This story is related of St. Agnes of Assisi in the year 1212. Cf. *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ministrorum ordinis Fratrum Minorum* in *Analecta Franciscana*, III, 173-82.

[73] Cf. *supra*, Group V, *Fp*^{5}, no. 8 and *Fr*^{10}, no. 65.

[74] Cf. *supra*, Group III, 11, *art. cit.*, 37-8, for the usual version in Italian.

102. Pirate Converted. A corsair escapes from a prison fortress through the assistance of Mary, becomes a monk and does penance. Fr^{10}, fol. 94^v.

103. Two Youths Converted. Two dissolute youths chance to hear a sermon which inspires them to amend their lives. A vision of the Virgin strengthens this intention. They become hermits and are saved. Fr^{10}, fol. 95^v.

104. Pilgrims Protected by Mary. Three women make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They have various misadventures, are even accused unjustly, but in each case they are protected by the Mother of God. Fr^{10}, fol. 97.

105. Escape from Robbers. A merchant falls into the hands of wicked highwaymen but escapes with his life through the intercession of Mary. Fr^{10}, fol. 99^v.

106. City Defended. A settlement of Christians in Alexandria find their city beseiged by Babylonian soldiers who would have massacred all of them, had not the Virgin come to their assistance. Fr^{10}, fol. 100^v.

107. Bleeding Image. In the city of Lucca[75] a dicer flings a stone at the image of the Virgin which bleeds. A thief who has been robbing her lamp of oil is caught at last. Fr^{10}, fol. 102.

108. Child Granted to Prayer. A woman perseveres in prayer for a child, promising to dedicate it to the service of the Mother of God. A little girl is born who later receives a serious head-injury from a fall, said to have been caused by the evil spirit. Mary appears to the girl, reminds her of the promise and cures the wound. Fr^{10}, fol. 102^v.

109. Deacon Murders His Bishop. Cf. Group III, 58; Fr^{10}, fol. 103^v.

110. Two Women Resuscitated. Two women on a visit to a hermitage drown while crossing a river. They are raised to life by Mary. Fr^{10}, fol. 104.

111. Visions of Six Virgins. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fp^3, no. 22; Fr^{10}, fol. 105.

112. Son Freed from Prison. The only son of a countess is imprisoned by an enemy, but constant prayers are said for him to the Mother of God and he is freed. Fr^{10}, fol. 106.

113. Jew Lends to Merchant. Cf. Group IV, Fn^4, no. 100; Fr^{10}, fol. 107, where the amount lent is fifty florins.

114. Wounds Healed. A devotee of Mary is mortally wounded by enemies but is healed by the Virgin Mary. Fr^{10}, fol. 108.

115. Lost Foot Restored. Cf. Group IV, Fn^4, no. 63; Fr^{10}, fol. 108^v.

116. Vision of Mary. A very religious youth spends a sleepless night in prayer and is rewarded by a vision of the Mother of God. Fr^{10}, fol. 109.

117. Three Counsels in Humility. Cf. Groups II, 32 and *supra*, V, Fr^{10}, no. 64; Fr^{10}, fol. 109.

118. *AVES* Seen as Roses. Cf. Group III, 67; Fr^{10}, fol. 109^v. In this version robbers steal the young man's horse, while he prays within the church and prepare to assault him. When they see the Virgin, as he says his *Aves*, take roses from his lips and weave a garland for her Son, they are converted.

119. Celestial Music Heard. A Franciscan monk delights in using his voice in praise of God and Mary. On a Marian feast he hears the songs of heavenly choirs and at the end a prediction of the day of his death. Fr^{10}, fol. 110.

120. No Death Without Confession. A religious, searching for the dying on a battlefield in Navarra, comes upon a soldier, mortally wounded, who rallies for confession—a grace he has confidently expected because he has heard Mass

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[75] *Ms* Rome Bib. Angelica 1983 *(Ra)*, containing *miracoli della Vergine della Porta de' Borghi* at Lucca (fols. 117-35), has a story of a soldier who flings his dice in anger at the image of the Virgin and breaks his arm. It is said to have occurred in 1588. The legend of the 'Bleeding Christ-Child' dates back to 1187, cf. Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. H. F. Delaborde I (Paris, 1882-5) pp. 79-80. The scene is at Déols. Cf. also Vincent of Beauvais, *op. cit.*, VII, 110; Etienne de Bourbon, *op. cit.*, no. 130, p. 111; A. Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wein* (phil.-hist. Kl.), CXXXIX (1898), no. ii, p. 21; Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera historica* (Rolls Series, LXXIII, London, 1879) I, p. 370; Gerald of Barry, *Opera* II, xxxii, pp. 104-5.

every Saturday in honor of the Mother of God. Fr^{10}, fol. 111.

121. BURIED OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD. Cf. Group III, 14; Fr^{10}, fol. 111^{v}.

122. NO DEATH WITHOUT CONFESSION. Cf. Group I, *Ma* 77-*Rc* 72; Fr^{10}, fol. 111^{v}.

123. CHARITABLE ALMSMAN. Cf. Groups I, 19, IV, 32 and 56, *supra*, V, Fr^{10}, no. 5; Fr^{10}, fol. 112.

124. TOO SEVERE A PENANCE. A bishop, for whom the Virgin made a new hairshirt, gives a great sinner the penance of making a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James in Galicia. In vain the penitent protests that this is impossible. Mary then intervenes and requests him to tell the bishop about the hairshirt. The prelate allows him to choose his own penance.[76] Fr^{10}, fol. 112^{v}.

125. THIEF SUSTAINED TWO DAYS.[77] Cf. Group I, 60;Fr^{10}, fol. 113.

126. PERMITTED TO FAST.[78] A woman, who has fasted on Saturday and is forbidden to do so by her husband, finds herself suddenly enriched. She prefers to be poor in time but rich in eternity. The gold miraculously disappears and the husband withdraws his prohibition. Fr^{10}, fol. 113^{v}.

127. VISION OF JUDGMENT. A sick man in vision sees his good and bad deeds being weighed in a balance. He recommends himself to the Virgin who puts the demons to flight. They leave behind a book containing his evil deeds and idle words.[79] Fr^{10}, fol. 114.

128. INCOMPLETE GARMENT. A monk, who was wont to say the *Ave Maria* fervently, loses his spirit of devotion and even desires to leave his Order. The Virgin Mary appears to him, showing him a garment not fully embroidered in gold and encouraging him to persevere.[80] Fr^{10}, fol. 114^{v}.

129. O INTEMERATA. Cf. Group III, 68; Fr^{10}, fol. 115.[81]

130. MONKS BY THE RIVERSIDE. Cf. Groups I, 30 and *supra*, V, Fp^{1}, no. 3; Fr^{10}, fol. 115^{v}.[82]

131. HAND ON THE CONVENT-DOOR. Cf. Groups II, 7 and *infra*, V, Rv^{1}, no. 1; Fr^{10}, fol. 116.

132. INCEST. Cf. Groups II, 31 and III, 55; Fr^{10}, fol. 117.

133. TWO DEVILS IN PRISON. Cf. Groups I, 5 and III, 59; Fr^{10}, fol. 118.

134. DAINTIES IN A FOUL DISH. Cf. Group IV, 51; Fr^{10}, fol. 119^{v}.

135. JEWISH BOY. In this version no mention is made of the boy's receiving Holy Communion. Rather, the anger of the father is aroused when the child tells him that he has seen in a Christian church a beautiful picture of the Virgin Mary. The boy is thrown into a baker's oven. His miraculous preservation causes the conversion of many Jews. Fr^{10}, fol. 120^{r-v}.[83]

Fr^{11}

Fr^{11}—Riccardiano 1700[84] is a fifteenth-century manuscript in an imperfect, mutilated state. Among the hagiographical tales of the first eighteen folios seven can be identified as Mary legends and present versions which differ from the usual stories:

1. DROWNED SINNER. A very great sinner (neither monk nor sacristan) is drowned but is saved because of the prayer *Salve Regina* which he was able to say before losing consciousness. Fr^{11}, fols. 4^{v}-5^{v}.[85]

2. DROWNED MONK. A monk in great anger yields to a suicidal impulse and drowns himself. He is permitted to return to life at the intercession of Mary

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[76] Villecourt, *op. cit.*, no. 8, p. 42. See also the legend of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the hairshirt, *supra*, Group I, 72, *art. cit.*, 23.

[77] An interval of two days is given in the version of the pseudo-Caesarius, cf. A. Meister, *op. cit.*, no. 63, p. 187; A. Hilka, *op. cit.*, III, no. 83, pp. 198-9.

[78] E. A. W. Budge, *op. cit.*, no. 99, p. 326.

[79] Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fr^{10}, no. 82 and note 62. See also A. G. Little (ed.), *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium*. no. 51, p. 31.

[80] Cf. *supra*, Groups 1, *Ma* 82-*Rc* 76, *art. cit.*, 26 and III, 50, *ibid.*, 42.

[81] In Fr^{10} the monk's soul returns to his body and he comes back to his Order to do penance.

[82] See also *supra*, Group IV, 102 with note 86.

[83] For the usual version cf. *supra*, Group I, 57, *art. cit.*, 21, and V, Fr^{10}, no. 30.

[84] S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 641; Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxvi-lxvii.

[85] The next two tales (fols. 6-7) are incomplete but do not seem to be Mary legends.

who shows to Christ the *Ave* on his tongue, indicative of his repeated efforts to overcome this passion by prayer. Fr^{11}, fols. 7^v-10^v.[86]

3. Unwilling to Deny Mary. Cf. *supra*, Group V, B^1, no. 6; Fr^{11}, fol. 13.[87]

4. Devils Show Hospitality.[88] Two friars are traveling during a period of bad weather and pray to the Virgin Mary that they may find a hospice along the way. They are hospitably received at an abbey but become suspicious when they find that the monks do not rise for Matins. The abbot confesses that they are evil spirits whom Mary had commanded to offer hospitality. Fr^{11}, fol. 13^v.

5. Devil as Servant. Cf. Group I, 36. In this version the devil is in the service of a wicked count. His identity is discovered by two monks. Fr^{11}, fol. 15^v.

6. Devil as Confessor.[89] A great sinner, who has always held in great reverence the Mother of God, repents and desires to confess his sins. The devil, disguised as a confessor, puts him off with various excuses but in the end hear his confession. At his death his soul is rescued by Mary from the evil spirits. He is permitted to return to life for proper confession and to do twenty days of penance. Fr^{11}, fols. 17^v-18^v.

7. Suor Dea and Giubideo. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fn^3, no. 1; Fr^{11}, fols. 55-61.[90]

Fr^{12}

Fr^{12}—Riccardiano 1354,[91] a fourteenth-century manuscript, contains one Mary legend:

1. Suor Dea and Giubideo. Cf. *supra*, Group V, Fn^3, no. 1; Fr^{12}, fols. 57^v-59.

Fr^{13}

Fr^{13}—Riccardiano 1676,[92] a manuscript of the fifteenth century, contains one miracle of the Virgin Mary:

1. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. Cf. Group I, 34; Fr^{13}, fols. 35^v-37.

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Fl—Landau 213[93] which until recently[94] was in the Biblioteca Landau at Florence, is of the fourteenth century and contains one Mary legend:

1. Christ-Child Seized as Pledge. Cf. Group I, 34; *Fl*, fols. 69^v-70.

Rv^1

Rv^1—Vaticano *lat.* 5086,[95] a collection of hagiographical tales, is of the fourteenth century. Four legends pertain to this study:

1. Hand on the Convent-Door. Cf. Groups II, 7 and *supra*, V, Fr^{10}, no. 130; Rv^1, fol. 198^v.
2. Cured for a Year. Cf. Group I, *Rc*, no. 82; Rv^1, fol. 199.
3. Giovanni Acuto. Cf. Group I, *Rc*, no. 83;[96] Rv^1, fols. 200^v-201.

Exempla from Gregory's *Dialogues* follow. Of the fifteen indicated by Levi[97] one is a Mary legend.

4. Musa.[98] Cf. Groups IV, 82 and V, Fp^3, no. 9; Rv^1, fol. 205^{r-v}.

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[86] The legend on fols. 10^v-11^v is not Marian. The legend partially told on fol. 11^v would seem to be the 'Devil in Service of a Robber-Knight'; however, exact identification is not possible.

[87] The first part of this legend is missing; the latter part where Mary bows to the knight in recognition of his refusal to deny her is sufficient to identify the tale. Cf. *supra*, Group V, B^1, no. 6 and note 5.

[88] Etienne de Bourbon tells a somewhat similar tale on the authority of Jacques de Vitry, *op. cit.*, no. 79, pp. 75-6. Cf. *Ms* British Museum *Egerton* 1117 described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 474-5 (51).

[89] See Johannes Herolt, *op. cit.*, no. 61, pp. 26-7; Silvano Razzi, *op. cit.*, II, no. 48, pp. 150-1; *Mss* British Museum *Harley* 463 (fol. 14^v), *Harley* 268 (fol. 89), *Additional* 27336 (fol. 5) and *Additional* 19909 (fol. 246^v) in Herbert, *op. cit.*, III, 90 (14), 432 (19), 649 (18) and Ward, II, 685 (61).

[90] On fols. 18^v-55 the compiler of Fr^{11} presents legends of St. Francis of Assisi and other saints not pertinent to this study.

[91] S. Morpurgo, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 412-4.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 624.

[93] *Catalogue des livres mss. composant la bibliothèque de M. Horace de Landau* II (Florence, 1890), p. 113.

[94] In a letter to the writer the director of the Biblioteca Landau, T. De Marinis, stated that the Landau manuscripts are being disposed of. He added: Le précieux groupe, parmi lequel se trouve le manuscrit qui vous a intéressé, sera déposé par la Ville ou à la Bibliothèque Nationale ou à la Bibliothèque Laurenziana, on ne sait pas encore.

[95] Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

[96] Cf. *supra*, Group I, note 128, *art. cit.*, 26.

[97] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxvii.

[98] *Dialogi* IV, 18, pp. 255 ff.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON MANUSCRIPTS IN GROUP V AND S^1, S^2 AND *Ra.*

The analysis of Rv^1 completes the study of the legends in miscellaneous manuscripts considered in Group V. Fr^{10} is of considerable length and the legends in this collection are inferior in style and narrative to any found in Groups I to IV. Many of the details seem to be the compiler's own fabrication and he presents legends of the same theme with monotonous repetition. The tale, 'No Death without Confession,' occurs seven times with little variation (cf. nos. 44-46, 75, 77, 120 and 122). Almost identical in subject matter are the versions of 'Thief Sustained' (cf. nos. 36, 49 and 125), of the 'Three Counsels of Humility' (cf. nos. 64 and 117), and of the 'Charitable Almsman' (cf. nos. 5 and 123). The compiler of Fr^{10} cares little about veracity if one judges from his erroneous localization of legends. No. 32, the legend of 'Mother-in-law and Son-in-law,' is typical of this. All writers and chroniclers place the miracle at Chivy, near Laon in France.[99] The Italian compiler begins the tale: ***Fue nel distritto di Lodi. . . .***

It has been noted that Fn^2 listed by Levi does not properly belong to the category of manuscripts containing Mary legends. In regard to *Cod.* 292 and 302 (S^1 and S^2) in the library of the Monastery of St. Scholastica in Subiaco, Levi bases his information upon the *Inventario* of Giuseppe Mazzatinti[100] and incorrectly lists the two Latin manuscripts as written in Italian. They are of interest as possible sources for several legends[101] in the Italian collections.

Two manuscripts of minor importance indicated by Levi were not investigated at first hand. The first is *Ms* Rome Bib. Angelica 1893 (*Ra*), a miscellany of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century,[102] containing accounts of miraculous incidents occurring at Lucca (fols. 117-135), and unrelated to the manuscripts which form the bulk of this study.[103] The second is *Ms* Verona Bib. Comunale 1224 (V^2), a fifteenth-century collection with fifty ascetical legends.[104] From Levi's description of the contents of the manuscript,[105] only one legend is of interest as a Marian tale, that of 'Giovanni Acuto,' which is found in two manuscripts analyzed in this study, Rome Casanatense 281 and Vatican City Vat. *lat.* 5086.[106]

It will be observed that most of the Italian manuscripts containing Mary legends are in Florentine libraries. Of the forty-one, twenty-six are at Florence. With the continuance of research activities in Europe, it is quite possible that scholars interested in Mary legends may ferret out other manuscripts in small, private or monastic libraries. Nevertheless, it is safe to affirm that the bulk of these collections have come to light through the indefatigable efforts of the late Ezio Levi D'Ancona.

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[99] The legend is first narrated with localization at Laon by Guibert of Nogent, *De laude S. Mariae*, 10 (PL 156, 564-8); by Herman of Tournai, monk of St. John of Laon, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis* III, 27 (PL 156, 1008); in the *Auctarium Laudunense* and the *Auctarium Ursicampinum*, appended to the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux (PL 160, 359 and 405); by Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon* (PL 212, 1017).

[100] Levi merely indicates the existence of the two manuscripts at Subiaco and adds in a footnote: Così, senz' altro, il Mazzatinti, *Invent.*, I, 216-217. Ed è troppo poco. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. lxxxi, note 1.

[101] This is particularly true of *Cod.* 302 (S^2) which contain twenty legends (fols. 124^v-9), all of which are to be found in Italian.

[102] Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxviii-lxix.

[103] Cf. *supra*, Fr^{10}, no. 107 and note 68.

[104] C. Biadego, *Catalogo descrittivo dei mss. della Biblioteca Comunale di Verona* (Verona, 1892), p. 533.

[105] Levi, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.

[106] **Cf. *supra*, Groups I, *Rc*, no. 83, *art. cit.*,** 26, and V, Rv^1, no. 3.

The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise

J. T. MUCKLE C.S.B.

I. INTRODUCTION

IN this edition I am limiting myself to the two intimate and personal letters written by Heloise to Abelard and Abelard's reply in a spiritual vein to each; I am adding the very beginning of Heloise's third letter which, except for this paragraph, is not personal but an exposition of the incongruities of the Benedictine Rule when applied to Orders of women, and contains a request that Abelard write an account of the rise of sisterhoods and compose a rule suitable for women.

1. MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts used in this edition are the same nine employed for my edition of the 'Historia Calamitatum' in *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950), 163-213. They are:

T....Bibliothèque de Troyes, *Ms* 802, fols. 18^r-35^r.
A....Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms lat.* 2923, fols. 14^r-26^r. This manuscript was used by Petrarch and there are a few marginal notes in his hand; I have given them in my notes.
B....Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms lat.* 2544, fols. 14^r-25^r.
R....Bibliothèque de Reims, *Ms* 872, (J.751), fols. 125^r-137^r.
D....Bibliothèque de Douai, *Ms* 797, fols. 328^r-328^v. This manuscript ends with the words: *impendis alienae* in the first letter, p. 70.
Y....Oxford, Bodleian *Ms Additional* C.271, fols. 97^v-106^r. It breaks off with the words: *Hoc saltem uno* in the fourth letter, p. 87.
C....Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms nouv. acq. lat.* 1873, fols. 136^r-171^r.
E....Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms lat.* 2524, fols. 14^v-28^r.
F....Paris, Bib. Nat. *Ms nouv. acq. lat.* 13057, pp. 10-58.

For a description and an estimate of these manuscripts, I refer the reader to my Introduction to the edition of the *Historia Calamitatum*, 163-167. In the edition of this text I have given all the readings, even the corruptions, of *Ms* Troyes 802 but not unimportant inversions of word order, gemination of consonants and in general most other variations in spelling. I have done the same for *Ms* B.N. *lat.* 2923 except that I have not listed the corruptions. For the other manuscripts I have given only a few variants unsupported by another manuscript. To have listed all would have greatly increased the list of variants and would have served no useful purpose. I also give all the readings under the abbreviation Amb. in which the text of d'Amboise differs from mine, and under the letter G, the variants given in the margin of his edition. I have changed the spelling to conform to modern usage, v.g.: *e* to *ae*, or *oe*, *cio* to *tio*, etc. These letters have been previously published by d'Amboise, Duchesne, Rawlinson, Orelli (the first four), Cousin and Migne. For a criticism of these editions, see my Introduction *loc. cit.*, 168-171.

2. APPARENT DATE OF COMPOSITION.

These letters followed in sequence after the *Historia Calamitatum* to which Heloise refers in her first letter. The *Historia* was composed after Nov. 28(?), 1131, when Pope Innocent II confirmed the possession of the Paraclete by Heloise and her nuns, for that document is referred to in the *Historia*. Abelard in that work also refers to the dangers and trials to which he was still exposed as Abbot of St. Gildas. We do not hear of Abelard's whereabouts again until 1136 when John of Salisbury was studying under him in Paris.[1] Assuming then that the *Historia* was composed about 1132, these letters were likely composed within two or three years after. There is no indication that a long interval elapsed between any two of the letters, or that the *Historia* had been written long before Heloise read it.

II. AUTHENTICITY

Within the past century, several writers have questioned the authenticity of these letters. The first was Orelli, who, in his edition[2] of the *Historia Calamitatum* and of the first four letters, states in his short preface that 'for many reasons' which he does not give, he considers that the letters were written shortly after the death of Abelard and Heloise by a monk who was a friend and admirer of both. L. Lalanne, in an article[3] written in 1856, states that the letters both of Abelard and her own were worked over and put in their shape by Heloise. Deutsch in his work *Peter Abälard* (Leipzig, 1883) p. 43, treats the question in a cursory manner and assumes that all these letters are largely, if not entirely, the work of Abelard. He bases his conclusion on the alleged fact that ostensibly the letters were written primarily for public consumption. E. D. Petrella, in an article[4] published in 1911, argued that the letters were composed after the deaths of Abelard and Heloise, basing his thesis on apparent chronological discrepancies and form of composition. B. Schmeidler has contributed three articles[5] on the question; he holds that Abelard wrote all the letters, that they are a literary fiction. Mlle. Ch. Charrier[6] expands the thesis of Schmeidler and gives some additional interesting material which she interprets in support of her position. There have been several scholars who have defended the authenticity of the correspondence, the latest of whom is Etienne Gilson, who stoutly maintains that the letters are historical records, although he does not rule out Lalanne's theory that the present text is a redaction by Heloise of original letters.[7]

In this article, it is my purpose to weigh the evidence already presented for and against the authenticity of these letters, to add some considerations of my own and then to draw the conclusion which the facts so far known to present-day scholarship seem to warrant.

The evidence, alleged or factual, which bears on the question of the authenticity of this correspondence falls under eight heads: (1) evidence of manuscripts; (2) literary tradition; (3) literary form; (4) style; (5) unity of references and thought; (6) alleged historical discrepancies; (7) the character of Abelard's replies; (8) Heloise of the letters in the light of the history of her time.

1. EVIDENCE OF MANUSCRIPTS.

The manuscripts which we have give no positive evidence against the authenticity of these letters. The same salutations are found in all in the first hand. The titles, v.g., *Heloissae suae ad ipsum deprecatoria* are not found in all the manuscripts but they are are all in *Ms* Troyes 802, the oldest and best, and in the first hand. Of course such titles are evidently the creation of scribes.

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[1] Cf. Clemens Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Metalogicon* (Oxford, 1929) II, 10, 867b.

[2] *Magistri Petri Abaelardi . . . Historia Calamitatum; Heloissae et Abaelardi Epistolae* (Turici, 1841).

[3] 'Quelques doutes sur l'authenticité de la correspondance amoreuse d'Héloise et d'Abélard; *La Correspondance littéraire*, I, (1856) 27-33.

[4] Sull' Autenticita delle Lettere d'Abelardo e Eloisa,' *Realo Instituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, (1911), 556-67; 606-18.

[5] Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise eine Fälschung?, *Archiv. für Kulturgeschichte*, Band XI, Heft I (1913), 1-30; 'Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abälard und Heloise als eine literarische Fiktion Abälards', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Band 54 (III, Folge V), Hefte II-III, 1935, pp. 323-338; Same title, *Revue Bénédictine*, 52 (1940), pp. 84-95.

[6] *Héloise dans l'histoire et dans la légende* (Paris, 1933).

[7] Héloïse et Abélard (2nd edition revised, Paris, 1948). Cf. n.1, p. 169. This book has been translated by L. K. Shook, *Héloïse and Abélard* (Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1951).

On the other hand, it is surprising that the earliest of the manuscripts which we have was written not before the end of the thirteenth century, about one hundred and fifty years after the apparent date of composition. Jean de Meung who translated these letters at about that time certainly had a manuscript. The lack of twelfth and early thirteenth-century manuscripts is all the more surprising since there are earlier manuscripts of other works of Abelard.[8] A letter recently discovered bearing the title *Abailardus contra Bernardum* is manifestly twelfth-century.[9]

2. Literary Tradition

Strange to say, the theme of Abelard and Heloise made very little appeal to the Middle Ages or to the Humanists. There is a stanza in the poem *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi*, formerly attributed to Walter Mapes, the author of the work *de Nugis Curialium*, which manifestly refers to Heloise. It runs as follows:

> Nupta quaerit ubi sit suus Palatinus
> cujus totus extitit spiritus divinus
> quaerit cur se substrahat quasi peregrinus
> quem ad sua ubera foverat et sinus.[10]

The poem is supposed to be of the late twelfth century. The author may have known of Heloise through gossip or student songs, but the lines, at any rate, are the earliest Latin document apart from the text itself which portrays Heloise yearning for Abelard.

Jean de Meung translated the *Historia Calamitatum* and these letters into French likely towards the end of the thirteenth century.[11] He also introduced the story of Abelard and Heloise with special reference to the objections of the latter to their marriage into the poem *Roman de la Rose*.

Petrarch read and annotated a manuscript containing the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters.[12] There are several lines in the *Ballade des Dames du temps jadis*, composed by François Villon in 1462, which refer to Abelard and Heloise; she is called *très sage Héloise*[13] an apithet likely based on the story in the *Roman de la Rose*.

But we find no further interest in them among writers until the editions of d'Amboise and Duchesne appeared in 1616.[14] The numerous fantastic renderings[15] in which many fictitious passages were inserted began to appear at the end of the seventeenth century, and were multiplied especially by the Romanticists in the eighteenth; they picture a legendary Heloise as almost the patron goddess of love—a complete distortion of the Heloise of the Latin text.

Beginning with the eighteenth century numerous translations of the Latin text were made. Few, if any, mediaeval works have been translated into the vernaculars of Western Europe: French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portugese and English as often as have these letters.[16] The story also became the theme of lyric poets, dramatists and artists.[17]

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[8] Cf. my edition of *Historia Calamitatum*, *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950), 173.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

[10] T. Wright, *The Latin Poems Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841), p. 29.

[11] He died in 1304. His translation of the *Historia Calamitatum* has been edited by Mlle. C. Charrier, *Traduction de la première Epître de Pierre Abélard Historia Calamitatum* (Paris, 1934).

[12] Paris, Bibl. Nat *Ms lat.* 2923.

[13] Cf. Charrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 388 ff.

[14] For the relation between these two editions, see *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950), 168-9.

[15] For a list of these 'Traductions fantaisistes,' cf. Charrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-13.

3. Literary Form.

The literary form of the letters of Heloise and the first two of Abelard indicate that the writers were acquainted with the rules of epistolary correspondence whose development began as early as the end of the eleventh century. This *ars dictaminis* was applied primarily to official, stereotyped, chancery letters. It came to be extended also to special types of letters between individuals, v.g., of one applying for preferment or other favours, of a student writing to his father or mother for money, etc. I have not found any other instance of its covering personal, intimate correspondence such as love letters in the earlier part of the period, although one may suppose it influenced them.

The first sentence of the second letter of Heloise reads as follows:

> Miror, unice meus, quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum immo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis epistolaris me tibi praeponere praesumpsisti, feminam videlict viro, uxorem marito, ancillam domino, monialem monacho et sacerdoti diaconissam, abbati abbatissam. Rectus quippe ordo est et honestus, ut qui ad superiores vel ad pares scribunt, eorum quibus scribunt nomina suis anteponant. Sin autem ad inferiores, praecedunt scriptionis ordine qui praecedunt rerum dignitate.[18]

Here Heloise states that it is against the custom of letter-writing to place the name of the inferior in the salutation before that of the superior. This prescription of the order to be followed in salutations is found in many of the numerous *ars dictaminis.*

Petrella[19] holds that the composition of Heloise's letters conforms with the *Ars dictaminis* as found in treatises composed in Orleans about 1180-1220. He also says that the *Ars dictaminis* written by Alberic, the deacon, in Monte Cassino in the previous century is too complex and extensive especially in relation to private correspondence to be considered the basis of the composition of Heloise's letters. But surely corresponding customs and rules would be found in France at that time. These do not spring up over night. The only rule which Heloise cites is found word for word in Alberic. Is it too much to suppose that it was known and established in France fully fifty years later? While Petrella's thesis would explain the relatively late date of the extant manuscripts of this correspondence, yet it does not appear sufficiently convincing to carry much weight.

Alberic says of the salutation of letters: *Si vero superiores (scribunt) inferioribus, praeponenda sunt nomina mittentium.*[20] St. Bernard (d. 1153) and

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[16] For a list of these translations, see Charrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 601 ff., and add *Pietro Abelardo, Epistolario Completo* by C. Ottaviano (Palermo, 1934). There have been only three English translations worthy of the name, viz., that by Rev. Joseph Berington (London, 1787 with several reprintings), that of Henry Bellows (St. Paul, 1922), and that by C. K. Scott Moncrieff (London, 1925). The former omits the most salacious passages of Heloise's letters, and very often paraphrases others. The last is often inexact and sometimes erroneous. The renderings of John Hughes, Rev. H. Mills and Miss Morten are fantastic. Alexander Pope's poem, *Eloisa to Abelard* is based on Hughes' composition.

[17] Cf. Charrier, *op. cit.*, pp. 639-49.

[18] P. 77. For references to the *Historia Calamitatum* and these letters, I am using my own editions: all others are to Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (PL) unless otherwise indicated.

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 559-561.

[20] *Rationes Dictandi* a part of a longer work in *Quellen zur Bayerischen und Deutschen Geschichte*, Band IX (München, 1863), I p. 12. But Alberic differs from Heloise in that he puts the letters *inter pares* in the same class as those by inferiors to superiors.

Alberic (b. 1008) entered Monte Cassino at the time of Abbot Desiderius. He was also a theologian and attended the synod of Rome in 1079. He had Pope Gelasius II as a student and he himself was made a Cardinal. For his life and works see *Manitius* III pp. 300-5. *Chronica Mon. Casinensis* III. MGH SS VII, p. 728; *De viris illustribus Casin.* 24, 45; PL 173, 1032, 1046.

Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) both adhere to this rule. St. Bernard seldom uses a salutation when writing to an inferior but, when he does so, he always puts his own name first. Peter the Venerable always begins with a salutation. He also follows the same rule of putting his own name first when writing to one in lower rank. It is noteworthy that, in his letter to Heloise, he puts her name first.

But there is another mark of the salutations in these letters which should be observed. Both the three letters of Heloise and the first two of Abelard's replies go beyond the classical *salutem dat* and of the still briefer forms of the several centuries preceding the twelfth and are more prolix and artistically composed, v.g., Heloise begins her first letter:

> Domino suo, immo patri; coniugi suo, immo fratri; ancilla sua, immo filia; ipsius uxor, immo soror, Abaelardo Heloisa.[21]

Abelard begins his first letter:

> Heloisae dilectissimae sorori suae in Christo Abaelardus frater eius in ipso.[22]

These expanded salutations denoting love and esteem, a sentiment of humility on the part of the writer or a blessing upon the person addressed, stem from a development of the art of letter-writing which is exemplified in other collections of letters written at about the same time.

St. Bernard often omits the salutation in letters addressed to those who are not prelates or other persons of dignity. But when he does use salutations, they are expanded usually in one of two ways. First, after the words *abbas vocatus* he will add some such phrase as *modicum id quod est*, v.g.:

> Amantissimo Patri et domino Innocentio, Dei gratia summo Pontifici, frater Bernardus Clarae-Vallis vocatus abbas, modicum id quod est.[23]

Secondly, instead of *salutem dat*, he will add a spiritual wish or blessing, v.g.:

> Speciali amico suo Haimerico, Dei gratia diacono cardinali, et apostolicae Sedis cancellario, frater Bernardus de Clara-Valle, luce sapientiae et virtutis clarescere.[24]

Peter the Venerable always begins his letters with a salutation. Like St. Bernard, he usually ends it with a prayer or a blessing, but he also expands it at the beginning by some expresion of esteem, v.g.:

> Cum dulcedine recolendo, cum honore nominando, domino et Patri Altoni Trecensium episcopo, frater Petrus Cluniacensium humilis abas, se ipsum totum.[25]

Clear evidence, then, shows that our correspondence was written in accordance with the rules of artistic composition of the time.

4. STYLE.

The style of both the *Historia* and these letters is much the same. But that of Heloise's letters is more compact and involved, as one realizes when he attempts to translate some of the sentences. Her style too is more vivid and forceful than that of the *Historia* and of Abelard's letters. Of course the difference of content may account for this in part. The *Historia* is chiefly a narrative and the letters of Abelard are in general a reasoned reply to Heloise's impassioned reproaches, reflections and entreaties.

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[21] P. 68.

[22] P. 73.

[23] *Ep.* 189; PL 182, 354A.

[24] *Ep.* 157; PL 182, 315A.

[25] *Ep.* 18; PL 189, 87.

While the Latin of all these texts is grammatically correct, yet one could scarcely call its style finished and artistic. The reason is the repetition so often of sentences constructed in the same way. In this point they resemble the style of St. Gregory's *Moralia* so closely as to make one suspect it was derived from that work.

First of all is the frequent use of the *tanto. . . . quanto* clauses of comparison. Let us quote a sentence from the *Historia Calamitatum* and from the first letter of Heloise:

> Quod quidem et ipsi, qui inter conscholares nostros praecipui habebantur, *tanto* maiori sustinebant indignatione, *quanto* posterior habebar aetatis et studii tempore.[26] Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, *tanto* ardentius eam coepi legere, *quanto* scriptorem ipsum carius amplector.[27]

This construction occurs very frequently in both texts. Let us give some statistics. The page references are to Cousin's edition. The footnotes in PL 178 make the length of page texts very irregular.

	Use of Construction
Historia Calamitatum:	29 times in 34 pages of Cousin
1st letter of Heloise:	8 times in 6 pages.
2nd letter of Heloise:	9 times in 6½ pages.
3rd letter of Heloise:	twice in 14 pages.
1st letter of Abelard:	3 times in 5 pages.
2nd letter of Abelard:	14 times in 14 pages.

Use of construction in some other works of Abelard:

De Origine sanctimonialium:	12 times in 31 pages.
Regula sanctimonialium:	36 times in 60 pages.
Sermon (6) *on Sept.*:	6 times in 5 pages.
Sermon (8) *on the Palms*:	11 times in 9 pages.
Sermon (12) *on the Cross*:	3 times in 5 pages.
Sermon (33) *on John the Baptist*:	14 times in 25 pages.
Sic et non:	4 times in the first 75 pages.
Ethica:	twice in the whole treatise.

From this table the following conclusions are evident: (a) Abelard makes frequent use of this construction in other letters and in his sermons; (b) he uses it very little in his doctrinal works; (c) Heloise uses it more often than Abelard even in his letters to her; (d) it is used frequently in the *Historia Calamitatum*; (e) Heloise makes little use of it in her third letter which is largely an exposition of the incongruities of the *Rule of St. Benedict* when applied to nuns. The construction lends itself to use more in impassioned speech than in straight exposition.

This *tanto*, . . . *quanto* construction is found in all periods of Latin literature, but it is more common in Plautus and Terence than in classical prose. The closer a writer comes to vulgar Latin, usually the more common is the construction. Cicero seldom uses it in his speeches, while it is found, though not often, yet more frequently in his letters. For example, in his letter to Atticus[28] we find these two sentences in the space of ten lines:

> Qua ex re et molestia sane *tanta* affectus *quantam* mihi meus amor summus erga utrumque vestrum afferre debuit . . . nec *tantum* intelligebam ei esse

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[26] *Hist. Calamitatum*, p. 176.

[27] P. 68.

[28] *Epistles* I, 17.

> offensionis *quantum* litterae tuae declararunt nec *tantum* proficiebam *quantum* volebam.

St. Jerome makes use of it in his letters but not to a great extent. It is St. Gregory in his *Moralia* who uses this construction especially in his Prefaces with almost the same frequency as is found in the texts under consideration. Sometimes we find a cluster of *quanto* . . . *tanto* or a variation such as *quo* . . . *eo*, v.g., in the following consecutive lines:

> . . . *quo magis* aeternum refrigerium quaeritur, *eo magis* conspicitur quam vacue pro vita ista laboratur. Ad praestolantem vero laboriosas noctes subintulit, quia *quo magis* ex termino operis praemium quod assequamur inspicimus, *eo magis* ingemiscimus diu nos nescisse quod quaerimus. Unde et ipsa poenitentis cura vigilanter exprimitur ut laboriosas noctes enumerasse diceretur quia *quanto* verius ad Deum revertimur, *tanto* subtilius labores quos per ignorantiam in hoc mundo pertulimus dolendo pensamus. Nam *quo* unicuique plus dulce fit quod de aeternis desiderat, *eo* ei *magis* grave ostenditur . . .[29]

Here are five uses of comparative clauses in twelve lines of Migne. Neither Abelard nor Heloise reaches that percentage.

Let us take another peculiarity of style common both to the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters of Heloise and Abelard, viz., the frequent use of an *ut* clause tacked on at the end of a sentence. Let us take a few consecutive lines from the first letter of Heloise for an illustration:

> . . . non utique ab alio, sed a teipso, *ut* qui solus es in causa dolendi, solus sis in gratia consolandi. Solus quippe es qui me contristare, qui me laetificare, seu consolari valeas. Et solus es qui plurimum id mihi debeas, et nunc maxime cum universa quae iusseris in tantum impleverim *ut* cum te in aliquo offendere non possem, meipsam pro iussu tuo perdere sustinerem. Et quod maius est, dictuque mirabile, in tantam versus est amor insaniam *ut* quod solum appetebat hoc ipse sibi sine spe recuperationis auferret. Cum ad tuam statim iussionem tam habitum ipsa quam animum immutarem *ut* te tam corporis mei quam animi unicum possessorem ostenderem . . . ;[30]
> four times in ten lines.

Again let us give some figures. I find the following instances in:

Historia Calamitatum first 70 lines of Migne—14.
First letter of Heloise first 70 lines of Migne—9.
First reply of Peter first 70 lines of Migne—7.
Second letter of Heloise first 70 lines of Migne—15.
Second letter of Peter first 70 lines of Migne—6.
Third letter of Heloise first 70 lines of Migne—7.
Third letter of Peter first 70 lines of Migne—4.
Sermon on The Cross—7 times.

Here we see that the *Historia Calamitatum* and the first two letters of Heloise use the *ut plus subjunctive* construction more frequently.

This construction is found frequently also in Gregory's *Moralia*, especially in continuous passages of exposition. It is not so frequent where he explains a sentence of Job by a few lines. It is found most often in the Prefaces to the various books. The first Chapter of Book V,[31] for example, containing fifty lines, has nine such uses. Sometimes they go in clusters, *v.g.*:

> At cum bonis hic bene est et malis male, incertum valde fit utrum boni

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[29] *Moralia* VIII, 8; PL 75, 812B.
[30] P. 70.
[31] PL 75, 679-680.

> idcirco bona accipiant *ut* provocati ad aliquid melius crescant an iusto latentique iudicio hic suorum operum remunerationem percipiant *ut* a praemiis vitae sequentis inanescant; et utrum malos idcirco adversa feriant *ut* ab aeternis suppliciis corrigentia defendant; an hic eorum poena incipiat *ut* quandoque complenda . . . eos . . . perducat.
>
> Four instances in six lines.

We also find that in the letters of Abelard and Heloise the *ut* clause is modified by a subordinate clause introduced by a relative. The same construction is found in the *Moralia.* Let us illustrate this similarity of style. At the beginning of the first letter of Heloise we read:[32]

> Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, *tanto* ardentius eam coepi legere, *quanto* scriptorem ipsum carius amplector *ut cuius* rem perdidi, verbis saltem tamquam eius quadam imagine recreer.

Compare this with St. Gregory:[33]

> *Nescit homo pretium eius*, quoniam quisquis iam ratione utitur, *tanto* altius sub huius sapientiae intellectu se despicit, *quanto* eiusdem sapientiae verius interna cognoscit *ut* indignum se ad hanc pervenisse videat, *per quam* gratuito agitur ut dignus fiat.

These sentences are exactly parallel in structure: *tanto . . . quanto* followed by an *ut* clause which is modified by a subordinate clause introduced by a relative.

Several words, *saltem*, *pensare*, *quasi* recur but not too frequently, especially in the *Historia Calamitatum* and the first letter of Heloise; *quasi* is also found once in the first letter of Abelard. These words are also very frequently used in the *Moralia* of St. Gregory. The word *obsecro* recurs throughout the correspondence and it is also used to some extent in the other works of Abelard. But in impassioned parts of letters, it would naturally be used by any writer in any age and so its use here has no special significance. St. Jerome's letters were used both by Abelard and Heloise. They could easily have picked it up from him. Of course it is common in Cicero's orations.

We have only two other letters extant of Heloise, one prefixed to the treatise *Problemata*[34] and the other[35] to Peter of Cluny. Both are short and do not give sufficient material to base a judgment of her style on them. There is one use of the *tanto . . . quanto* construction in the first and four instances of the *ut and subjunctive* in the second. But of course every author makes use of this latter construction. In his sermons, Abelard uses to a limited extent both the *ut and subjunctive* construction and *quasi*. In the sermon on the Cross which takes up the space of five columns of Migne,[36] he uses *ut* and the subjunctive seven times and *quasi* five times. He uses *saltem* once.

To sum up: There are certain marked characteristics of the style of the *Historia Calamitatum* and the love letters of Abelard and Heloise, as distinguished from the letters which are really treatises, which run through them much more than in Latin prose texts of the twelfth century in general, but are found in abundance in the *Moralia* of St. Gregory. All these characteristics are found in the sermons of Abelard.[37] They are even more marked in Heloise's first two letters than in Abelard's replies. In other words, Heloise's style in the first two letters more closely resembles that of the *Historia Calamitatum* than that of Abelard's letters to her. This is partly due, no doubt, to the content of Abelard's replies which more abound in exposition based on quotations and references.

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[32] P. 68.

[33] PL 76, 75A.

[34] PL 178, 677-8.

[35] PL 189, 427-8.

[36] PL 178, 479 ff.

[37] PL 178, 379 ff.

5. UNITY OF REFERENCES, QUOTATIONS AND THOUGHT.

There are several passages in the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters of Abelard which not only in thought but in wording closely parallel passages in other works of Abelard. This should cause no surprise, but is just what one should expect.

But there are phrases and quotations found in the letters of Heloise to Abelard which correspond to parallel passages in the works of Abelard.

Heloise in her first letter uses the word *pseudo-Apostolorum* of the two men mentioned by Abelard in the *Historia Calamitatum* as maligners; he calls them *novi apostoli.* The word *pseudo-apostoli* was well known since it was used by St. Paul, Tertullian, St. Jerome, St. Gregory and by Abelard himself in his *Commentary on the Romans.*

Heloise uses the phrase *siccis oculis.*[38] It is also found in Abelard's *Sermon on the Passion.*[39] Here again the phrase is a commonplace from Horace down. It is used by St. Jerome,[40] and of course Heloise knew both her Horace and St. Jerome. She also says:[41] *si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat.* Abelard in *Historia Calamitatum* says: *Quod si ego taceam, res ipsa clamat.*[42] Both statements are expansions of Cicero: *cum tacent, clamant.*[43] Heloise could easily have picked it up from Abelard's use of it. Likely, however, it was one of the numerous *sententiae* from Cicero which everybody knew.

In her first letter, Heloise says:[44] *Non enim rei effectus, sed efficientis affectus in crimine est. Nec quae fiunt, sed quo animo fiunt aequitas pensat.* A similar statement is made in her third letter:[45] *Non itaque magnopere quae fiunt, sed quo animo fiant, pensandum est . . .* This, of course, is the expression of the doctrine of Abelard on intention as the determinant of morality. It is found in many places in Abelard's works.[46] The passage in Abelard's works whose wording most closely approximates that of Heloise is found in his letter, *Institutio sanctimonialium.*[47] *Nec tam quod fiat quam quo modo vel animo fiat pensandum est.* Here the phrase *quo animo* and the verb *pensat* are common. *Quo animo fiat* is very common from the time of Cicero, v.g.: . . . nisi quo animo, quo tempore, qua de causa factum sit, intelligatur.[48] Of course Heloise likely had heard Abelard speak of this doctrine more than once. The *Sic et non* was written, it seems, ten years before the correspondence, but while the thought is much the same in the passage referred to from this work, the wording is quite different. Did Abelard in his work *Institutio sanctimonialium* have this passage from Heloise's letter in mind? The similiarity of wording is so striking that it does not appear likely that each was written independently of the other.

There is another passage in the second letter of Heloise which presents even greater difficulty: *Nulla quidquid meriti apud Deum obtinent quae reprobris aeque ut electis communia sunt.*[49] She is speaking of external works. Compare this with Abelard's *Ethica:*[50] *Opera quippe quae, ut praediximus, aeque reprobis ut electis communia sunt . . .* The doctrine in these two excerpts is much the same as that in the quotations above. The argument here is that it is not the *effectus exterioris operis* which makes it good or bad and deserving of reward or punishment with God, but the right or wrong intention of the agent. This doctrine is found also in many places in Abelard's works, but it is in the above quotation that the wording is practically identical with that in the letter of Heloise. Certainly the two passages are related either by common origin or by imitation, one of the other. The *Ethica* is considered one of the latest of Abelard's works and so composed after Heloise wrote her second letter. Of course we cannot rule out the possibility that the common source is Abelard's mind, that she had heard him state it before the composition of the *Ethica.* But is it not more likely that the *Ethica* borrowed from the letter, or that the wording of both is by the same person?

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[38] P. 68.

[39] PL 178, 470A.

[40] *Ep.* 39; PL 22, 415.

[41] P. 69.

[42] P. 179.

[43] *I in Cat.*, 8.

[44] P. 72.

[45] PL 178, 223C.

[46] *Ethica;* PL 178, 652, 653 *et passim; Problemata* XV; PL 178, 703; *In Epist. ad Rom.;* PL 178, 801B; *Sic et non;* PL 178, 1587BC; *Dialogus inter Philos. Jud. et Christ.;* PL 178, 1619B.

[47] PL 178, 283D.

[48] *De Inv.* II, 26.

[49] P. 82.

[50] PL 178, 650B.

There are several instances where Heloise quotes a text of Scripture or a well-known statement of St. Jerome or St. Augustine to support her argument, which are also quoted by Abelard. This fact is of little importance; one could find repetition of quotations in any two authors of the Middle Ages who are writing on germane subjects.

6. Alleged Historical Discrepancies.

Schmeidler and others who reject the authenticity of the letters hold that Heloise in her first letter flatly contradicts statements of fact made by Abelard in his *Historia Calamitatum.* Abelard in two passages makes it clear that he had gone to the Oratory, and so had seen Heloise more than once. Schmeidler and others understand two passages in Heloise's first letter as saying he did not see or write to her since her entrance into religious life.
The two pertinent passages from the *Historia read as follows*:

> Illuc itaque reversus, eam cum quibusdam aliis de eadem congregatione ipsi adhaerentibus ad praedictum oratorium invitavi. Eoque illis adductis ipsum oratorium cum omnibus ei pertinentibus concessi et donavi . . . [51]
>
> Hoc ego saepe apud me pertractando, quantum mihi liceret, sororibus illis providere, et earum curam agere disposueram, et quo me amplius revererentur, corporali quoque praesentia eis invigilare et sic etiam earum necessitudinibus subvenire. Et cum me nunc frequentior ac maior persecutio filiorum quam olim fratrum affligeret, ad eas de aestu huius tempestatis, quasi ad quemdam tranquillitatis portum, recurrerem, atque ibi aliquantulum respirarem . . . [52]

In the first of these two passages, Abelard states that he returned to the Oratory and invited Heloise and her followers to occupy it. He does not say whether this invitation was extended by letter or in a personal interview. Also, that after they had been brought there, he turned over to them the Oratory and its possessions. He was likely there when he gave them possession, but he does not expressly say so. In the second passage, he states that as time went on he made repeated visits to Heloise and her nuns now installed in the Oratory; and to such an extent that the tongues of his detractors were set wagging.[53]

This evidence is confirmed by Abelard in other texts. He tells us that he was present in the Oratory at their recitation of the Office.[54] He wrote at Heloise's request a set of sermons for special feasts which apparently were to be read by the Abbess to her community.[55] In answer to her request also, he composed a book of hymns and sequences.[56] In other words, he gave spiritual instruction and direction to the nuns as a body.

The passages from the first *Letter* of Heloise which, it has been claimed, flatly contradict all this are as follows:

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[51] P. 205.

[52] P. 209.

[53] P. 206.

[54] P. 76

[55] Cf. the letter of Abelard prefatory to his sermons; PL 178, 379.

[56] Cf. The Preface to Abelard's *Hymni et Sequentiae;* PL 178, 1771.

> Unde, non mediocri admiratione nostrae tenera conversationis initia tua iam dudum oblivio movit quod, nec reverentia Dei nec amore nostri nec sanctorum patrum exemplis admonitus, fluctuantem me et iam diutino moerore confectam, vel sermone praesentem, vel epistola absentem consolari tentaveris.[57]
>
> Dic unum, si vales, cur post conversionem nostram, quam tu solus facere decrevisti, in tantam tibi negligentiam atque oblivionem venerim ut nec colloquio praesentis recreer, nec absentis epistola consoler.[58]

Do these texts imply that Abelard had never visited Heloise? It is a question of their meaning.

First of all, *Ms* Troyes 802 reads *conversionis* for *conversationis*. But the latter reading has the authority of all the other manuscripts known to be extant. The reading of the Troyes manuscript (which in general is the best) can be accounted for by the fact that writers and scribes often use *conversio* in the sense of *conversatio*. In the manuscripts of this correspondence, *conversio* will almost invariably be found as a variant for *conversatio*. The same thing is true in those of the Benedictine Rule and other ascetical works.[59]

Admiratione is ablative of manner or means; *iam dudum*[60] with the perfect *movit* signifies 'long ago;' *tentaveris* is subjunctive, softening the bluntness of the idea which would have been conveyed by the indicative; the line of demarcation between the indicative and subjunctive is less clearly drawn in Mediaeval Latin than in Classical Latin. The participles *fluctuantem*, *confectam* and *praesentem* agree with *me*. The sentence would run in English:

> The frail beginnings of our religious life were long ago troubled with no little disappointment at your forgetfulness of me: for I was wavering and weighed down with lasting grief but you were not moved by reverence for God, love of me or the precedents of the holy Fathers to try to give me solace either by a talk when I was in your presence or by a letter when we were apart.

Heloise is simply saying that in the beginning of their religious life, she was sorely tried by Abelard's neglect; he neither wrote her any letter of spiritual consolation or direction nor had a talk with her when he saw her. I can see no valid reason for making this apply only to her life at the Paraclete. That was not the beginning of her religious life. *Iamdudum* could scarcely apply to the comparatively short time elapsing between the cessation of Abelard's visits to the Paraclete and the apparent date of Heloise's letter. *Nostrae* does not include the other nuns of the Paraclete; the singular *me* rules that out.

The second passage confirms this interpretation for it is in meaning almost a repetition of the first. *Nostram* refers both to Heloise and Abelard, as is clear from the first sentence of Abelard's reply:

> Quod post *nostram* a saeculo ad Deum conversionem nondum tibi aliquid consolationis vel exhortationis scripserim non negligentiae meae sed tuae . . . prudentiae imputandum est.[61]

There is no variant reading in the manuscripts for *nostram*. Abelard then considered that *nostram* as used by Heloise referred to both of them. The present tense of *recreer* and *consoler* means that the condition still exists. In English it means: "Answer me this one question, if you can: Why is it that ever since our entrance into monastic life which was your decision, not mine, you have so disregarded and forgotten me that you do not renew my spirit by a private talk (colloquio) when on a visit or console me by letter when you are away?" Heloise here again complains that all during her religious life since their conversion, Abelard has so forgotten her that he has never written a letter of consolation or comforted her by a talk when he saw her.

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[57] P. 70.

[58] P. 72.

[59] Cf. Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (London, New York, 1924), pp. 134 ff.

[60] Cf. te quoque res ipsa iam dudum edocuit; *Hist. Cal.*, p. 179.

[61] P. 73.

Does Heloise in these two extracts contradict the statements of Abelard in the *Historia Calamitatum* and the other documents quoted above, Not at all. Abelard states that he often visited the Oratory to look after his nuns; he attended the recitation of the Office and wrote conferences for them. Heloise does not contradict this but complains only that he would not have a spiritual talk with her when he was at the Oratory or write her when he was away. In other words, he did not and would not become her individual spiritual director. He would not, as she puts it, be a 'St. Jerome to Asella' towards her. His constant purpose clearly stands out in his letters to wean her away from her infatuation for him to a sincere and wholehearted love of God. In view of their past history, he acted as any priest with an ounce of sense would have conducted himself.

Abelard speaks, in his reply to her second letter, of her old and constant complaint about the circumstances of their conversion and entrance into religious life.[62] This, some allege, proves that she had spoken to him on the matter long ago and more than once, and so contradicts the above quotations. Again, we must insist on the meaning of the text. This passage does imply that she had often and of old spoken in complaint on their downfall which had led to their entrance into religious life. That is very possible and likely. Heloise in her interviews likely did introduce the subject more than once and expected Abelard to enter into a discussion of it and try to console her. But since Abelard would not act as her spiritual guide, he would not be drawn into a discussion of her spiritual affairs; Abelard would leave that to her director, which under the circumstances was the proper thing to have done.

Heloise in her first letter writes to Abelard as though he were still abbot of Saint Gildas in charge of his unruly monks. But, some allege, Abelard wrote the *Historia Calamitatum* after he had fled from his monks. First of all, it is not known just when Abelard gave up his post as Abbot. But towards the close of the *Historia Calamitatum* he distinctly states he is still Abbot, subject to the persecution[63] of his monks and in danger of their treachery.

In Abelard's reply[64] to the first letter of Heloise, he says that he has been quick to send her the Psalter which she had requested. But in her first letter she made no such request. Further, it is argued, one could hardly suppose a Benedictine convent in the Middle Ages to be without a Psalter. Heloise could easily have requested it on the occasion of one of his visits. As we have seen above, he wrote the special sermons and the hymns and sequences in response to her request. But surely no one would declare those works spurious because we have no such request mentioned anywhere by Heloise.

But a convent in the Middle Ages would have a Psalter and likely several copies. It was in common use in the Middle Ages in the Office which was recited in choir both by monks and nuns. As stated above, Abelard in this same letter states that he had assisted at the recitation of the Office by the nuns of the Paraclete. Further, Heloise asks Abelard[65] to rearrange the order of the Psalms in their Office so as to avoid repetition in covering the entire Psalter each week. It is certain then that the Paraclete possessed a Psalter.

But does the word *Psalterium* in this passage necessarily mean the Book of Psalms? In Greek and Latin, it first meant a musical instrument and then a song or hymn sung to the accompaniment of this instrument. The term was applied to the Psalms very early; and that was the common meaning of the term in mediaeval Latin; but it had several other uses. It was applied to verses of reproach or satire in the post-classical period. In the later Middle Ages it was a name for the rosary.[66] From the twelfth century, it was used as a name of one hundred and fifty stanzas of praise in honor of some sacred theme. Volume 35 of the *Analecta Hymnica* is made up of such *psalteria* such as *Psalterium Sanctae Crucis*, *Psalterium de Passione Domini*, *Psalterium Iesu*, etc. From these uses there could easily have developed what I suggest is the meaning of *Psalterium* in this letter of Abelard, viz., verses to be chanted alternately.

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[62] P. 87.

[63] P. 210.

[64] P. 73.

[65] See the last paragraph in the third letter of Heloise; PL 178, 226A.

Abelard says that he is grateful for the prayers of the nuns of the Paraclete for his protection, and for this purpose he hastened to send the Psalter which Heloise had requested. Now the Psalter would not constitute a prayer specially designed for his protection. Abelard closes the letter[67] by citing a versicle and response together with a prayer which the nuns had been saying for him at the end of each Hour of the Breviary. He then adds several[68] versicles and responses followed by another prayer for his protection which they were to say for him. These versicles and responses would be chanted alternately in choir and the prayer sung by the Abbess. This Chant, I submit is what he means when he says at the beginning of the letter that he hastens to send a Psalter. There are then no real discrepancies between the meaning of the text of the *Historia Calamitatum* and Abelard's letters on the one hand and that of the letters of Heloise.

7. The Character of Abelard's Replies.

It is noteworthy that in Abelard's reply to Heloise's first letter he makes no reference to some of her most impassioned statements. She had written that the status of concubine appeared to her sweeter than that of wife; that she would prefer to be Abelard's mistress than the wife of Augustus with the world as a dowry.

One would expect that Abelard would have chided her and tried to set her right in regard to such extravagant and sinful dispositions. In his second reply he had tried to make her recognize God's providence and will. But in his first reply, on the contrary, he speaks of her as one upon whom divine grace had bestowed all goods so that by word and example she could teach, comfort and exhort her subjects. He asks her to pray for him, and the most of his first reply is simply a treatise on the efficacy of prayer.

Likewise in her second letter, Heloise states that she is not displeased when the memories of their past deeds so distract her that they possess her even at Mass and in sleep. Abelard in his reply divides her letter into four points but her sinful adherence to sensual memories is not one of them.

It is quite evident that Abelard in his two replies tries to raise Heloise up to a truer love of God. One might expect some word of disapproval of such impassioned and sinful protestations of love.

The only statements in his replies which could be alleged as references to her sensual expressions of love are: (a) where he warns her not to incur the charge[69] flung at Cornelia in Lucan's *Pharsalia*: *Quod defles, illud amasti. Attende, precor,* (Abelard goes on) *id et erubesce, nisi admissas turpitudines*

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[66] Cf. *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche s.v.*

[67] P. 76.

[68] P. 76. These prayers would likely be inserted in their Breviary. From the end of the eleventh century the several books which had been required for the recitation of the Office, viz., psalter, antiphonary, books of responses, chapters, collects, hymns, lectionaries—all these came to be compressed into a single volume, the Breviary. Cf. V. Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1934), pp. LX ff. *et passim.*

[69] P. 92. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia* VIII, 85.

impudentissimas commendes. But in her letters Heloise plainly does approve of her past infidelities with Abelard when she says that she preferred to be his concubine or harlot than his wife, his mistress than the wife of Augustus with the world as a dowry. (b) A little later[70] Abelard writes that he thanks God for having removed from him the heat of passion through his mutilation and adds: *Multas adolescentiae tuae maiores animi passiones ex assidua carnis suggestione reservavit ad martyrii coronam.* But according to Heloise's own testimony her reliving and longing for the past was not winning any crown but was being sinfully indulged in and forming her real life and character.

8. HELOISE OF THE LETTERS IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE TIME.

But there is another problem which has a bearing on the authenticity. It is this: the character and religious spirit of Heloise as expressed in the *Historia Calamitatum* and in her letters to Abelard is quite at variance with the reputation she enjoyed with persons of renown from the Pope down.

In her first two letters to Abelard, Heloise exhibits a whole-hearted love, devotion and self-surrender which is unsurpassed, so far as I know, in all literary history. Considered on the natural level, there is a beauty and pathos in her persevering, soul-absorbing love, even after years of separation. The story of Heloise and Abelard is really a tragedy, based on the conflict of two opposing forces. Abelard had been the original cause of the mischief by his seduction of Heloise. But after his mutilation and subsequent entrance into religion and Holy Orders, he was a changed man. Heloise ever remained dear to him, but he always kept his love for her in due submission to the higher love of his God and Redeemer, to Whom he was pledged and consecrated. He tries to sublimate the love of Heloise for him up to the level of her faith so that her love for him, while remaining, is according to Christ and in Christ. Heloise, on the other hand, persists in her intense passion with a human, if not carnal, love which finds in him alone its term. The drama consists in the conflict of these two forces as described so vividly in the first four letters, two from Heloise and two from Abelard, which, so far as the letters record it, ends in the first paragraph of the third letter of Heloise in which she submits to the will of Abelard, to write no more of her unbounded love and grief, not because they no longer rend her soul but to escape incurring his displeasure. The final curtain is rung down some ten years later when Abelard, broken and defeated and approaching death, turns his thoughts to Heloise and sends to her his profession of faith which even in his darkest hours he had kept; and the tragedy is sealed when Heloise receives the mortal remains of Abelard, for whom she had pined so many years, and interred them at the Oratory in order that, in compliance with Abelard's last recorded request, she and her nuns might visit his grave and pray for his soul the rest of their days.

Such in bare outline is the tragedy; and, as I have said, viewed from the natural standpoint, the undying love of Heloise is a theme of beauty and pathos which has struck a chord of admiration and sympathy in the hearts of many throughout the succeeding ages from Petrarch, at any rate, to the present day. To one considering the affair as simply human love, Heloise plays the nobler part; Abelard is ungrateful and cruel.

But if we consider Heloise's side of the case from the standpoint of the principles of her faith and of the life to which she was pledged, it takes on a different character. Let us consider the Heloise as the young lover of Abelard and later as a nun, a prioress and finally, as an abbess, as she pictures herself in her own words.

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[70] P. 93.

In the *Historia Calamitatum* and her letters, she is represented as a woman who is so infatuated with Abelard that she is all but beside herself; Abelard is a superman, an ideal, which she worships . She becomes possessed with self-pity, and in her brooding love imagines that she and Abelard are reliving great characters in history. She is Cornelia and he is Pompey. In the ceremony of the reception of the veil, just before going up to the altar, Abelard says that she quotes these verses spoken by Cornelia to Pompey as he landed on Lesbos after his defeat at Pharsalus:

> O thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habebat
> In tantum fortuna caput? cur impia nupsi,
> Si miserum factura fui? nunc accipe poenas,
> Sed quas sponte luam.[71]

Again, in her first letter to Abelard, whom she addresses as "her lord, yes her father; her spouse, yes her brother", Heloise declares that she had married him and afterwards became a nun, not of her own choice but to obey his will and command. She implores him to write her and return favour for favour.

At other times she puts her relations with Abelard on the level of those between St. Jerome and holy women for whom he acted as spiritual guide; she begs Abelard to be a Jerome to her as to a Paula or an Asella.

In the same letter, she describes the depth of her love for Abelard from the beginning which has persevered throughout her life. She did not seek marriage or dowry; but only to conform to his pleasure and will; she goes on:

> Et si uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper exstitit amicae vocabulum, aut, si non indigneris, concubinae vel scorti.[72]

That such a sinful disposition still exists is certainly clear from the words, *semper exstitit, indigneris.* She goes on a few lines further:

> Deum testem invoco (*present*), si me Augustus universo praesidens mundo matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo possidendum, carius mihi et dignius videretur tua dici meretrix quam illius imperatrix.[73]

Here she invokes the Almighty as a witness to her statement that if Augustus offered her the whole world as a dowry in marriage, to her the name of Abelard's mistress would appear of greater worth and more sublime. Both the language and syntax show that, far from deploring such an attitude, she had it still at the time of writing.

Further on in the same letter she says:

> Aeque autem, Deus scit, ad Vulcania loca (*note the literary conceit*) te properantem praecedere vel sequi pro iussu tuo minime dubitarem. Non enim mecum animus meus, sed tecum erat. Sed et nunc maxime, si tecum non est, nusquam est.[74]

Heloise at Abelard's bidding would not hesitate if he so commanded to go before or after him to hell. Her heart has always been Abelard's and continues to be. Her second letter to Abelard who is addressed as 'her own after Christ' contains less of impassioned appeal but is more an estimate of herself in view of her profession and ends with the hope that she may do penance and find at last a refuge in a corner of heaven. But she goes on to say that Abelard and her carnal delights with him are ever in her mind, even in sleep. This causes her no worry but she sighs for what she has lost and reenacts in her mind the shameful deeds of the past:

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[71] *Hist. Cal.*, p. 191. Cf. Lucan *Pharsalia* 8, 94-8.

[72] P. 71.

[73] P. 71.

[74] Pp. 72-73.

> In tantum vero illae, quas pariter exercuimus, amantium voluptates dulces mihi fuerunt, ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix a memoria labi possint. Quocumque loco me vertam, semper se oculis meis cum suis ingerunt desideriis. Nec etiam dormienti suis illusionibus parcunt. Inter ipsa missarum solemnia, ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscena earum voluptatum phantasmata ita sibi penitus misserrimam captivant animam ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam orationi vacem. Quae cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis, suspiro potius de amissis. Nec solum quae egimus, sed loca pariter et tempora, in quibus haec egimus, ita tecum nostro infixa sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam. Nonnumquam etiam ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec a verbis temperant improvisis.[75]

And just below she goes on:

> Castam me praedicant, qui non deprehendunt hypocritam . . . Religiosa hoc tempore iudicor in quo iam parva pars religionis non est hypocrisis . . . In omni autem, Deus scit, vitae meae statu, te magis adhuc offendere quam Deum vereor; tibi placere amplius quam ipsi peto.[76]

Her whole religious life, she says, has been almost entirely a tissue of hypocrisy, not devotion to God. Her entrance into religion was to please Abelard alone and throughout her whole life she was afraid of offending, not God, but him.

Such is the Heloise pictured in the *Historia Calamitatum* and her letters. A woman likely in her early thirties, she had been a nun nearly fifteen years, prioress both at Argenteuil and at the Paraclete, and abbess when she wrote the letters. But abbess as she was, she had without ceasing kept alive her infatuation for Abelard who was now a priest and an abbot. Her whole religious life had been entered into and lived, not from motives of faith, but solely to please him. It was his memory that kept her going on. Her heart was nowhere but with him. No expression of repentance escapes her lips but on the contrary she nurses the infatuation, even though she admits it is eating out the very heart of her spiritual being. She has lived with a false front and played the role of hypocrite so successfully that not even Abelard penetrated it. She tries by every entreaty to get him to enter into a personal correspondence under the guise of spiritual consolation in order that, by his letters, she may feel that she is in his presence.[77]

Now let us look at the Heloise of history, apart from these documents. The material is not plentiful, yet sufficient to warrant some conclusions. As abbess she must have ruled the Paraclete in a highly successful manner. Her convent attracted so many vocations that within a period of some twenty years she established no fewer than six daughter houses[78] which, together with the Oratory, formed 'The Order of the Paraclete'. Many donations of real estate and chattels were made to her house; this we know especially from the Cartulary of the Paraclete which contains twenty-nine documents for the period of her administration, sixteen of which are deeds of gifts, charters of royal and papal confirmations of ownership, etc.[79] The Paraclete came to have quite numerous possessions and was the recipient of papal and royal favours regarding remission of taxes, protection against marauders and anyone else infringing on its property rights. All this would indicate that the convent was most highly esteemed by the people and the kings of France, as well as by the popes who reigned during her tenure of office.

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[75] Pp. 80-1.

[76] P. 81.

[77] The suggestion might occur to one that the reading of the *Historia Calamitatum* awakened her old love for Abelard and that she reads her renewed love into all her past years in religious life; also that she shows signs of physical and emotional strain which might have characterized her for perhaps the comparatively short time within which she wrote the letters. But the plain meaning of the text does not support such an interpretation.

[78] Enid McLeod, *op. cit.*, p. 216-7 lists them.

[79] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 211-2 and notes 202, 203. Also Cousin I, pp. 719-726.

The text of ten papal bulls regarding the Oratory given in the cartulary are printed in Cousin *Omnia Opera Abelardi* I, 719-726. Most of them are worded in the customary form of the papal chancery and contain no personal note of approval. However, the Bull of Adrian IV in 1157 has this sentence:

> . . . bonae vestrae conversationis odor hortatur iustis postulationibus vestris benignum impertiri consensum, et quae ad utilitatem et quietem vestram pertinent libenti animo adimplere.[80]

'The renown of your good religious life' clearly indicates that the Paraclete had a high reputation as a well-ordered religious house.

To build up and to maintain a spirit of piety and religious observance over a period of years, to preside over a religious house where the life attracts enough vocations for six other foundations, one would be strongly inclined to assume, must be the work of a person of sincerity, zeal and holiness and not a self-confessed hypocrite whose heart has all the while been possessed of a spirit of sensuality. There is no other instance in monastic history, so far as I know it, of an abbot or abbess or any other religious superior who so built up and maintained over years a well-ordered religious centre, who was not imbued with sincerity and motivated by the love of God.

There are two other documents which shed some light on the esteem in which Heloise was held. One is a letter[81] of Abelard to St. Bernard in which he says that Heloise had informed him of St. Bernard's visit to the Paraclete. Whether this visit took place before or after the composition of the *Historia Calamitatum* we do not know. Likely it was before, for Abelard says that he had heard the news on the ocassion of a recent visit to the Paraclete to transact some business. Apparently it was a friendly visit, for Abelard says she told him of it *cum summa exultatione*, and this in spite of the fact that Bernard did not approve of the use of the word *supersubstantialem* in their recitation of the Lord's prayer, instead of *quotidianum*.

Now I think that any one who knows the fibre of St. Bernard would readily grant that he, at the time of a friendly visit, held Heloise and her convent in high esteem.

A second document is a reply[82] of Peter the Venerable to a non-extant letter from Heloise right after Abelard's death. In this letter, Peter speaks in the highest terms of her learning and holiness. He also gives a brief sketch of her spiritual development. He says that he remembers that as a youth he had cherished (*dilexisse*) her long ago before she entered religion because of her studies:

> I used to hear of you then as a woman who though still entangled in the coils of the world was giving great attention to the knowledge of letters, a rare thing indeed, and also to the pursuit of wisdom though secular; and that neither the pleasures, the trifles or delights of the world could draw you back from your useful purpose of learning the arts.

This is evidently a reference to her early relations with Abelard which would be well known, no doubt, in ecclesiastical circles apart from the text of *Historia Calamitatum*. But, as Peter goes on, God soon called her by his grace and she changed her studies for the better. She chose the Gospel instead of logic, the Apostle for physics, Christ for Plato, the cloister for the Academy, as a woman wholly and truly a philosopher. She erected a precious tabernacle to God in her heart. He compares her to Mary, the sister of Moses, and to Deborah, and then goes on:

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[80] Cousin, *Petri Abaelardi Opera* I, p. 725.

[81] PL 178, 335 ff.

[82] PL 189, 305 ff.

> by your beginnings you trod upon the head of the old serpent . . . which by your perseverance through the grace of Almighty God you so ground and crushed that he never dares any more to hiss at you . . . All this, my very dear sister in Christ, I say not in flattery but as an exhortation that keeping your mind on the great and good work in which some considerable time you have persevered, you be rendered the more anxious to preserve it with caution, to enkindle by word and work alike the holy women who are serving the Lord with you.

And further on Peter says:

> Sweet would it be to go on writing to you in this vein for a long time, because your renowned erudition delights me and much more because your piety proclaimed to me by many intrigues me.

He expresses a wish that Marcigny, a Cluniac convent, had her within its walls. He would prefer the wealth of her piety and knowledge to the greatest treasures of kings.

This letter was written likely right after Abelard's death, for its main theme is a description of his last days and holy death. The thought running through the part I have reproduced certainly shows that Peter considered her a true and holy religious. He alludes to her life of pleasure before entering religion, but testifies that from the beginning of her conversion she had led a holy life and by her perseverance had utterly crushed the 'head of the old serpent'. His fulsome expression of his esteem of her holiness is climaxed by saying that he wished his nuns at Marcigny had her with them with her riches of knowledge and piety.

This picture of Heloise does not accord at all with the Heloise of her first two letters to Abelard. Peter considered her an exemplary abbess. Had Peter read those letters? The whole tone of his letter is against such a supposition. Otherwise, how could he say she had chosen Christ and His Gospel and had built a precious tabernacle for Him in her heart? Would he have wished that she were one of his Cluniac nuns? After all, Peter the Venerable was a man of probity, holiness and intelligence. Religious leaders in the Middle Ages were not squeamish, and were quite ready to make due allowance for human weakness, but to say that they would welcome in one of their own convents, as a shining light of religious life, a self-confessed concubine at heart is going a little too far. It just does not make sense.

There are extant also two letters[83] of an Augustinian canon, Hugo Mettelus, to Heloise. The author, as is evidenced by his letter[84] to St. Bernard, was a man who tried to enter the circle of the great or the near-great. The letters are full of flattery and bombast. The one value they have for our purpose is that they show that Heloise was, in his mind, one of the important persons whose acquaintance would be of value for his own prestige.

Several of the early chronicles mention Abelard and describe him and his life and work briefly, but few of them refer to Heloise. But any reference to her represents her as holy and learned, not the Heloise of her letters. The first chronicle which refers to Heloise is that attributed to William Godel, which goes to the year 1173. For the year 1137, there is an entry regarding Abelard in which we find the following passage:

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[83] C. F. Hugo, *Sacrae Antiquitatis Monumenta* II, pp. 348-9. McLeod *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff. summarizes them.

[84] Hugo, *op. cit.*, p. 312 ff. Hugo later on wrote to the Pope against Abelard, also in a flowery, conceited style. Cf. *op. cit.*, II, p. 331.

> Construxit denique Coenobium in territorio Trescassino, in prato quodam ubi legere solitus fuerat, in quo Sanctimoniales plurimas epistolari auctoritate congregavit quod Paraclitum nominavit. Quibus sanctimonialibus quondam uxorem suam religiosam foeminam et litteris tam hebraicis quam latinis adprime eruditam, nomine Heluisam praefecit Abbatissam quae vere ipsius amica, magnam ei post mortem in assiduis precibus fidem conservavit. Quo in loco nunc ambo coram sancto altari honorificentissime sepulti quiescunt.[85]

Here Heloise is called the former wife of Abelard and truly his friend (*amica*), who remained so true to him that she constantly prayed for him after his death. Of course, *amica* could be rendered lover or dear one, but it here carries no connotation of the secret and frustrated love found in the letters of Heloise. She is represented as a religious and learned woman. The entry describes the Heloise of the letter of Peter of Cluny, not that of her letters. Of course, it was written after the death of Heloise, as can be seen. This entry is repeated almost word for word in the Chronicle of[86] Robert of Auxerre, who died in 1212.

There is an interpolated entry in a thirteenth century manuscript which contains the Chronicle of Tours which goes down to 1227. The passage runs as follows:

> Haec namque, sicut dicitur, in aegritudine ultima posita praecepit, ut mortua infra (*intra*?) mariti tumulum poneretur. Et sic eadem defuncta ad tumulum apertum deportata, maritus ejus, qui multis diebus ante eam defunctus fuerat, elevatis brachiis illam recepit, et ita eam amplexatus, brachia sua strinxit.[87]
>
> For Heloise, it is said, in her last illness gave orders that after her death her remains were to be placed within the tomb of her husband. And when her corpse was carried to the opened tomb her husband dead many days before received her with extended arms and embracing her bound his arms about her.

This legend may be a development of the tales of Senator Hilary and his wife, and of the two lovers recorded twice by St. Gregory of Tours.[88]

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[85] *Receuil des Historiens de la France* XIII, p. 675.

[86] *Op. cit.*, pp. 293-4.

[87] For information about this manuscript, I am indebted to the work of Enid McLeod already cited. On page 290, and in note 224, she states that the story is also found in one manuscript version of the Chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis.

[88] In chapter 42 of his *Liber de Gloria Confessorum*, PL 71, 860-1, Gregory relates a somewhat similar story. A secular, Hilary of Divion, lived with his wife in sanctity. They had several sons. Hilary's remains, at his death, were placed in a large sepulchre which Hilary had had made large enough for both him and his wife. After a year, the wife died; they took the cover off the tomb to bury her and when she was placed in the tomb Hilary raised his right hand and cast it about her neck. Gregory concludes the story: *Quod admirans populus . . . cognivitque quae eis castitas, qui timor in Deum, quae etiam inter ipsas dilectio fuisset in saecula, qui se ita amplexi sunt in sepulcro.*

In his *Historia Francorum* I, 42; PL 71, 183-4 and in his *Liber de Gloria Confessorum*, 32; PL 71, 852, St. Gregory relates that a certain Injuriosus and his wife, each a sole descendent of senatorial families of Auvergne, through a spiritual motive never consummated their marriage. In the second account Gregory says the husband took Holy Orders and the wife became a nun. When his wife died, just before being placed in her sepulchre, she smiled and spoke to her husband. At his death, the husband was placed in a tomb some distance from that of his wife but in the same church. On the morning after his burial, the people were astonished to find their tombs placed side by side. Gregory concludes the story with these words: *Hos usque hodie Duos Amantes vocitare loci incolae voluerunt.*

In the *Vitae Patrum*, in chapter 50 of the *Vita Sancti Ioannis Eleemosynarii*; PL 73, 380C, it is related that St. John was buried in a tomb in which the remains of two holy bishops had been placed. When the tomb was opened to receive St. John's remains, the two bishops moved over to give him

Here we see in this fanciful story the beginning of the legend of Heloise about a century after the supposed date of the composition of the letters. While it is not based on Heloise's letters, yet it is an outgrowth of the spirit of them. It would show that the love of Heloise and Abelard was so intense and lasting that she directed that her remains be buried in the same tomb as Abelard's and that he reached out and clasped the corpse of Heloise in a close embrace. So much for the Chronicles.

Of the poems of popular poetry, it might be well to mention two pieces which have attracted attention. De la Villemarqué in 1839 published a French translation[89] of a Breton popular song entitled *Héloise et Abaylard.* Both the authenticity and the supposed date of composition have been severely attacked. Whatever be the date and origin of the poem, it in no way represents the Heloise of her letters, but a sorceress with secret knowledge and power. A Latin poem,[90] attributed to Raoul Tortaire, a contemporary of Abelard, treats of the beauty of Heloise and refers to the mutilation of Abelard, but bears no resemblance to her letters.

The earliest documents, then, which show any trace of the legendary Heloise are the lines from the thirteenth-century interpolation in the *Chronicle of Tours* and the *Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi.* And the former of these, representing Heloise as yearning for Abelard, may well be based on her first letter, yet it could have arisen from gossip in Paris or from some student song. The entry in the Chronicle may have been inspired by the fact that Peter of Cluny, as he himself tells us, had Abelard's body taken up secretly and borne to the Oratory for burial. This fact was likely well known. Of course, Abelard at the close of his first letter requests Heloise, after his death, to have his remains brought to the Oratory where she and her nuns might be encouraged to pray for him. The entry in the Chronicle might have been written independently of this request of Abelard, but it appears likely that the author of the entry had read it.

III. CONCLUSION

I have tried in this paper to set forth the evidence for or against the authenticity of these letters. From the information furnished by present day scholarship, I do not consider that one can arrive at certitude on this moot question. Perhaps more manuscripts will yet come to light. A critical edition of all Abelard's works with their manuscript tradition may also help to solve the problem.

These letters together with the *Historia Calamitatum* form a literary unit. They follow each other in logical sequence with no inherent contradictions. Heloise's first letter is occasioned by the *Historia* and each of the others is a reply to the one preceding it up to the last. The first paragraph of her third letter pictures Heloise as submitting to the will of Abelard not to seek spiritual guidance and direction from him but to limit her letters to particular points of difficulty pertaining to religious life in general. She makes this submission not through internal conviction but to yield to his will.

The only point I find in this correspondence which does not carry out the sequence perfectly is that Abelard makes no reference to some of her impassioned and carnal outbursts. The general tone of his replies is to sublimate

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room between them. Tertullian in his *De Anima,* chapter 51; PL 2, 782B, mentions the case of a body moving over in the tomb to make room for another being placed therein. Of course, the beautiful story of Philemon and Baucis in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 8, 621 ff., also comes to mind.

[89] In the work *Barzas-Breiz, Chants populaires de la Bretagne,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1839). For the French text and a review of the question, cf. Charrier, *op. cit.,* pp. 102-7. McLeod, *op. cit.,* pp. 55-6, gives an English rendering.

[90] *Documents inédits sur Abélard tirés des mss. de Fleury, conservés à la Bibl. publ. d'Orléans* by Ch. Cuissard (Orleans, 1881), pp. 34-39.

Heloise's love for him, to try to intensify her love of God and consecration to Christ. And yet there is no mention, much less a word of chiding or disapproval, of her expressions of a sensual and carnal love which she admits is vitiating her whole religious life. One would expect from Abelard some word of notice and disapproval of such exclamations so contrary to her state.

The manuscripts cast no positive doubt on the authenticity of these letters. The same titles of address are found in all. The headings of the letters, v.g., *Heloissae suae ad ipsum deprecatoria*, while not found in the later manuscripts, are all in *Ms* Troyes 802, the oldest and best, and in the first hand. They are manifestly the creation of scribes. No extant manuscript gives the slightest hint of authorship other than that of Abelard and Heloise. On the other hand, it is surprising that we have no manuscript written before the end of the thirteenth century, whereas there are earlier ones for all of the works of Abelard critically edited so far; and the letter[91] entitled *Epistola Petri Abailardi contra Bernardum Abbatem* is plainly twelfth-century.

The fact that these letters made practically no appeal to the later Middle Ages, except to Jean de Meung, while remarkable, does not prove that they were unknown to them. Except for Petrarch, the Humanists showed no interest in them either but they were surely accessible to them. The literary form of the letters accords with the principles of epistolary correspondence as found in the *ars dictaminis* of the latter part of the eleventh century on.

The similarities in style present a difficulty. The frequent repetition of the *tanto . . . quanto* construction; of the *ut* with the subjunctive tacked on to the close of a sentence; the fact that these constructions occur so frequently in the first two letters of Heloise and the *Historia Calamitatum*; and the equally frequent use of the same constructions in the *Moralia* of St. Gregory, all these are more easily accounted for if we assume that the first two letters of Heloise, at any rate, are of a later redaction. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that a few statements in the same two letters are expressed in almost the same words in Abelard's later works.

Then, too, her letters picture Heloise as leading a double life: that of a religious superior bound by vows, and as a woman of sensual mind, serving Abelard and not God, or as she herself puts it, being such a hypocrite as to fool even Abelard himself. On the other hand, Heloise enjoyed a good reputation among the religious leaders of the time from the Pope down and among the people about the Paraclete which was that of a sincere, able and holy religious and a worthy abbess.

In view of the evidence, I am inclined to think that the first two letters of Heloise, at any rate, were worked over and perhaps expanded to some extent. Who was this redactor? It could have been Abelard but, if it was, then the letters were not put into circulation until well after his death. Neither Peter the Venerable nor Pope Adrian IV would have written to Heloise in the vein in which they did, had the letters of Heloise been already in circulation. It is difficult to suppose that it was Heloise. From what we know of her from other sources, she would not have desired to leave such a character sketch of herself as her *monumentum aere perennius*. It is quite possible and I think probable that someone else toward the end of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century gathered the letters together, rewrote the first two letters of Heloise and put the *Historia Calamitatum* and the letters both of Abelard and Heloise into circulation. But if that be the case, the redactor was no ordinary mortal. No one but a literary genius could have so depicted frustrated love and so fathomed the depths of the heart of a woman infatuated with a man who is beyond her reach as is found in these two letters of Heloise which have so intrigued the minds and hearts of men the last three centuries.

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[91] P. 49.

IV. TEXT

I. (Heloisae suae ad ipsum deprecatoria)[1]

DOMINO suo immo patri, coniugi suo immo fratri, ancilla sua immo filia, ipsius uxor immo soror, Abaelardo Heloisa.[2]

Missam ad amicum[3] pro consolatione epistolam, dilectissime, vestram[4] ad me forte quidam[5] nuper attulit. Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, tanto ardentius eam coepi legere, quanto scriptorem ipsum carius amplector ut, cuius rem perdidi, verbis saltem tamquam eius quadam[6] imagine recreer. Erant memini huius epistolae[7] fere omnia felle et absinthio plena quae scilicet nostrae conversionis[8] miserabilem historiam et tuas, unice, cruces assiduas[9] referebant. Complesti revera in epistola illa quod in exordio eius amico promisisti ut videlicet in comparatione tuarum suas molestias nullas vel parvas reputaret. Ubi quidem expositis prius magistrorum[10] tuorum in te persecutionibus deinde in corpus tuum summae proditionis[11] iniuria ad condiscipulorum quoque tuorum Alberici[12] videlicet Remensis et Lotulfi Lombardi[13] execrabilem invidiam et infestationem nimiam stilum contulisti. Quorum quidem suggestionibus[14] quid[15] de glorioso illo theologiae tuae opere quid de te ipso quasi in carcere damnato actum sit non praetermisisti.

Inde ad abbatis tui fratrumque falsorum machinationem accessisti et detractiones illas tibi gravissimas duorum illorum[16] pseudo-apostolorum[17] a praedictis aemulis in te commotas atque ad scandalum plerisque[18] subortum[19] de nomine Paracliti oratorio praeter consuetudinem imposito. Denique ad intolerabiles illas et adhuc continuas in[20] te persecutiones crudelissimi scilicet illius exactoris et pessimorum quos filios nominas monachorum profectus miserabilem historiam consummasti.

Quae cum siccis[21] oculis neminem vel legere vel audire posse aestimem.[22] Tanto dolores meos amplius[23] renovarunt, quanto diligentius singula[24] expresserunt et eo magis auxerunt, quo in te adhuc pericula crescere retulisti ut omnes pariter de vita tua desperare cogamur et quotidie ultimos illos de nece tua umores trepidantia nostra corda et palpitantia pectora expectent.[25]

Per ipsum itaque qui te sibi adhuc quoquo modo protegit Christum obsecramus quatinus ancillulas[26] ipsius et tuas crebris litteris de his in[27] quibus adhuc fluctuas naufragiis[28] certificare digneris ut nos saltem quae tibi solae remansimus doloris vel gaudii participes[29] habeas. Solent etenim dolenti nonnullam afferre consolationem qui condolent et quodlibet onus pluribus impositum levius sustinetur sive defertur. Quod si paululum haec tempestas quieverit, tanto amplius maturandae sunt litterae,[30] quanto sunt iucundiores futurae. De quibuscumque[31] autem nobis scribas,[32] non parvum nobis remedium conferes hoc saltem uno quod te nostri memorem esse monstrabis. Quam iucundae vero sint absentium litterae amicorum ipse nos exemplo proprio Seneca[33] docet ad amicum Lucilium loco sic scribens:

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[1] *om. ACDRFY*] *om.* suae *B*] Heloysa ad Petrum Abaelardum (*s.m.*) *CE*] *om.* Abaelardum *C.*

[2] Heloysa *ABDRT*] Heloyssa *CEFY.*

[3] See *Mediaeval Studies*, XII (1950), 163.

[4] *om. F.*

[5] quidem *BDRY.*

[6] *om. BDRY.*

[7] *add* verba (in margin) *A.*

[8] conversationis *BDR.*

[9] assidue *DRY.*

[10] vitiorum *BDRY.*

[11] perditionis *A.*

[12] See *Med. Stud.*, XII (1950), 181, n. 3.

[13] Lumbardi *AFT.*

[14] subiectionibus *BR.*

[15] quam *C. om. Y.*

[16] *add* vel *R*] scilicet *DY.*

[17] See Appendix, *Med. Stud.*, XII (1950), 212.

[18] plurimum *BDR.*

[19] subhortum *AT.*

[20] in te] vitae *AT. Amb.* Scribes at this period often confuse *in te* and *vitae*: several other instances occur in *Mss ABRT.*

[21] Cf. Horace, *Odes* I, 3, 18.

[22] aestimemus *CEF*; illegible correction A.

[23] *om. ACEF.*

[24] cuncta *F.*

[25] expectant *BCERY.*

[26] ancillas *BRY.*

[27] *om. F.*

[28] naufragus *FvG.*

[29] particeps *A.*

[30] *add* tuae *E.*

[31] quibuslibet *F.*

[32] scribis *Y.*

> Quod frequenter mihi scribis gratias ago. Nam quo uno modo potes te mihi ostendis. Numquam epistolam tuam accipio quin[34] protinus una simus. Si imagines nobis amicorum[35] absentium iocundae sunt[36] quae memoriam renovant et desiderium absentiae falso atque inani solatio levant quanto iocundiores sunt litterae quae[37] amici absentis[38] veras notas afferunt?

Deo autem gratias quod hoc saltem modo praesentiam tuam nobis reddere nulla invidia[39] prohiberis, nulla difficultate praepediris,[40] nulla, obsecro, negligentia retarderis.

Scripsisti ad amicum prolixae[41] consolationem epistolae et pro adversitatibus quidem suis sed[42] de tuis. Quas videlicet tuas diligenter commemorans cum eius intenderes[43] consolationi[44] nostrae plurimum addidisti desolationi et, dum eius mederi vulneribus cuperes, nova quaedam nobis vulnera doloris inflixisti et priora auxisti. Sana, obsecro, ipsa quae fecisti qui quae alii fecerunt curare satagis. Morem quidem amico et socio gessisti[45] et tam[46] amicitiae quam societatis debitum persolvisti. Sed maiori te debito[47] nobis astrinxisti quas non tam amicas quam amicissimas non tam socias quam fillias convenit nominari vel si quod dulcius et sanctius vocabulem potest[48] excogitari.

Quanto autem debito te erga obligaveris non argumentis non testimoniis indiget[49] ut quasi dubium comprobetur[50] et si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat.[51] Huius quippe loci tu post Deum solus es fundator, solus huius oratorii constructor, solus huius congregationis aedificator. Nihil hic super alienum[52] aedificasti fundamentum. Totum quod hic est tua creatio est. Solitudo haec feris tantum sive latronibus vacans nullam hominum habitationem noverat, nullam domum habuerat. In ipsis cubilibus ferarum, in ipsis latibulis latronum ubi nec nominari Deus solet, divinum erexisti tabernaculum et Spiritus Sancti proprium dedicasti templum. Nihil ad hoc aedificandum ex regum vel principum opibus[53] intulisti cum plurima posses et maxima ut quicquid fieret tibi soli[54] posset ascribi. Clerici[55] sive scholares huc[56] certatim ad disciplinam tuam confluentes

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[33] *Ep. 40* (*initio*).

[34] ut non *F*.

[35] *add* nostrorum *BDRY*.

[36] sint *BDRY*.

[37] *add* vera *F*. quae amici] quaecumque *Y*.

[38] *add* vestigia *F*.

[39] *om. CEF*.

[40] impediris *BRY*] impendiris *D*] prohiberes expunged, then praepediris *T*.

[41] by correction *T*.

[42] *om. DRY*.

[43] studeres *G*.

[44] consolationem *ACRY*.

[45] fecisti *BDRY*.

[46] *om. C*.

[47] debita *RY*.

[48] *add* invenire vel *CEF*.

[49] iudico *BDR*.

[50] probetur *F*.

[51] Cf. Cicero, I *in Cat.*, 8: cum tacent, clamant.

[52] Cf. *Romans* xv, 20.

[53] operibus *BR*.

[54] *om. BDR*.

[55] I do not consider that this passage can be used to support the claim made by some scholars that even at this early date all students were clerics, i.e. at least tonsured. *Clerici sive scholares* does not appear to have the stereotyped meaning it conveyed later on in documents of university days. *Sive* (*seu*) in these letters does not mean *that is*; it does not make the words which it connects synonymous or make the second explanatory of the first. When used alone it has a weak adversative or disjunctive force as in classical Latin or simply a copulative force in thte sense of *et*. I find the following other uses of it in these letters: p. 70: Quot autem et quantos tractatus in doctrina vel exhortatione seu etiam consolatione sanctarum feminarum sancti patres consummaverint . . . ; p. 70: Et solus es qui me laetificare seu consolari valeas; p. 75: Nosti. . . ex homilia. . . quantum suffragium invito seu contradicenti fratri oratio fratrum mature attulerit; p. 71: Quae te regio aut civitas seu villa videre non aestuabat; p. 79: Ut. . . ego liberius orationi sive sacrae lectionis meditationi vacarem. *Seu* also occurs in the corresponding passage in the *Historia Calamitatum* (p. 201): Scholares autem ultro mihi quaelibet necessaria praeparabant tam in victu scilicet quam in vestitu vel cultura agrorum seu in expensis aedificiorum ut nulla me scilicet a studio cura domestica retardaret. Heloise is more precise than Abelard; no doubt she got further information from him.

In view of the uses of *seu* in the other places in these letters and in the light of the corresponding sentence in the *Historia Calamitatum*, the meaning of the passage here appears to be: the clerics and (other) students who flocked there to receive training performed all necessary service. And

omnia ministrabant necessaria. Et qui de beneficiis vivebant ecclesiasticis nec oblationes facere noverant sed suscipere et qui manus ad suscipiendum non ad dandum habuerant hic in oblationibus faciendis prodigi atque importuni fiebant.

Tua itaque vere tua haec est proprie in sancto proposito novella plantatio cuius adhuc teneris maxime plantis frequens ut proficiant necessaria est irrigatio. Satis ex ipsa feminei sexus natura debilis est haec plantatio et[57] infirma etiam si[58] non esset nova. Unde diligentiorem culturam exigit et frequentiorem iuxta illud apostoli: *Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, Deus*[59] *autem incrementum dedit.* Plantaverat apostolus atque fundaverat in fide per[60] praedicationis suae doctrinam Corinthios[61] quibus scribebat. Rigaverat postmodum eos ipsius apostoli discipulus Apollo sacris exhortationibus et sic eis incrementum virtutum divina largita est gratia. Vitis alienae vineam quam non plantasti in amaritudinem tibi conversam admonitionibus saepe cassis et sacris frustra sermonibus excolis. Quid tuae[62] debeas attende qui sic curam impendis[63] alienae.

Doces et admones rebelles nec proficis. Frustra ante porcos[64] divini eloquii margaritas spargis. Qui obstinatis tanta impendis quid obedientibus debeas considera. Qui tanta hostibus largiris quid filiabus debeas meditare. Atque ut ceteras omittam, quanto erga me te obligaveris debito[65] pensa ut quod devotis communiter debes feminis unicae tuae devotius solvas.

Quot[66] autem et quantos tractatus in doctrina vel exhortatione seu etiam consolatione sanctarum feminarum sancti patres consummaverint[67] et quanta eos[68] diligentia composuerint, tua melius excellentia quam nostra parvitas novit. Unde non mediocri admiratione nostrae tenera conversationis[69] initia tua iam dudum oblivio movit quod, nec[70] reverentia Dei nec amore nostri nec sanctorum patrum exemplis admonitus, fluctuantem me et iam diutino moerore confectam vel sermone praesentem vel epistola absentem consolari tentaveris. Cui quidem tanto te maiore debito noveris obligatum, quanto te amplius nuptialis foedere sacramenti constat esse astrictum[71] et eo te[72] magis mihi obnoxium, quo te semper ut omnibus patet immoderato amore complexa sum.

Nosti carissime, noverunt[73] omnes quanta in te amiserim et quam miserabili casu summa et ubique nota proditio me ipsam quoque mihi tecum abstulerit ut[74] incomparabiliter maior sit dolor ex amissionis modo quam ex damno. Quo vero maior est dolendi causa, maiora sunt consolationis adhibenda remedia non utique ab alio sed a teipso ut qui solus es in causa dolendi solus sis in[75] gratia consolandi. Solus quippe es qui me contristare, qui me laetificare seu consolari valeas. Et solus es qui plurimum id mihi debeas et nunc[76] maxime cum universa quae iusseris in tantum impleverim ut cum te in aliquo offendere non possem me ipsam pro iussu tuo perdere sustinerem. Et[77] quod maius est dictuque mirabile, in tantam versus est amor insaniam ut quod solum appetebat, hoc ipse sibi sine spe recuperationis auferret, cum ad tuam statim iussionem tam habitum ipsa quam animum immutarem ut te tam corporis mei quam animi unicum possessorem ostenderem.

Nihil[78] umquam, Deus scit, in te nisi te requisivi, te pure non tua concupiscens.

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those among the former who had a living from an ecclesiastical benefice, who had not previously learned to make offerings but only to receive them, and who had a hand extended not to give but to get, became generous and even insistent in making gifts.

[56] hic *BDR*.

[57] est *Amb*.

[58] etiam si non esset] sed est *F*] etsi non *Amb*.

[59] Dominus *BDR*.

[60] *add* propriae *BDR*.

[61] I, 3, 6 ff.

[62] *add* unicae *CE*.

[63] impendens *C*. *Ms D* stops after alienae.

[64] Cf. *Matt.* vii, 6.

[65] debitae *BERY*.

[66] quod *T*.

[67] by correction *T*] consummaverunt *BR*] *om. Amb*.

[68] eas *ACET*.

[69] conversionis *T*. *Amb*. lacuna *F*.

[70] *add* si *F*.

[71] adstrictum *Amb*.

[72] *om. BR*.

[73] noverint *AC*.

[74] et *T*. *Amb*.

[75] in gratia] et *CEF*.

[76] tunc *Amb*.

[77] ut *CE*.

[78] In margin of *A* in Petrarch's hand: valde perdulciter ac blande per totum agis,

Non matrimonii foedera, non dotes aliquas expectavi, non denique meas voluptates aut[79] voluntates sed tuas, sicut ipse nosti, adimplere studui. Et si uxoris nomen sanctius ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper exstitit amicae vocabulum aut, si non indigneris, concubinae vel scorti, ut, quo me videlicet pro te amplius humiliarem, ampliorem apud te consequerer gratiam et sic etiam[80] excellentiae tuae gloriam minus laederem. Quod et tu ipse tui[81] gratia oblitus penitus[82] non fuisti in ea quam supra memini ad amicum[83] epistola pro consolatione directa ubi et rationes nonnullas, quibus te a coniugio nostro et[84] infaustis[85] thalamis revocare conabar, exponere non es dedignatus sed plerisque tacitis quibus amorem coniugio libertatem vinculo praeferebam. Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus universo praesidens mundo matrimonii honore[86] dignaretur totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo possidendum,[87] carius mihi et dignius videretur tua dici meretrix quam illius imperatrix.

Non enim quo quisque ditior sive potentior ideo et melior, fortunae illud est, hoc virtutis. Nec se[88] minime venalem aestimet esse quae libentius ditiori quam pauperi nubit et plus in marito sua quam ipsum concupiscit. Certe quamcumque ad nuptias haec concupiscentia ducit, merces ei potius quam gratia debetur. Certum quippe est eam res ipsas non hominem insequi[89] et se, si posset, velle prostituere ditiori sicut inductio illa[90] Aspasiae philosophae[91] apud Socraticum Aeschinem cum Xenophonte et uxore eius habita manifeste convincit. Quam quidem inductionem cum praedicta philosopha ad reconciliandos invicem illos proposuisset tali fine ipsam[92] conclusit:

> Quare[93] nisi hoc peregeritis ut neque vir melior neque femina[94] in[95] terris electior[96] sit, profecto semper id quod optimum putabitis[97] esse multo maxime requiretis ut et tu maritus sis quam optimae et haec quam optimo[98] viro nupta sit.[99]

Sancta profecto haec et plus quam philosophica est[100] sententia ipsius potius sophiae quam philosophiae dicenda. Sanctus hic error et beata fallacia in coniugatis ut perfecta dilectio illaesa custodiat matrimonii foedera non tam corporum continentia quam animorum pudicitia. At quod error ceteris, veritas mihi manifesta contulerat. Cum quod illae[1] videlicet de suis aestimarent maritis, hoc ego[2] de te, hoc mundus universus non tam crederet quam sciret ut, tanto verior in te meus amor existeret, quanto ab errore longius absisteret. Quis[3] etenim regum aut philosophorum tuam famam exaequare poterat? Quae te regio aut civitas seu villa videre non aestuabat? Quis te rogo in publicum procedentem conspicere non festinabat ac discedentem collo erecto oculis directis non insectabatur? Quae coniugata, quae virgo non concupiscebat absentem et non exardebat in praesentem? Quae regina vel praepotens femina gaudiis meis non invidebat vel thalamis? Duo autem fateor tibi specialiter inerant

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Heloysa.

[79] aut vol. *om. CEF.*

[80] et sic etiam] sic et *E.*

[81] *om.* E] tua *F.*

[82] *om. E.*

[83] This confirms the interpretation that Heloise considered that Abelard wrote the *Historia Calamitatum* for a particular person, and that the epistolary form is not just a setting.

[84] *om. BRTY Amb.*

[85] infaustisque *BRY.*

[86] *add* decorare (s.m.) *Y.*

[87] praesidendum *T Amb.*

[88] *add* illa *BDRY.*

[89] sequi *ACEFT, Amb.*

[90] *om. CE.*

[91] pro philosophae *BR.* In *Ms A* in margin in Petrarch's hand: require in libro m. Tullii inventione. Cf. Cicero, *De Inv.* I, 31, 52.

[92] *om. Amb.*

[93] Quia nisi *CEFY*] Quare si with space for ni A] Quia ubi *Amb.*

[94] mulier *CEF.*

[95] in terris *om. BR*] in terra *CE.*

[96] laetior *BCEFRT Amb. Ms A* reads electior but the first *e* is in second hand. Cicero reads lectior.

[97] putabaris *C*] corrupt *Y.*

[98] marito *BRY.*

[99] *om. BRY.*

[100] *om. CEF.*

[1] ipsae *CEF.*

[2] *om. F.*

[3] In *Ms A* in Petrarch's hand in margin: De fama Petri, si modo testimonium non suspectum amor facit.

quibus feminarum quarumlibet animos statim allicere poteras, dictandi videlicet et cantandi gratia quae ceteros[4] minime philosophos assecutos esse novimus. Quibus quidem quasi ludo quodam laborem exercitii[5] recreans philosophici pleraque amatorio[6] metro vel rhythmo composita relinquisti carmina quae prae nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus saepius frequentata tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant ut etiam illitteratos melodiae dulcedo tui non sineret immemores esse. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tui feminae suspirabant. Et[7] cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi[8] tempore nuntiavit et multarum in me feminarum accendit invidiam.

Quod enim bonum[9] animi vel corporis tuam non exornabat adolescentiam?[10] Quam tunc mihi invidentem, nunc tantis privatae deliciis compati calamitas mea non compellat? Quem vel quam licet hostem primitus debita compassio mihi nunc non emolliat? Quae[11] plurimum nocens, plurimum ut nosti sum innocens. Non enim rei effectus sed efficientis[12] affectus[13] in crimine est. Nec quae fiunt sed quo animo fiunt aequitas pensat.

Quem autem animum in te semper habuerim solus qui expertus es iudicare potes. Tuo examini cuncta committo, tuo per omnia cedo testimonio. Dic unum si vales cur,[14] post conversionem[15] nostram quam tu solus facere decrevisti, in tantam tibi negligentiam atque oblivionem[16] venerim ut nec colloquio praesentis recreer nec absentis epistola[17] consoler. Dic, inquam, si vales aut ego quod[18] sentio immo quod omnes suspicantur dicam. Concupiscentia te mihi potius quam amicitia sociavit, libidinis ardor potius quam amor. Ubi igitur quod desiderabas cessavit quicquid propter hoc exhibebas pariter evanuit. Haec, dilectissime, non tam mea est quam omnium coniectura, non tam specialis quam communis, non tam privata quam publica. Utinam mihi soli sic videretur atque aliquos[19] in excusationem sui amor tuus inveniret per quos dolor meus paululum resideret. Utinam occasiones[20] fingere possem quibus te excusando mei quoquo modo tegerem vilatatem. Attende, obsecro, quae requiro et parva haec videbis et tibi facillima. Dum tui praesentia fraudor verborum saltem votis[21] quorum tibi copia est tuae mihi imaginis praesenta dulcedinem. Frustra te in rebus dapsilem[22] exspecto si in verbis avarum sustineo. Nunc vero plurimum a te me promereri credideram cum omnia propter te compleverim[23] nunc in tuo maxime perseverans[24] obsequio. Quam[24a] quidem iuvenculam ad monasticae conversationis asperitatem, non religionis devotio sed tua tantum pertraxit iussio. Ubi si nihil a te promerear quam frustra laborem diiudica. Nulla mihi super hoc merces exspectanda est a Deo cuius adhuc amore nihil me constat egisse. Properantem te ad Deum secuta sum, habitu immo praecessi. Quasi enim memor uxoris Lot[25] retro conversae prius me sacris vestibus et professione monastica quam te ipsum Deo mancipasti. In quo fateor uno[26] minus te de me confidere vehementer dolui atque erubui. Aeque[27] autem Deus scit ad Vulcania loca te properantem praecedere vel[28] sequi pro iussu tuo minime dubitarem. Non enim mecum animus sed tecum erat. Sed et nunc maxime si tecum non est, nusquam est. Esse vero sine te nequaquam[29] potest. Sed ut tecum bene sit age, obsecro. Bene autem tecum fuerit, si te propitium invenerit, si gratiam[30] referas pro gratia, modica pro magnis, verba pro rebus. Utinam, dilecte, tua de me dilectio minus confideret ut sollicitior esset. Sed quo te amplius nunc securum reddidi, negligentiorem sustineo. Memento, obsecro, quae fecerim et quanta debeas attende. Dum tecum carnali[31] fruerer voluptate, utrum id amore vel libidine agerem incertum pluribus habebatur. Nunc autem[32] finis indicat quo id inchoaverim principio. Omnes denique[33] mihi voluptates interdixi ut tuae parerem voluntati. Nihil mihi reservavi nisi sic tuam nunc praecipue fieri. Quae vero tua sit iniquitas perpende si merenti amplius persolvis minus, immo nihil penitus praesertim cum parvum sit quod exigeris[34] et tibi facillimum.

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[4] In margin in *F*: videlicet quam ceteros philosophos minime.

[5] exercitio and in margin: videlicet laborem recreans exercitii philosophici *F*.

[6] amatori *T*. videlicet amatoria in margin *F*.] om. *E*.

[7] In margin in *Ms A*: muliebriter in Petrarch's hand.

[8] brevi tempore] brevitate *F*. and in margin: videlicet brevi tempore.

[9] tunc *F*; in margin of *Ms F*: videlicet quod enim bonum corporis vel animi tui.

[10] adholescentiam *T*.

[11] quod *R*] quam *FY*] et *Amb*.

[12] efficens *A*.

[13] effectus *B*.

[14] cum *Amb*.

[15] conversationem *C*.

[16] *add* tui *F*.

[17] epistolis *F*.

[18] consentio corrected to quod sentio *A*.

[19] aliis *RY*] alios *B*.

[20] occasionem *E*.

[21] notis *EFGY*.

[22] daxilem *CET*] corrected to dapsilem (*s.m.*) *A*] docilem *R*] dixissem *B*.

[23] compleveram *EF* with compleam superscript *F*] compleam *G*.

[24] praesens *BRY*.

[24a] quem *T*.

[25] Loth *T*. Cf. *Genesis* xix, 26.

[26] *om*. *F*.

[27] et quae *BR*] ego *F*. *Amb*.

[28] et *A*.

Per ipsum itaque cui te obtulisti Deum te obsecro ut quo[35] modo potes tuam mihi praesentiam reddas, consolationem videlicet mihi aliquam rescribendo, hoc saltem pacto ut sic recreata divino alacrior vacem obsequio. Cum me ad turpes[36] olim voluptates expeteres,[37] crebris me epistolis visitabas, frequenti carmine tuam in ore omnium Heloisam ponebas. Me plateae omnes, me domus singulae resonabant. Quanto autem rectius me nunc in Deum quam tunc in libidinem excitares? Perpende, obsecro, quae debes, attende quae postulo, et longam[38] epistolam brevi fine concludo: Vale unice.

II. (Rescriptum ipsius ad ipsam)[1]

Heloisae, dilectissimae sorori suae in Christo, Abaelardus, frater eius in ipso.

Quod post nostram a saeculo ad Deum conversionem nondum[2] tibi aliquid consolationis vel exhortationis scripserim, non negligentiae meae, sed tuae, de qua semper plurimum confido, prudentiae imputandum est. Non enim eam his indigere credidi, cui abundanter quaecumque[3] necessaria sunt divina gratia impertivit, ut tam verbis scilicet[4] quam exemplis errantes valeas docere, pusillanimes consolari, tepidos exhortari, sicut et facere iam dudum consuevisti cum sub abbatissa prioratum[5] obtineres. Quod[6] si nunc[7] tanta diligentia tuis provideas filiabus, quanta tunc sororibus, satis esse credimus ut iam omnino superfluam doctrinam vel exhortationem nostram arbitremur. Sin autem humilitati tuae aliter videtur, et in iis[8] etiam quae ad Deum pertinent magisterio nostro atque scriptis indiges, super his quae velis scribe mihi ut ad ipsam rescribam prout mihi Dominus annuerit.

Deo autem gratias,[9] qui[10] gravissimorum et assiduorum periculorum meorum sollicitudinem vestris cordibus inspirans, afflictionis meae participes vos fecit ut orationum suffragio vestrarum divina miseratio me protegat et velociter Satanam sub pedibus nostris[11] conterat.

Ad hoc autem praecipue psalterium[12] quod a me sollicite requisisti, soror in saeculo quondam cara, nunc in Christo carissima, mittere maturavi. In quo videlicet pro nostris[13] magnis et[14] multis excessibus et quotidiana periculorum meorum instantia iuge Domino sacrificium immoles orationum.

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[29] numquam *BRY*. In *Ms A.* in margin in Petrarch's hand: amicissime et eleganter.

[30] Cf. *John* i, 16.

[31] *om. BRY.*

[32] vero *ACFY.*

[33] *add* enim *BRY.*

[34] Corrected to exegerim *A*] exigerim *CEF.*

[35] quoquo *CEF Amb.*

[36] temporales *Amb.* In margin of A in Petrarch's hand: Feminee.

[37] expeteris *A.*

[38] longuam *A.*

[1] *om. CEFR*] Quae est rescriptum ad Heloissam. *Amb.*

[2] nundum *T.*

[3] quae *A Amb.*

[4] *om. F.*

[5] primatum *BRY.*

[6] quae *BCEFRY.*

[7] vere *CEF.*

[8] id *T*] his *CEF.*

[9] *add* ago *CEF.*

[10] *add* deus *EF.*

[11] vestris *CEF.*

[12] This term does not refer here to the Book of Psalms but to the versicles, responses and prayer at the end of this letter. For a discussion of the question, see Introduction pp. 58-9 of this volume.

Quantum autem locum apud Deum et sanctos eius fidelium orationes obtineant, et[15] maxime mulierum pro caris suis et[16] uxorum[17] pro viris, multa nobis occurrunt testimonia et[18] exempla. Quod diligenter attendens Apostolus sine intermissione orare nos admonet.[19] Legimus Dominum Moysi dixisse:[20] *Dimitte me ut irascatur furor meus.* Et Ieremiae:[21] *Tu vero, inquit,*[22] *noli orare pro populo hoc . . . et non obsistas mihi.* Ex quibus videlicet[23] verbis manifeste Dominus ipse profitetur orationes sanctorum quasi quoddam frenum irae ipsius immittere quo scilicet[24] ipsa coerceatur ne, quantum merita peccantium exigunt,[25] ipsa in eos saeviat, et[26] quem[27] ad vindictam iustitia quasi spontaneum ducit, amicorum supplicatio flectat et tamquam invitum quasi vi quadam retineat. Sic quippe oranti vel oraturo dicitur: *Dimitte me et ne obsistas mihi.* Praecipit Dominus ne oretur pro impiis. Orat iustus, Domino prohibente, et ab ipso impetrat quod postulat et irati iudicis sententiam immutat. Sic quippe de Moyse subiunctum est:[28] *Et placatus factus est Dominus de malignitate quam dixit facere populo suo.* Scriptum est[29] alibi de universis operibus Dei: *Dixit, et facta sunt.* Hoc autem loco et dixisse memoratur quod de afflictione populus meruerat et virtute orationis praeventus non implesse quod dixerat.

Attende itaque quanta sit orationis virtus, si quod iubemur oremus, quando id quod orare Prophetam Deus[30] prohibuit, orando tamen obtinuit, et ab eo quod dixerat eum avertit.[31] Cui et alius propheta dicit:[32] *Et cum iratus fueris, misericordiae recordaberis.* Audiant id atque advertant principes terreni qui occasione praepositae et edictae iustitiae suae obstinati[33] magis quam iusti reperiuntur, et se remissos[34] videri erubescunt, si misericordes fiant, et mendaces si edictum suum mutent, vel quod minus provide statuerunt non impleant, et si verba rebus[35] emendent. Quos quidem recte dixerim Iephtae comparandos qui quod stulte voverat[36] stultius adimplens unicam interfecit. Qui vero eius membrum fieri cupit, <ei>[37] cum Psalmista[38] dicit: *Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine*; *misericordia*, sicut scriptum est, *iudicium exaltat*,[39] attendens quod alibi[40] Scriptura comminatur: *Iudicium sine misericordia in eum qui misericordiam non facit.* Quod diligenter ipse Psalmista considerans, ad supplicationem uxoris Nabal Carmeli iuramentum quod ex iustitia fecerat, de viro eius scilicet et ipsius domo delenda per misericordiam cassavit.[41] Orationem itaque iustitiae praetulit et quod vir deliquerat supplicatio uxoris delevit.

In quo quidem tibi, soror, exemplum proponitur et securitas datur ut, si huius oratio apud hominem tantum obtinuit, quid apud Deum tua pro me audeat instruaris. Plus quippe Deus qui pater est noster filios diligit quam David feminam supplicantem. Et ille quidem pius et misericors habebatur, sed ipsa pietas et misericordia Deus est. Et quae tunc supplicabat mulier saecularis erat et laica nec ex sanctae devotionis professione Domino copulata. Quod si ex te minus ad impetrandum sufficias, sanctus qui tecum est tam virginum quam viduarum conventus, quod per te non potes, obtinebit. Cum enim discipulis Veritas dicat:[42] *Ubi duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ibi sum in*

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[13] *add* et *CEF*.
[14] *om. CE*.
[15] *om. BRY*.
[16] *om. BRY*.
[17] virorum *BR*.
[18] vel *CEFBRY*.
[19] Cf. *I Thess.* v, 17.
[20] *Exodus* xxxii, 10.
[21] *Jeremias* vii, 16. Hiermias *Amb*.
[22] *om. CEF*.
[23] multis *CEF*.
[24] *add* ira *CEF*.
[25] exigerint *CE*] exigant *F*.
[26] ut *RT Amb*.
[27] quam *CE*.
[28] Cf. *Exodus* xxxii, 14.
[29] *Psalm* xxxii, 9.
[30] Dominus *ABCEFR*.
[31] advertit *CE*.
[32] *Habacuc* iii, 2.
[33] *add* et rebelles *CEF*.
[34] *add* iusti *CEF*.
[35] eorum *CE*.
[36] *Judges* xi, 30 ff.
[37] tunc *Amb*.] qui *T*] cui *ABCEFRY*.
[38] *Psalm* c, 1.
[39] superexaltat *CEF*. Cf. *James* ii, 13.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Cf. *I Kings* xxv.
[42] *Matt.* xviii, 20.

medio eorum. Et rursum: *Si duo ex vobis consenserint de omni re quam petierint, fiet illud*[43] *a Patre meo*, quis non videat quantum apud Deum valeat sanctae congregationis frequens oratio? Si,[44] ut Apostolus asserit,[45] multum valet[46] oratio iusti assidua, quid de multitudine sanctae congregationis sperandum est?

Nosti, carissima soror, ex homilia[47] beati Gregorii XXXVIII quantum suffragium invito seu contradicenti fratri oratio fratrum mature[47a] attulerit. De quo iam ad extremum ducto, quanta periculi anxietate miserrima eius anima laboraret et quanta desperatione et taedio vitae fratres ab oratione revocaret, quid ibi diligenter scriptum sit tuam minime latet prudentiam.

Atque utinam confidentius te et sanctarum conventum sororum ad orationem invitet ut me scilicet vobis ipse vivum custodiat, per quem, Paulo attestante, mortuos etiam suos de resurrectione mulieres acceperunt. Si enim Veteris et Evangelici Testamenti paginas[48] revolvas, invenies maxima resuscitationis[49] miracula solis vel maxime feminis exhibita fuisse, pro ipsis[50] vel de ipsis facta. Duos quippe mortuos suscitatos ad supplicationes maternas Vetus commemorat Testamentum, per Eliam, scilicet, et ipsius discipulum Elisaeum.

Evangelium vero trium tantum[51] mortuorum suscitationem a Domino factam continent quae mulieribus exhibita maxime illud quod supra commemoravimus,[52] Apostolicum dictum[53] rebus ipsis confirmant: *Acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos.*[54] Filium[55] quippe viduae ad portam civitatis Naim suscitatum matri reddidit eius compassione compunctus. Lazarum[56] quoque amicum suum ad[57] obsecrationem sororum eius,[58] Mariae videlicet ac Marthae, suscitavit. Quo[59] etiam archisynagogi filiae[60] hanc ipsam gratiam ad petitionem patris impendente, *mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos acceperunt*, cum haec videlicet suscitata proprium de morte receperit corpus, sicut illae corpora suorum. Et paucis quidem intervenientibus hae factae sunt resuscitationes.[61] Vitae vero nostrae conservationem multiplex vestrae devotionis oratio facile obtinebit. Quarum[62] tam abstinentia quam continentia Deo sacrata, quanto ipsi gratior habetur, tanto ipsum propitiorem inveniet. Et plerique fortassis horum qui suscitati sunt nec fideles exstiterunt, sicut nec vidua praedicta, cui non roganti filium Dominus suscitavit,[63] fidelis exstitisse[64] legitur. Nos autem invicem non solum fidei colligat[65] integritas, verum etiam eiusdem religionis professio sociat.

Ut autem sacrosanctum collegii vestri nunc omittam conventum, in quo plurimarum virginum ac viduarum devotio Domino iugiter deservit, ad te unam veniam, cuius apud Deum sanctitatem plurimum non ambigo posse, et quae potes mihi praecipue debere, maxime nunc[66] in tantae adversitatis laboranti discrimine. Memento itaque semper in orationibus tuis eius qui specialiter est tuus; et tanto confidentius in oratione vigila, quanto id esse tibi recognoscis iustius, et ob hoc ipsi qui orandus est acceptabilius. Exaudi, obsecro, aure cordis, quod saepius audisti aure corporis. Scriptum est in Proverbiis:[67] *Mulier diligens corona est viro suo.* Et rursum:[68] *Qui invenit mulierem bonam, invenit bonum; et hauriet iucunditatem a Domino.* Et iterum:[69] *Domus*[70] *et divitiae*

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[43] illis *AC*] illud *BR*] eis Y.

[44] sed *BRY*.

[45] *James* v, 16.

[46] valeat *CE*.

[47] Cf. *Homiliae in Evang.* II, 38, 16; PL 76, 1292B ff.

[47a] nature *T*.

[48] historiam *F*. *om CE*.

[49] resurrectionis *CE*.

[50] *add* scilicet *BCEFRY*.

[51] *om. BRY*.

[52] memoravimus *ABCEFR*.

[53] *Hebrews* xi, 35.

[54] suis *T*. *Amb.*] temporis *R*] scilicet *BRY*.

[55] *Luke* vii, 12 ff.

[56] *John* xi, 44.

[57] ob *BRY*.

[58] suarum *BRY*.

[59] quo modo *F*.

[60] *Mark* v, 22 ff.

[61] resurrectiones *CE*.

[62] *add* orationum *CEF*.

[63] *add* illa mulier *CEF*.

[64] esse *CEF*.

[65] collorat *CEF*.

[66] *om. Amb.*

[67] xii, 4.

[68] xviii, 22.

[69] xix, 14.

[70] domus et . . . et *om. CEF*.

dantur a parentibus, a Domino autem proprie uxor prudens. Et in Ecclesiastico:[71] *Mulieris bonae beatus vir.* Et post pauca:[72] *Pars bona, mulier bona.* Et iuxta auctoritatem Apostolicam:[73] *Sanctificatus est vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem.*

Cuius quidem rei experimentum in regno praecipue nostro, id est, Francorum, divina specialiter exhibuit gratia, cum ad orationem videlicet[74] uxoris[75] magis quam ad sanctorum praedicationem, Clodoveo rege ad fidem Christi converso, regnum sic[76] universum[77] divinis legibus mancipaverunt ut exemplo maxime superiorum ad[78] orationis instantiam inferiores provocarentur. Ad quam quidem instantiam Dominica nos vehementer invitans[79] parabola: *Ille,*[80] inquit, *si perseveraverit pulsans, dico vobis quia si non dabit ei eo quod amicus illius sit, propter improbitatem tamen*[81] *eius surgens dabit ei quotquot habet necessarios,* etc. Ex hac profecto, ut ita dicam, orationis improbitate, sicut supra memini, Moyses divinae iustitiae severitatem enervavit, et sententiam immutavit.

Nosti, dilectissima, quantum caritatis affectum praesentiae meae conventus olim vester in oratione solitus sit exhibere. Ad expletionem namque quotidie singularum horarum specialem pro me Domino supplicationem hanc offerre consuevit ut, responso proprio cum versu eius praemissis et decantatis, preces his et collectam in[82] hunc modum subiungeret. Responsum: Non me derelinquas, nec discedas a me, Domine. Versus:[83] In adiutorium meum semper intende, Domine, Preces:[83a] Salvum fac servum tuum,[84] Deus meus, sperantem in te. Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat. Oratio:[85] Deus qui per[86] servulum tuum ancillulas tuas in nomine tuo dignatus es aggregare, te quaesumus ut tam ipsi quam nobis in tua tribuas perseverantiam[87] voluntate.[88] Per Dominum, etc.

Nunc autem absenti mihi, tanto amplius orationum vestrarum opus est suffragio, quanto maioris anxietate periculi constringor. Supplicando itaque postulo,[89] postulando[90] supplico quatinus praecipue nunc absens experiar quam vera caritas vestra erga absentem exstiterit, singulis videlicet horis expletis, hunc orationis propriae modum adnectens. Responsum: Ne derelinquas me, Domine,[91] pater et dominator vitae meae ut non corruam in conspectu adversariorum meorum, ne gaudeat de me inimicus meus. Versus:[92] Apprehende arma et scutum, et exsurge in adiutorium mihi ne gaudeat, etc. Preces:[93] Salvum fac servum tuum,[94] Deus meus, sperantem in te. Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto et de Sion tuere eum. Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis a facie inimici. Domine, exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat. Oratio:[95] Deus qui per servum tuum ancillulas tuas in nomine tuo dignatus es aggregare,[96] te quaesumus ut eum ab omni adversitate protegas et ancillis tuis incolumem reddas. Per Dominum, etc.

Quod si me Dominus in manus[97] inimicorum tradiderit, scilicet, ut ipsi praevalentes me interficiant, aut quocumque casu viam universae carnis absens[98] vobis ingrediar, cadaver, obsecro, nostrum ubicumque vel sepultum vel expositum iacuerit, ad coemeterium vestrum deferri faciatis ubi filiae vestrae,[99] immo in Christo sorores, sepulcrum nostrum saepius videntes, ad preces pro me Domino fundendas amplius invitentur. Nullum quippe locum animae dolenti de peccatorum suorum errore desolatae tutiorem ac salubriorem arbitror quam eum qui vero Paraclito, id est consolatori, proprie consecratus est, et de eius nomine specialiter[100] insignitus. Nec Christianae sepulturae locum rectius apud aliquos fideles quam apud feminas Christo[1] devotas consistere censeo. Quae de Domini[2] Jesu Christi sepultura sollicitae eam[3] unguentis pretiosis et praevenerunt et subsecutae sunt et circa eius sepulcrum studiose vigilantes et sponsi mortem lacrymabiliter plangentes,[4] sicut scriptum est:[5] Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum. Primo ibidem de resurrectione eius angelica apparitione et allocutione[6] sunt consolatae, et statim ipsius resurrectionis gaudia, eo bis eis apparente, percipere meruerunt et manibus contrectare.

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[71] xxvi, 1.

[72] xxvi, 3.

[73] *I Cor.* vii, 14.

[74] *om. BRY.*

[75] *add* suae *BRY.*

[76] sic *Amb.*] se all *mss.*

[77] universis *BR*] universi Y.

[78] ad or. *om. T.*

[79] invitat *CEFY.*

[80] *Luke* xi, 8.

[81] *om. BR Amb.*

[82] ut corrected to in (*s.m.*) A.

[83] versum *T.*

[83a] *om. ABRT.*

[84] *add* Domine *BCEFR.*

[85] oremus *CEF.*

[86] in margin (*s.m.*) *T.*

[87] perseverantium *T*] perseverantia *CEF*] perseverare *Amb.*

[88] voluntatem *CEF.*

[89] *add* et *Amb. Y.*

[90] *om. BR.*

[91] *om. BRY.*

[92] versum *AT.*

[93] *om. ABRT. Mss CEF* read the first words and then etc. for these verses.

[94] *add* Domini *BR.*

[95] oremus *EF.*

[96] congregare *BRY.*

[97] manu *A*] manibus *R Amb.*

[98] absentibus *ACEF*] absens a *Amb.*

[99] nostrae *CEF.*

Illud autem demum super omnia postulo ut quae[7] nunc de corporis mei periculo nimia sollicitudine laboratis, tunc praecipue de salute animae sollicitae quantum dilexeritis vivum exhibeatis defuncto, orationum videlicet vestrarum speciali quodam et proprio suffragio.

Vive, vale, vivantque tuae valeantque sorores.
Vivite, sed[8] Christo;[9] quaeso, mei memores.

III. (Rescriptum ipsius ad ipsum[1])[2]

Unico suo post Christum unica sua in Christo.[3]

Miror, unice[4] meus, quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum, immo contra ipsum ordinem naturalem rerum, in ipsa fronte salutationis epistolaris me tibi praeponere praesumpsisti, feminam videlicet viro, uxorem marito, ancillam domino, monialem monacho et sacerdoti diaconissam, abbati abbatissam.[5] Rectus quippe ordo est et honestus, ut qui superiores vel ad pares scribunt, eorum quibus scribunt nomina suis anteponant. Sin[6] autem ad inferiores, praecedunt scriptionis ordine qui praecedunt rerum dignitate.

Illud etiam non parva admiratione suscepimus quod, quibus consolationis remedium afferre debuisti, desolationem auxisti, et quas mitigare debueras excitasti[7] lacrymas. Quae enim nostrum siccis[8] oculis audire possit, quod circa finem epistolae posuisti, dicens: "Quod si me Dominus[9] in manus inimicorum tradiderit ut me scilicet[10] praevalentes interficiant, etc." O carissime, quo id animo cogitasti, quo id ore dicere sustinuisti? Numquam[11] ancillulas[12] suas adeo Deus obliviscatur ut eas tibi superstites reservet. Numquam nobis illam vitam concedat quae omni genere mortis sit gravior. Te nostras exsequias celebrare, te nostras Deo animas convenit commendare, et quas Deo aggregasti ad ipsum praemittere ut nulla amplius de ipsis perturberis sollicitudine, et tanto laetior nos subsequaris, quanto securior de nostra salute iam fueris. Parce, obsecro, domine, parce huiusmodi dictis, quibus miseras miserrimas facias, et hoc[13] ipsum quod utcumque[14] vivimus ne nobis auferas ante mortem; *Sufficit*[15] *diei mali-*

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[100] proprie *CEF*.

[1] Deo *BRY*.

[2] *add* nostri *BFRY*.

[3] eum *CEF*.

[4] Cf. *Mark* xvi, 1, ff; *Luke* xxiii, 55 ff. Abelard is not quite accurate.

[5] Not in the Scriptures: it is the antiphon for the *Benedictus* in the Roman Breviary for Holy Saturday.

[6] locutione *BRY*.

[7] quae nunc] quaecumque *BRY*. ut quae] usque *T*.

[8] *add* Domino *CE*.

[9] Domino *G*.

[1] Abaelardum (*s. m.*) *Y*.

[2] *om. BCEFR*] quae est rescriptum Heloissae ad Petrum *Amb*.

[3] This salutation is in second hand in *Ms F*.

[4] miror unice] amor uni et *B*.

[5] *om. BRTY Amb.*

[6] For the origin of this rule of letter writing, see Introduction, p. 50. Si *CEF*.

[7] excitare *A*. *add* ad *RBY*.

[8] siccis oculis, a phrase often used from Horace on. Cf. Horace, *Carmina* I, 3, 18.

[9] Deus *CEF*.

[10] scil. . . . interficiant *om. CEF*.

[11] numquid *B*.

[12] ancillas *CEF*.

[13] hoc ut *T*] ut hoc *A*] ut *Amb*.

[14] quod utcumque] quodcumque *T Amb*] quod utrumque *Y*.

[15] *Matt.* vi, 34.

tia sua, et dies illa[16] omnibus, quos[16a] inveniet, satis secum sollicitudinis afferet omni amaritudine involuta. "Quid enim[17] necesse est", inquit[18] Seneca, "mala arcessere, et ante mortem vitam perdere?"

Rogas, unice, ut, quocumque casu[19] nobis absens hanc vitam finieris, ad coemeterium[20] nostrum corpus tuum afferri faciamus[21] ut orationum scilicet nostrarum ex assidua tui memoria ampliorem assequaris fructum. At vero quomodo memoriam tui a nobis labi posse suspicaris? Aut quod orationi tempus tunc erit commodum, quando summa perturbatio nihil permittet[22] quietum, cum nec anima rationis sensum, nec lingua sermonis retinebit usum, cum mens insana in ipsum, ut ita dicam, Deum magis irata quam pacata, non tam orationibus ipsum placabit quam querimoniis irritabit? Flere tunc miseris tantum[23] vacabit, non orare licebit, et te magis subsequi quam sepelire maturandum erit[24] ut potius et nos consepeliendae simus, quam sepelire possimus. Quae, cum in te nostram amiserimus vitam, vivere te recedente nequaquam poterimus. Atque utinam nec tunc usque possimus. Mortis tuae mentio mors quaedam nobis est. Ipsa autem mortis huius veritas quid,[25] si nos invenerit, futura est? Numquam Deus annuat ut[26] hoc tibi debitum superstites persolvamus, ut hoc tibi patrocinio subveniamus, quod a te penitus exspectamus. In hoc utinam[27] te praecessurae, non secuturae! Parce itaque, obsecro, nobis;[28] parce[29] unicae saltem tuae huiusmodi scilicet supersedendo verbis quibus tamquam gladiis mortis nostras transverberas animas ut quod mortem praevenit ipsa morte gravius sit. Confectus moerore animus quietus non est, nec Deo sincere potest vacare mens perturbationibus occupata. Noli, obsecro, divinum impedire servitium cui nos maxime mancipasti. Omne inevitabile, quod, cum acciderit, moerorem maximum secum inferet, ut subito veniat, optandum est ne timore inutili diu ante cruciet, cui nulla succurri providentia potest. Quod et poeta bene considerans Deum deprecatur,[30] dicens:[31]

Sit subitum quodcumque paras; sit caeca futuri
Mens hominum fati: liceat sperare timenti.

Quid autem te amisso sperandum mihi superest? Aut[32] quae in hac peregrinatione causa remanendi, ubi nullum nisi te remedium habeam, et nullum aliud in te nisi hoc ipsum quod vivis, omnibus de[33] te mihi aliis voluptatibus interdictis,[34] cui nec praesentia tua concessum est frui ut quandoque mihi reddi valeam? O si fas sit dici crudelem mihi per omnia Deum! O inclementem clementiam! O infortunatam fortunam, quae iam in me universi conaminis sui tela in tantum consumpsit ut, quibus in alios saeviat, iam non habeat; plenam in me pharetram exhausit ut frustra iam alii bella eius formident. Nec, si ei adhuc telum aliquod superesset,[35] locum in me vulneris inveniret. Unum inter tot vulnera metuit ne morte supplicia finiam. Et cum interimere non cesset, interitum tamen quem accelerat timet. O me miserarum miserrimam, infelicium infelicissimam, quae quanto universis in te feminis praelata sublimiorem obtinui gradum, tanto hinc prostrata graviorem in te et in me pariter perpessa sum casum! Quanto quippe altior ascendentis gradus, tanto gravior corruentis casus. Quam mihi nobilium ac[36] potentium feminarum fortuna umquam praeponere potuit aut aequare? Quam denique adeo deiecit et dolore conficere potuit? Quam in te[37] mihi gloriam contulit? Quam in[38] te mihi ruinam intulit? Quam mihi vehemens in utramque partem exstitit ut nec in bonis nec in[39] malis modum habuerit? Quae ut me miserrimam omnium faceret, omnibus ante beatiorem effecerat ut, cum quanta perdidi pensarem, tanto me maiora consumerent lamenta, quanto me maiora oppresserant damna; et tanto maior amissorum succederet dolor, quanto maior possessorum praecesserat amor, et summae voluptatis gaudia summa moeroris terminaret tristitia.

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[16] *om.* *CEF.*

[16a] quod *T.*

[17] *add* inquit Seneca *CEF.*

[18] *om.* inquit Seneca *CEF.* Cf. Seneca, *Epp. ad Lucilium* 24, 1. Quid enim necesse est mala accersere, ... ac praesens tempus futuri metu perdere.

[19] *add* a *CEF.*

[20] cimiterium *CEFY Amb.*

[21] videamus with faciamus superscript *E.*

[22] promittet *BR.*

[23] tunc *B.*

[24] erunt *BR.*

[25] quod *BR*] quo *F*] quam *CE.*

[26] nec *BR.*

[27] ut *CEF.*

[28] vobis *A.*

[29] *add* itaque *T Amb.*

[30] precatur *Amb.*

[31] Lucan, *Pharsalia* II, 14, 15.

[32] aut quae] absque *T.*

[33] a *BRY.*

[34] intermissis *BRY.* The tone of the following passage reminds one of that of Cornelia's complaint against fortune in Lucan's *Pharsalia* VIII, 88 ff.

[35] superest *CE.*

Et ut ex iniuria[40] maior indignatio surgeret, omnia in nobis aequitatis iura pariter sunt perversa. Dum enim solliciti amoris gaudiis frueremur et, ut turpiore, sed expressiore vocabulo utar, fornicationi vacaremus, divina nobis severitas pepercit. Ut autem illicita licitis correximus,[41] et[42] honore coniugii turpitudinem fornicationis operuimus, ira Domini manum suam super nos vehementer aggravavit, et immacultum non pertulit torum qui diu ante sustinuerat pollutum. Deprehensis in quovis adulterio viris haec[43] satis esset ad vindictam poena quam pertulisti. Quod ex adulterio promerentur alii, id tu ex coniugio incurristi per quod iam te omnibus satisfecisse confidebas iniuriis.[44] Quod fornicatoribus suis adulterae, hoc propria uxor tibi contulit, nec cum pristinis vacaremus voluptatibus, sed cum[45] iam ad tempus segregati castius viveremus, te quidem Parisius scholis praesidente, et me ad imperium tuum Argenteoli[46] cum sanctimonialibus conversante. Divisis itaque sic nobis adinvicem[47] ut tu studiosius scholis, ego liberius orationi sive sacrae lectionis meditationi vacarem, et[48] tanto nobis sanctius, quanto castius degentibus, solus in corpore luisti quod duo pariter commiseramus, Solus in poena fuisti, duo in culpa; et qui minus debueras, totum pertulisti. Quanto enim amplius te pro me humilando satisfeceras, et me pariter et totum genus meum sublimaveras, tanto te minus tam[49] apud Deum quam apud illos proditores obnoxium poenae reddideras. O me miseram in tanti sceleris causa progenitam! O summam in viros summos et consuetam feminarum perniciem! Hinc de muliere cavenda scriptum est in Proverbiis:[50] *Nunc ergo, fili,*[51] *audi me, et attende verbis*[52] *oris mei. Ne abstrahatur in viis illius mens tua, neque decipiaris semitis eius. Multos enim vulneratos deiecit, et fortissimi quique interfecti sunt ab ea. Viae inferi domus eius penetrantes in inferiora mortis.* Et in Ecclesiaste:[53] *Lustravi universa animo meo . . . et inveni amariorem morte mulierem, quae laqueus venatorum est, et sagena cor eius; vincula enim sunt manus eius. Qui placet Deo, effugiet eam. Qui autem peccator est, capietur ab illa.*

Prima statim mulier de paradiso virum captivavit[54] et, quae ei a Domino creata fuerat in auxilium, in summum ei conversa est[55] exitium. Fortissimum[56] illum Nazaraeum Domini et angelo nuntiante[57] conceptum Dalila sola superavit, et eum inimicis proditum et oculis privatum ad hoc tandem dolor compulit ut se pariter cum ruina hostium opprimeret. Sapientissimum omnium Salomonem sola quam sibi copulaverat mulier[58] infatuavit, et in tantam compulit insaniam ut eum quem ad aedificandum sibi templum Dominus elegerat, patre eius David, qui iustus fuerat, in hoc reprobato, ad idololatriam ipsa usque in[59] finem vitae deiceret, ipso, quem tam verbis quam scriptis praedicabat atque docebat, divino cultu derelicto. Iob[60] sanctissimus in uxore novissimam atque gravissiam sustinuit pugnam, quae eum ad maledicendum Deo[61] stimulabat. Et callidissimus tentator hoc optime noverat, quod saepius expertus fuerat, virorum videlicet ruinam in uxoribus esse facillimam.

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[36] et *F*] *om. ABCERTY.*
[37] in te] vitae *CEG.*
[38] in te] vitae *CE.*
[39] *om. CEY.*
[40] nimia gratia *Y.*
[41] correxerimus *T.*
[42] ut *CEF.*
[43] hoc *BRTY.*
[44] miseriis *B*] vivis *R.*
[45] *om. BRY.*
[46] Argentolii *CEF.*
[47] abinvicem *G.*
[48] ut *CE.*
[49] *om. BRY.*
[50] VII, 24 ff. The Vulgate reads interiora for inferiora.
[51] *add* mi *F.* Vulgate.
[52] verba *FY.*
[53] vii, 26 ff.
[54] *Genesis* iii, 6.
[55] *add* in *BR.*
[56] Cf. *Judges* xvi, 17 ff.
[57] *Op. cit.* XIII, 3 ff.
[58] Cf. *III Kings* xi.
[59] ad *BRY.*

Qui denique[62] etiam usque ad nos consuetam extendens malitiam, quem de fornicatione sternere non potuit, de coniugio tentavit; et bono male est usus, qui malo male uti non est permissus. Deo saltem super hoc gratias, quod me ille ut suprapositas feminas in culpam ex consensu non traxit, quam tamen in causam commissae malitiae ex effectu[63] convertit. Sed et[64] si purget animum meum innocentia[65] nec huius reatum sceleris consensus incurrat, peccata tamen multa praecesserunt, quae me penitus immunem ab huius reatu sceleris esse non sinunt. Quod videlicet diu ante carnalium illecebrarum voluptatibus serviens, ipsa tunc merui quod nunc plector, et praecedentium in me peccatorum sequentia merito facta sunt poena; et[65a] malis initiis perversus imputandus est exitus.

Atque utinam huius praecipue commissi dignam agere valeam poenitentiam ut poenae illi tuae vulneris illati ex longa saltem poenitentiae contritione vicem quoquo modo recompensare queam; et quod tu ad horam in corpore pertulisti, ego in omni vita ut iustum est in contritione mentis suscipiam, et hoc tibi saltem modo, si non Deo, satisfaciam. Si enim vere miserrimi mei animi profitear infirmitatem, qua poenitentia Deum placare valeam non invenio, quem super hac semper iniuria summae crudelitatis arguo, et eius dispensationi contraria magis eum ex indignatione offendo, quam ex poenitentiae satisfactione mitigo. Quo modo etiam poenitentia peccatorum dicitur, quantacumque sit corporis afflictio, si mens adhuc ipsam peccandi retinet voluntatem, et pristinis aestuat desideriis? Facile quidem est quemlibet confitendo peccata seipsum accusare, aut etiam in exteriori satisfactione corpus affligere. Difficillimum vero est a desideriis maximarum voluptatum avellere animum. Unde et merito sanctus Iob cum praemisisset:[66] *Dimittam adversum me eloquium meum*, id est, laxabo linguam, et aperiam os per confessionem in peccatorum meorum accusationem, statim adiunxit: *Loquar in amaritudine animae meae.* Quod beatus exponens Gregorius:

> Sunt, inquit,[67] nonnulli, qui apertis vocibus culpas fatentur, sed tamen in confessione gemere nesciunt, et lugenda gaudentes dicunt. Unde qui culpas suas detestans loquitur, restat, necesse[68] est, ut has in amaritudine animae[69] loquatur, ut haec ipsa amaritudo puniat quidquid lingua per mentis iudicium accusat.

Sed[70] haec[71] quidem amaritudo verae[72] poenitentiae quam rara sit beatus diligenter attendens Ambrosius:

> Facilius, inquit,[73] inveni qui innocentiam servaverunt,[74] quam qui[75] poenitentiam egerunt.[76]

In tantum vero illae, quas pariter exercuimus, amantium voluptates dulces mihi fuerunt ut nec displicere mihi, nec vix a memoria labi possint. Quocumque loco me vertam, semper se oculis meis cum[77] suis ingerunt desideriis. Nec etiam dormienti suis illusionibus parcunt. Inter ipsa missarum solemnia, ubi purior esse debet oratio, obscena earum voluptatum phantasmata ita[78] sibi[79] penitus miserrimam captivant animam ut turpitudinibus illis magis quam orationi vacem. Quae cum ingemiscere debeam de commissis,[80] suspiro potius de amissis.[81] Nec solum quae egimus, sed loca pariter et tempora in quibus haec egimus, ita tecum[82] nostro infixa sunt animo, ut in ipsis omnia tecum agam, nec dormiens etiam ab his quiescam. Nonnumquam etiam[83] ipso motu corporis animi mei cogitationes deprehenduntur, nec a verbis temperant improvisis.[84] O vere me miseram, et illa conquestione[85] ingemiscentis animae dignissimam. *Infelix*[86] *ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?* Utinam et quod sequitur[87] veraciter addere queam: *Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.* Haec te gratia, carissime, praevenit, et ab his tibi stimulis una corporis plaga medendo multas in anima sanavit, et in quo tibi amplius adversari Deus creditur, propitior invenitur, more quidem fidelissimi medici qui non parcit[88] dolori ut consulat saluti.

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[60] ii, 9.
[61] Deum *CF.*
[62] *om. BRY.*
[63] affectu *T Amb.*
[64] etiam *BRY.*
[65] ignorantia *BRY.*
[65a] etiam *T Amb.*
[66] *Job* x, 1.
[67] *Moralia* IX, 43; PL 75, 896C.
[68] nec esse *CE*] *om. F.*
[69] *add* suae *BR.*
[70] *om. RY.*
[71] *om. B.*
[72] *om. E.*
[73] *De Paenitentia* II, 10; PL 16, 542A.
[74] servaverint *F.*
[75] *add* congrue *F.*
[76] egerint *F.*
[77] hoc est *F*] est *CE*] in *E.*

Hoc autem in me stimulos carnis haec incentiva libidinis ipse iuvenilis fervor aetatis, et iucundissimarum experientia voluptatum plurimum accendunt, et tanto amplius sua me[89] impugnatione opprimunt, quanto infirmior est natura quam impugnant.[90] Castam me praedicant qui non deprehendunt[90a] hypocritam. Munditiam carnis conferunt in virtutem, cum non sit corporis, sed animi virtus. Aliquid laudis apud homines habens, nihil apud Deum mereor, qui cordis et renum probator[90b] est, et in abscondito videt. Religiosa hoc tempore[91] iudicor, in quo iam parva pars religionis non est hypocrisis, ubi ille maximis extollitur laudibus, qui humanum non offendit iudicium.

Et hoc fortassis aliquo modo laudibile, et Deo acceptabile quoquo modo videtur, si quis videlicet exterioris operis exemplo quacumque intentione non sit Ecclesiae scandalo,[92] nec iam per ipsum apud infideles nomen Domini blasphemetur, nec apud carnales professionis suae ordo infametur. Atque hoc quoque nonnullum est divinae gratiae donum,[93] ex cuius videlicet munere venit non solum bona facere, sed etiam a malis abstinere. Sed frustra istud praecedit, ubi illud non succedit, sicut scriptum est: *Declina*[94] *a malo, et fac bonum.* Et frustra utrumque geritur quod amore Dei non agitur. In omni autem (Deus scit) vitae[95] meae statu,[96] te magis adhunc offendere quam Deum vereor; tibi placere amplius quam ipsi appeto. Tua me ad religionis habitum iussio, non divina traxit dilectio. Vide quam infelicem, et omnibus miserabiliorem ducam vitam, si tanta hic frustra sustineo, nihil habitura remunerationis in futuro. Diu te, sicut et[97] multos, simulatio mea fefellit ut religioni deputares hypocrisim; et ideo nostris te maxime commendans orationibus, quod a te exspecto[98] a me postulas. Noli, obsecro, de me tanta praesumere ne mihi cesses orando subvenire. Noli aestimare sanam ne medicaminis subtrahas gratiam. Noli non egentem credere ne differas in necessitate subvenire. Noli valitudinem[99] putare ne prius corruam quam sustentes labentem. Multis ficta sui laus nocuit et praesidium quo indigebant abstulit. Per Isaiam Dominus clamat:[100] *Popule meus, qui te*

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[78] meam *Y.*
[79] *om. CY.*
[80] admissis *C.*
[81] remissis *BRY*] amicis corrected to amissis (*s.m.*) *T.*
[82] deo] *RB*] adeo *Y.*
[83] et *Amb.*
[84] impudicis *Y.*
[85] questione] *CE.*
[86] *Romans* vii, 24.
[87] *Ibid.* 25.
[88] parcat *BR.*
[89] me impugnatione] me oppugnatione *F*] in expug *BRY.*
[90] impugnat *F*] oppugnant *Amb.*
[90a] deprehenderunt *Amb.*
[90b] *Psalm* vii, 10.
[91] corde *G.*
[92] scandalum *CE.*
[93] bonum *BRY.*
[94] *Psalm* xxxvi, 27.
[95] vita mea in omni statu *F.*
[96] in omni statu *CE.*
[97] *om. Amb.*
[98] exspecto a me postulas] postulo a me expectas *BRY.*
[99] valetudinem *FG.*
[100] *Cf.* iii, 12.

beatificant[1] *ipsi te decipiunt, et viam gressuum tuorum dissipiarit.* Et per Ezechielem:[2] *Vae qui consuitis,*[3] *inquit, puvillos sub omni cubitu manus, et*[4] *cervicalia sub capite aetatis*[5] *universae ad decipiendas animas.* E contra autem per Salomonem dicitur:[6] *Verba sapientium quasi stimuli, et quasi clavi in altum defixi,* qui videlicet vulnera nesciunt palpare, sed pungere. Quiesce, obsecro, a laude mea ne turpem adulationis notam et mendacii crimen incurras; aut si quod in me suspicaris bonum, ipsum laudatum vanitatis aura ventilet. Nemo medicinae[7] peritus interiorem morbum ex exterioris habitus inspectione diiudicat.

Nulla quidquam[8] meriti apud Deum obtinent, quae reprobis aeque[9] ut electis communia sunt. Haec autem ea sunt quae exterius aguntur, quae nulli sanctorum tam studiose peragunt, quantum hypocritae. Pravum[10] est cor hominis, et[11] inscrutabile, et;[12] quis cognoscet illud? Et sunt[13] viae hominis[14] quae videntur rectae; novissima autem illius deducunt ad mortem. Temerarium est[15] in eo iudicium[16] hominis,[17] quod divino tantum reservatur examini. Unde et[18] scriptum est:[19] Ne laudaveris hominem in vita.[20] Ne tunc videlicet hominem laudes, dum laudando facere non laudabilem potes. Tanto autem mihi tua laus in me periculosior est, quanto gratior,[21] et tanto amplius ea capior et delector, quanto amplius tibi per omnia placere studeo. Time, obsecro, semper de me potius quam confidas ut tua semper sollicitudine adiuver.[22] Nunc[23] vero praecipue timendum est ubi nullum incontinentiae meae[24] superest in[25] te remedium.

Nolo, me ad virtutem exhortans, et ad pugnam provocans, dicas: *Nam*[26] *virtus in infirmitate perficitur*; et: *Non*[27] *coronabitur nisi*[28] *qui*[29] *legitime certaverit.* Non quaero coronam victoriae. Satis est mihi periculum vitare.[30] Tutius[31] evitatur[32] periculum, quam committitur bellum. Quocumque me angulo coeli Deus collocet, satis mihi faciet. Nullus ibi cuiquam invidebit, cum singulis quod habebunt suffecerit. Cui quidem consilio nostro ut ex auctoritate quoque robur adiungam, beatum audiamus Hieronymum:[33]

> Fateor imbecillitatem meam; nolo spe victoriae pugnare[34] ne perdam aliquando victoriam. . . . . Quid necesse est certa dimittere, et incerta sectari?[35]

IV. (Ipse rursus ad ipsam)[1]

Sponsae Christi servus eisudem.

In quatuor, memini, circa quae tota[2] epistolae tuae novissimae summa consistit, offensae tuae commotionem expressisti. Primo quidem super hoc conquereris[3] quod praeter consuetudinem epistolarum, immo etiam contra ipsum naturalem ordinem rerum, epistola nostra tibi directa te mihi in salutatione praeposuit.[4]

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[1] beatam dicunt *F*.
[2] Cf. xiii, 18.
[3] consuunt *F*.
[4] *add* faciunt *F*.
[5] universae aetatis *F*.
[6] *Ecclesiastes* xii, 11.
[7] medicinam *R*] medicina *BTY*.
[8] quidquid *T Amb*.
[9] recte *RBY*.
[10] parvum *T*. Cf. *Jeremias* xvii, 9. The Vulgate reads omnium for hominis.
[11] *om. BR*.
[12] etiam *Amb*.
[13] Cf. *Prov.* xvi, 25; xiv, 12.
[14] *om. BRY*.
[15] *add* cor hominis *BRY*.
[16] *add* facere *Y*.
[17] *om. BRY*.
[18] *om. BRY*.
[19] Cf. *Eccli.* xi, 30.
[20] *add* sua *CEF*.
[21] gratiosior *CEF*.
[22] adiuvo *BR*.
[23] tunc *CEF*.
[24] *om. CEF*.
[25] in te] vitae *CY*.
[26] *II Cor.* xii, 9.
[27] *II Tim.* ii, 5.
[28] *om. RY*.
[29] quis *R*. *add* non *Y*.
[30] evitare *Amb*.
[31] *add* est *BRY*.
[32] vitatur *BRY*.
[33] *Adversus Vigilantium* XVI; PL 23, 367B.
[34] repugnare *CEF*.
[35] *add* vale *F*.

[1] *om. BCEFR*] rescribit (*s. m.*) *Y*] quae est rescriptum Petri rursus ad Heliossam. *Amb*.
[2] *om. T Amb*.
[3] conquerens *BCER*] consequens *T*.
[4] praeposui *BRY*.

Secundo quod cum vobis consolationis potius remedium afferre debuissem, desolationem auxi, et quas mitigare debueram lacrymas excitavi . Illud videlicet ibidem[5] adiungens: "Quod si me Dominus in manus inimicorum tradiderit ut me scilicet praevalentes interficiant, etc." Tertio vero veterem illam et[6] assiduam querelam tuam in Deum adiecisti,[7] de modo videlicet nostrae conversionis[8] ad Deum et crudelitate proditionis illius in me commissae. Denique accusationem tui contra nostram in te laudem opposuisti, non[9] cum supplicatione modica,[10] ne id[11] deinceps praesumerem. Quibus quidem singulis rescribere[12] decrevi non tam pro excusatione mea quam pro doctrina vel exhortatione tua, ut eo scilicet[13] libentius petitionibus assentias[14] nostris, quo eas rationabilius factas intellexeris, et tanto me amplius exaudias in tuis, quanto reprehensibilem minus invenies in meis, tantoque amplius verearis contemnere, quanto minus videris dignum reprehensione.[15]

De ipso autem nostrae salutationis, ut dicis, ordine praepostero, iuxta tuam quoque, si diligenter attendas,[16] actum est sententiam. Id enim quod omnibus patet, tu ipsa indicasti ut, cum videlicet ad superiores scribitur, eorum nomina praeponantur. Te vero extunc me superiorem factam intelligas quo[17] domina mea esse coepisti Domini mei[18] sponsa effecta, iuxta illud beati Hieronymi ad Eustochium ita scribentis:[19]

> Haec[20] idcirco, domina mea, Eustochium[21]—dominam quippe debeo vocare sponsam Domini mei, etc.[22]

Felix talium commercium nuptiarum ut homunculi miseri prius uxor nunc in summi regis thalamis sublimeris. Nec ex huius honoris privilegio priori tantum modo[23] viro sed quibuscumque servis eiusdem regis praelata. Ne mireris igitur si tam vivus quam mortuus me vestris praecipue commendem orationibus, cum iure publico constet apud dominos plus eorum sponsas intercedendo posse quam ipsorum familias, dominas amplius quam servos. In quarum quidem typo regina illa et summi regis sponsa diligenter describitur, cum in psalmo dicitur: *Astitit regina a dextris tuis*, etc.[24] Ac si aperte dicatur, ista iuncto latere, sponso familiarissime adhaeret et pariter incedit, ceteris omnibus quasi a longe absistentibus[25] vel subsequentibus. De huius[26] excellentia praerogativae sponsa in Canticis exsultans illa, ut ita dicam, quam Moyses duxit,[27] Aethiopissa dicit:[28] *Nigra sum, sed formosa filiae Hierusalem.*[29] Ideo[30] dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum. Et rursum:[31] *Nolite*[32] *considerare quod fusca sim*[33] quia[34] decoloravit me sol. In quibus quidem verbis cum generaliter anima describatur contemplativa quae specialiter sponsa Christi dicitur, expressius tamen ad vos hoc pertinere ipse etiam vester[35] exterior habitus loquitur. Ipse quippe cultus[36] exterior nigrorum aut vilium indumentorum, instar lugubris habitus bonarum viduarum mortuos quos dilexerant viros plangentium, vos in hoc mundo, iuxta Apostolum,[37] vere viduas et desolates ostendit,[38] stipendiis

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[5] ibi *BCEFRY*.

[6] *om. CEF*.

[7] deiecisti *ACEFY*.

[8] conversationis *EGT*.

[9] cum modica non *A*] non modica (modicum *F*) cum *CEF*.

[10] *om. ACEF*.

[11] illud *BR*.

[12] scribere *CEF*.

[13] videlicet *BR*.

[14] assentas *BRT*.

[15] *add* ad primam querimoniam *AT*. *Amb.* (in margin).

[16] attendis *F*] attendebas *Y*.

[17] quod *CE*.

[18] mei] Dom. Nost. Jesu Christi *B*.

[19] *Epist.* XXII, 2; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 145; PL 22, 395.

[20] *add* est *CE*.

[21] *add* scribo *F Amb.*

[22] *om. CEY. Amb.*

[23] tantum *BR*.

[24] *om. CF. Amb. Psalm* xliv, 10.

[25] assistentibus *BCEFRY*] adsistentibus *G*.

[26] quibus *CE*] cuius *F*] eius *Y*.

[27] *Numbers* xii, 1.

[28] *Cant. of Cant.* i, 4.

[29] *add* et *BR*.

[30] A pre-Vulgate version of *Cant. of Cant.* i, 4, I, 3.

[31] *Ibid.* 5.

[32] *add* me *F*. Vulgate.

[33] suum *Amb.*

[34] *om. CEF*.

[35] videtur *ABCRY*] vestis *F*.

[36] vultus *F*.

[37] *I Tim.* v, 3, 16.

[38] esse *F*] esset *C*.

Ecclesiae sustentandas.[39] De quarum etiam[40] viduarum luctu super occisum earum sponsum Scriptura commemorat dicens:[41] Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum.

Habet[42] autem Aethiopissa exteriorem in carne[43] nigredinem, et quantum ad exteriora pertinet, ceteris apparet feminis deformior; cum non sit tamen in interioribus dispar sed in plerisque etiam formosior atque candidior, sicut in ossibus seu dentibus.[44] Quorum videlicet dentium candor in ipso etiam[45] commendatur sponso, cum dicitur:[46] *Et dentes eius lacte candidiores.* Nigra itaque in exterioribus, sed formosa in interioribus est quia, in hac vita crebris adversitatum tribulationibus corporaliter afflicta, quasi in carne nigrescit exterius, iuxta illud Apostoli:[47] *Omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Christo*[48] *tribulationem patientur.*[49] Sicut enim candido prosperum, ita non[50] incongrue nigro designatur adversum. Intus autem quasi in ossibus candet quia in virtutibus eius anima pollet, sicut scriptum est:[51] *Omnis gloria eius filiae regis ab intus.* Ossa quippe, quae interiora sunt, exteriori[51a] carne circumdata, et ipsius carnis, quam gerunt vel sustentant, robur ac fortitudo sunt, bene[52] animam exprimunt, quae carnem ipsam, cui inest, vivificat, sustentat,[53] movet atque regit, atque ei omnem valitudinem ministrat. Cuius quidem est candor sive decor ipsae quibus adornatur virtutes. Nigra quoque est in exterioribus quia, dum in hac peregrinatione adhuc exsulat, vilem et abiectam se tenet in hac vita ut in illa sublimetur quae est abscondita cum Christo in Deo, patriam iam adepta. Sic[54] vero eam sol verus decolorat quia coelestis amor sponsi eam sic humiliat, vel tribulationibus cruciat, ne eam scilicet prosperitas extollat. Decolorat eam sic, id[55] est, dissimilem eam a ceteris facit quae terrenis inhiant, et saeculi quaerunt gloriam ut sic ipsa vere lilium convallium per humilitatem efficiatur, non lilium[56] quidem montium,[57] sicut illae videlicet fatuae[58] virgines quae de munditia carnis, vel abstinentia exteriore, apud se intumescentes, aestu tentationum aruerunt. Bene autem filias Ierusalem, id est, imperfectiores[59] alloquens fideles qui filiarum potius quam filiorum nomine digni sunt, dicit:[60] Nolite mirari,[61] etc. Ac si apertius dicat: Quod sic me humilio vel tam viriliter adversitates sustineo, non est meae virtutis, sed eius gratiae cui deservio. Aliter solent haeretici vel hypocritae, quantum ad faciem hominum[62] spectat, spe terrenae gloriae sese vehementer humiliare, vel multa inutiliter tolerare. De quorum quidem huiusmodi abiectione vel tribulatione, quam sustinent, vehementer mirandum est, cum sint omnibus miserabiliores hominibus qui nec praesentis vitae bonis nec futurae fruuntur. Hoc itaque diligenter sponsa considerans, dicit: Nolite[63] mirari cur id faciam. Sed de illis mirandum est qui inutiliter terrenae laudis desiderio aestuantes terrenis se privant commodis tam hic quam in futuro miseri. Qualis quidem fatuarum[64] virginum continentia est, quae a[65] ianua sunt exclusae.

Bene etiam, quia nigra est, ut diximus, et formosa, dilectam et introductam se dicit in cubiculum regis, id est, in secretum vel quietem contemplationis, et lectulum illum de quo eadem alibi dicit:[66] *In lectulo meo per noctes quaesivi*

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[39] substentandas *Amb.*

[40] *om. BER.*

[41] An adaptation of *Matthew* xxvii, 61 and *Luke* xxiii, 27. It is found as the antiphon to the *Benedictus* in the Roman Breviary on Holy Saturday.

[42] hoc *BF.*

[43] *add* habet *F.*

[44] Aristotle (*De Animalibus* 3, 9) says that the bones and teeth of Ethiopans are white.

[45] *om. CEF.*

[46] *Genesis* xlix, 12.

[47] Cf. *II Tim.* iii, 12.

[48] *add* Iesu *F.*

[49] patiantur *C*] patiuntur *F.*

[50] non incongrue] est congrue *BR.*

[51] *Psalm* xliv, 14.

[51a] exteriore *F.*

[52] unde *BRY.*

[53] substentat *Amb.*

[54] sicut *CEF.*

[55] id est] igitur *BR*] scilicet *Y.*

[56] Cf. *Cant. of Cant.* ii, 1.

[57] in interitum *CEF.*

[58] Cf. *Matt.* xxv.

[59] imperfectiorum *CEF.*

[60] *om. E*] dici *BR.*

[61] *Amb.* reads: me considerare quod fusca sim quia decoloravit me Sol. *Cant. of Cant.* i, 5.

[62] hominis *A.*

[63] *locum non invenio.*

[64] Cf. *Matt.* xxv.

[65] *om. BR.*

[66] *Cant. of Cant.* iii, 1.

quem diligit anima mea. Ipsa quippe nigredinis deformitas occultum potius quam manifestum, et secretum magis quam publicum amat. Et quae talis est uxor, secreta potius viri gaudia quam manifesta desiderat et in lecto magis vult sentiri quam in mensa videri. Et frequenter accidit ut nigrarum caro feminarum quanto est in aspectu deformior, tanto sit in tactu suavior; atque ideo earum voluptas secretis gaudiis quam publicis[67] gratior sit et convenientior, et earum viri, ut[68] illis oblectentur, magis eas in cubiculum introducunt quam ad publicum educunt. Secundum quam quidem metaphoram bene spiritalis sponsa, cum praemisisset: *Nigra sum, sed formosa,*[69] statim adiunxit:[70] *Ideo dilexit me rex, et introduxit me in cubiculum suum*, singula videlicet singulis reddens. Hoc est, quia formosa, dilexit; quia nigra, introduxit. Formosa, ut dixi, intus virtutibus quas diligit sponsus; nigra exterius corporalium tribulationum adversitatibus.

Quae quidem[71] nigredo, corporalium scilicet tribulationum, facile fidelium[72] mentes ab amore terrenorum avellit et ad aeternae vitae desideria[73] suspendit et saepe a tumultuosa saeculi vita trahit ad secretum contemplationis. Sicut in Paulo illo videlicet nostrae, id est, monachalis[74] vitae primordio actum esse beatus scribit[75] Hieronymus. Haec quoque abiectio indumentorum vilium secretum magis quam publicum appetit, et maxima[76] humilitatis[77] ac secretioris loci, qui nostrae praecipue convenit professioni, custodienda[78] est. Maxime namque ad publicum procedere pretiosus provocat cultus quem a nullo appeti nisi ad inanem gloriam et saeculi pompam beatus Gregorius inde convincit:[79] Quod nemo his in occulto se ornat, sed ubi conspici queat. Hoc autem praedictum sponsae cubiculum illud est ad quod ipse sponsus in Evangelio invitat orantem, dicens:[80] *Tu autem cum oraveris, intra in cubiculum*[81] *et clauso ostio, ora Patrem tuum.* Ac si diceret: Non in plateis vel publicis locis, sicut hypocritae. Cubiculum itaque dicit secretum a tumultibus et aspectu saeculi locum ubi quietius et purius orari possit; qualia sunt scilicet monasticarum solitudinum secreta ubi claudere ostium iubemur, id est aditus omnes obstruere[82] ne puritas orationis casu aliquo[83] praepediatur et oculus noster infelicem animam depraedetur.

Cuius quidem consilii immo praecepti divini multos huius habitus nostri contemptores adhuc graviter sustinemus qui, cum divina celebrant officia claustris vel choris eorum reseratis, publicis tam feminarum quam virorum aspectibus impudenter se ingerunt, et tunc praecipue cum in solemnitatibus pretiosis polluerint[84] ornamentis, sicut et ipsi[85] quibus se[86] ostentant saeculares homines. Quorum quidem iudicio tanto festivitas habetur celebrior, quanto in exteriori ornatu est ditior et in epulis copiosior.

De quorum quidem caecitate miserrima et pauperum[87] Christi religioni penitus contraria tanto est silere[88] honestius quanto loqui turpius. Qui penitus iudaizantes[89] consuetudinem suam sequuntur pro regula, et irritum fecerunt mandatum Dei propter[90] traditiones suas, non quod debeat, sed quod soleat attendentes. Cum, ut beatus etiam meminit[91] Augustinus, Dominus dixerit: *Ego sum veritas,*[92] non: ego sum consuetudo. Horum orationibus, quae aperto[93] scilicet fiunt ostio,[94] qui voluerit se commendet. Vos autem quae in cubiculum coelestis regis ab ipso introductae atque in eius amplexibus quiescentes, clauso semper ostio, ei totae vacatis, quanto familiarius ei adhaeretis, iuxta illud[95] Apostoli: *Qui adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est*, tanto puriorem et efficaciorem habere confidimus orationem et[96] ob hoc vehementius earum efflagitamus opem. Quas etiam tanto devotius pro me[97] faciendas esse credimus, quanto maiore nos invicem caritate colligati sumus.[98]

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[67] plurimis *F*] Corrupt *E*.

[68] *om. CEF.* I do not find the source of this statement.

[69] Cf. *Cant. of Cant.* i, 4.

[70] See note 30 above.

[71] *add* est *BR*.

[72] fidelissimae *CEF*.

[73] gaudiis *F*] gaudia *CE*.

[74] monachilis *T*.

[75] *Vita Pauli primi Eremitae*, 5; PL 23, 21A.

[76] maxime *BRY*.

[77] utilitatis *T*] vilitatis *Amb.*] humilitatis *ABCEGFRY*.

[78] custodia *CEF*] cus. est *om. BRY*.

[79] Cf. *Hom. in Lucam* 40, 16; PL 76, 1305B. In margin in Petrarch's hand: Seneca prius.

[80] *Matt.* vi, 6.

[81] *add* tuum *F*.

[82] astruere *TY*] obstinere *C*.

[83] aliquando *A*.

[84] polluerunt *BR*] polluent *Y*.

[85] ipsis *A*.

[86] *om. T. Amb.*

[87] pauperrimi *CEF*.

[88] *add* est *R*] et *B*.

[89] Cf. *Matt.* xv, 6.

[90] per *Amb.*

[91] *De Baptismo contra Don.* 3, 6, 9; PL 43, 143; 6; 37; 71; PL 43, 220. Augustine is quoting Libosus Vagensis.

[92] *John* xiv, 6.

[93] aperte *CEF*.

Quod vero mentione periculi in quo laboro, vel mortis quam timeo, vos commovi, iuxta ipsam quoque tuam factum est exhortationem, immo etiam adiurationem. Sic enim prima,[99] quam ad me direxisti, quodam loco continet epistola: "Per ipsum itaque qui te sibi adhuc quoquo modo protegit Christum obsecramus quatinus[100] ancillulas ipsius et tuas crebris litteris de his, in quibus adhuc fluctuas, naufragiis certificare digneris ut nos saltem, quae tibi solae remansimus, doloris vel gaudii participes habeas. Solent etenim[1] dolenti nonnullam afferre consolationem qui condolent. Et quodlibet onus pluribus impositum[2] levius sustinetur[3] sive defertur." Quid igitur[4] arguis quod vos anxietatis meae participes feci, ad quod me adiurando compulisti? Numquid[5] in tanta vitae, qua crucior, desperatione gaudere vos convenit? Nec doloris sociae, sed gaudii tantum, vultis esse, nec flere[6] cum flentibus, sed gaudere cum gaudentibus? Nulla maior verorum et falsorum differentia est amicorum quam quod illi adversitati, isti prosperitati, se sociant.

Quiesce, obsecro, ab his dictis, et huiusmodi querimonias compesce quae a visceribus caritatis absistunt longissime. Aut si adhuc in his offenderis, me tamen in tanto periculi positum articulo, et quotidiana desperatione vitae, de salute animae sollicitum convenit esse, et de ipsa, dum licet, providere. Nec tu, si me vere diligis, hanc exosam providentiam habebis. Quin[7] etiam,[8] si quam de divina erga[9] me misericordia spem haberes, tanto amplius ab huius vitae aerumnis liberari me cuperes, quanto eas conspicis intolerabiliores. Certum quippe tibi est quod quisquis ab hac vita me liberet, a[10] maximis poenis eruet. Quas postea incurram incertum est, sed a quantis absolvar dubium non est. Omnis vita misera iucundum exitum habet, et quicumque aliorum anxietatibus vere compatiuntur et condolent, eas finiri desiderant, et cum damnis etiam[11] suis, si quos anxios vident vere diligunt,[12] nec tam commoda propria quam illorum in ipsis attendunt. Sic[13] diu languentem filium mater etiam morte languorem finire desiderat, quem tolerare ipsa non potest, et[14] eo potius orbari sustinet quam in miseria consortem habere. Et quicumque amici praesentia plurimum oblectatur[15] magis tamen beatam esse[16] vult eius[17] absentiam quam praesentiam miseram, quia quibus subvenire non valet, aerumnas[18] tolerare non potest. Tibi vero nec nostra vel etiam misera concessum est frui praesentia. Nec nisi[19] tuis in me commodis aliquid provideas,[20] cur me miserrime[21] vivere malis quam felicius mori non video . Quod si nostras protendi miserias in[22] commoda tua desideras, hostis potius quam amica convinceris. Quod si videri refugis, ab his obsecro, sicut dixi, quiesce querimoniis.[23]

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[94] honeste *CEF*.

[95] *I Cor.* vi, 17.

[96] ab *CE*.

[97] nobis *CEF*.

[98] *add* ad secundam *AT*. *Amb*.

[99] Cf. *Ep.* I, p. 68.

[100] quantinus is the usual spelling in the manuscripts. quatinus . . . . defertur *om.* *CEF*.

[1] enim *Amb*.

[2] *add* est *A*.

[3] substinetur *Amb*.

[4] ergo *CEF*.

[5] numquid . . . . gaudentibus *om.* *CEF*.

[6] Cf. *Romans* xii, 15.

[7] quae *ACEF*] ne *BR*.

[8] quam si quam *R*.

[9] gratia in *A*.

[10] om. *BR*. In margin in Petrarch's hand: non ineleganter ais, Petre.

[11] et *BR*.

[12] diligent *BR*.

[13] si *T*.

[14] ut *T*.

[15] oblectantur *CEY*.

[16] *om.* BRY.

[17] *om.* BRF.

[18] aerumnis *F* *Amb*.

[19] ubi BECRTY *Amb*. ut in margin (*s.m.*) *A*.

[20] provideat *CE* aliud provideat *F*.

[21] miserima *BR*.

[22] *om.* *EF*.

Approbo autem quod reprobas laudem quia in hoc ipso te laudabiliorem ostendis. Scriptum est[24] enim: *Iustus in primordio*[25] *accusator est sui; et:*[26] *Qui se humiliat, se*[27] *exaltat.*[28] Atque utinam sic sit in animo tuo sicut et[29] in scripto! Quod si fuerit, vera est humilitas tua nec[30] pro nostris evanuerit[31] verbis. Sed vide, obsecro, ne[32] hoc ipso laudem quaeras quo laudem fugere videris et reprobes illud ore quod appetas corde. De quo ad Eustochium virginem sic inter cetera beatus scribit[33] Hieronymus:

> Naturali ducimur malo. Adulatoribus nostris libenter favemus et quamquam nos respondeamus indignos et callidior rubor ora suffundat, attamen[34] ad laudem suam intrinsecus anima laetatur.

Talem et lascivae calliditatem Galateae Virgilius describit,[35] quae quod volebat[36] fugiendo appetebat et, simulatione repulsae,[37] amplius in se amantem incitabat:

> Et fugit ad salices, inquit, et se cupit ante videri.

Antequam lateat cupit se fugientem videri, ut ipsa fuga qua[38] reprobare consortium iuvenis videtur amplius acquirat. Sic et laudes hominum, dum fugere videmur, amplius erga nos excitamus et, cum latere nos velle simulamus ne quis scilicet in nobis quid laudet agnoscat, amplius attendimus[39] in laudem nostram impudentes[40] quia eo laude videmur digniores. Et haec quidem quia saepe accidunt[41] dicimus non quia de te talia suspicemur qui de tua non haesitamus humilitate. Sed ab his etiam verbis te[42] temperare[43] volumus ne his, qui te minus noverint, videaris, ut ait[44] Hieronymus: fugiendo gloriam quaerere. Numquam te mea laus inflabit sed ad meliora provocabit, et tanto studiosius quae laudavero amplecteris, quanto mihi amplius[45] placere satagis. Non est laus nostra testimonium tibi religionis ut hinc aliquid extollentiae[46] sumas. Nec de[47] commendatione cuiusquam amicis credendum est sicut inimicis de vituperatione.[48]

Superest tandem ut ad antiquam illam, ut diximus, et assiduam querimoniam tuam veniamus qua[49] videlicet de nostrae conversionis[50] modo Deum potius accusare praesumis quam glorificare, ut iustum est, velis. Hanc iamdudum amaritudinem animi tui tam[51] manifesto divinae misericordiae consilio evanuisse credideram. Quae, quanto tibi periculosior est, corpus tuum pariter et animam conterens, tanto miserabilior est et mihi molestior. Quae cum mihi per omnia placere, sicut profiteris, studeas, hoc saltem uno ut me non crucies, immo ut mihi summopere placeas, hanc depone, cum qua mihi non potes placere neque mecum[52] ad beatitudinem pervenire. Sustinebis illuc me sine te pergere, quem etiam[53] ad Vulcania profiteris te sequi velle? Hoc[54] saltem uno[55] religionem appete ne a me ad Deum, ut credis, properantem dividaris; et tanto libentius, quanto quo veniendum nobis est beatius est, ut tanto scilicet societas nostra sit gratior, quanto felicior. Memento quae dixeris. Recordare quae scripseris in hoc videlicet nostrae conversionis modo, quo mihi Deus amplius adversari creditur, propitiorem mihi sicut manifestum est exstitisse. Hoc uno[56] saltem haec eius dispositio tibi placeat quod mihi sit saluberrima immo mihi[57] pariter et tibi,[58] si rationem vis doloris admittat. Nec[59] te tanti boni causam esse doleas, ad quod te a Deo maxime creatam esse non dubites. Nec quia id[60] tulerim plangas, nisi cum martyrum passionum ipsiusque Dominicae mortis commoda te contristabunt . Numquid si id mihi iuste accidisset, tolerabilius ferres, et minus te offenderet? Profecto si sic fieret, eo modo contingeret quo[61] mihi esset ignominiosius, et inimicis laudabilius, cum illis laudem iustitia et mihi contemptum acquireret culpa, nec iam quisquam quod actum est accusaret, aut[62] compassione mei moveretur.

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[23] *add* ad tertiam *AT Amb.*

[24] *Proverbs* xviii, 17.

[25] in prim.] prior *F* Vulgate.

[26] *Luke* xviii, 14.

[27] *om. F.* Vulgate.

[28] exaltabitur *CEF.* Vulgate.

[29] *om. BCRY Amb.*

[30] ne *T Amb.*

[31] evanuit *F.*] evanuerunt *BR.*

[32] nec *CEF.*

[33] *Ep.* 22, 24; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 176; PL 22, 410.

[34] ac tamen *BR*] tamen *CEF.*

[35] *Eclogues* 3, 65.

[36] nolebat *EF.*

[37] repulsa *BR.*

[38] quae *T*] quando *B*] quam *Y.*

[39] ascendimus *T*] accedimus *A*] accendimus *BG.*

[40] imprudentes *ABRTY Amb.*] in praedictis *E*] *add* praedictis *F.*

[41] accidit *BR.*

[42] *om. BRT.*

[43] obtemperare *BRT.*

[44] Cf. *Ep.* 22, 27; CSEL 54, I, 1, p. 183; PL 22, 413.

[45] *om. BR.*

[46] excellentiae *ERY.*

[47] *om. A.*

[48] *add* ad quartam *AT Amb.*

[49] quia *T Amb.*

[50] conversationis *R. add* nostrae *T.*].

[51] *om. CEF.*

[52] *om. CE.*

[53] *om. CEFY.*

[54] Hoc . . . . felicior *om. CEF.*

[55] *Ms Y* stops here.

Ut tamen et hoc modo huius amaritudinem doloris leniamus, tam iuste quam utiliter id monstrabimus nobis accidisse, et rectius in coniugatos quam in fornicantes ultum Deum fuisse. Nosti post nostri foederationem[63] coniugii, cum Argenteoli[64] cum sanctimonialibus in claustro conversareris,[65] me die quadam privatim ad te visitandam venisse, et quid ibi tecum meae libidinis egerit intemperantia in quadam etiam parte ipsius refectorii, cum quo alias videlicet[66] diverteremus, non haberemus. Nosti, inquam, id impudentissime tunc actum esse in tam reverendo loco et Summae Virgini consecrato. Quod, et si alia cessent flagitia, multo graviore dignum sit ultione. Quid pristinas fornicationes et[67] impudentissimas referam pollutiones quae coniugium praecesserunt? Quid summam denique proditionem meam, qua de te ipsa tuum, cum quo assidue in eius domo convivebam, avunculum tam turpiter seduxi? Quis me ab eo iuste prodi non censeat quem tam impudenter ante ipse prodideram? Putas ad tantorum criminum ultionem momentaneum illius plagae dolorem sufficere? Immo tantis malis tantum debitum esse commodum? Quam plagam divinae sufficere iustitiae credis ad tantam contaminationem, ut diximus, sacerrimi loci suae matris? Certe, nisi vehementer erro, non tam illa saluberrima plaga in ultionem horum conversa est quam quae quotidie indesinenter sustineo.

Nosti etiam, quando te gravidam in meam transmisi patriam, sacro te habitu indutam[68] monialem te finxisse, et tali simulatione tuae, quam nunc habes, religioni irreverenter[69] illusissse. Unde etiam pensa quam convenienter ad hanc te religionem divina iustitia, immo gratia traxerit nolentem, cui verita[70] non es illudere, volens ut in ipso luas habitu quod in ipsum deliquisti, et simulationis mendacio ipsa rei veritas remedium praestet et falsitatem emendet.

Quod si divinae in nobis iustitiae nostram velis utilitatem adiungere, non tam iustitiam quam gratiam Dei quod tunc egit in nobis poteris appellare. Attende itaque, attende, carissima, quibus misericordiae suae retibus a profundo huius tam periculosi maris nos Dominus piscaverit[71] et a[72] quantae[73] Charibdis voragine naufragos licet invitos extraxerit[74] ut merito uterque nostrum in illam prorumpere[75] posse videatur vocem:[76] *Dominus sollicitus est mei.* Cogita et recogita in[77] quantis ipsi nos periculis constitueramus[78] et a quantis nos eruerit Dominus et narra semper cum summa gratiarum actione quanta[79] fecit Dominus animae nostrae; et quoslibet iniquos de bonitate Domini desperantes nostro consolare exemplo, ut advertant omnes quid supplicantibus atque[80] petentibus fiat, cum tam[81] peccatoribus et[82] invitis tanta praestentur[83] beneficia. Perpende altissimum in nobis divinae consilium pietatis, et quam misericorditer iudicium suum Dominus in correptionem verterit et quam prudenter malis quoque ipsis[84] usus sit et impietatem pie deposuerit[85] ut unius partis corporis mei iustissima plaga duabus[86] mederetur animabus. Confer periculum et liberationis modum. Confer languorem et medicinam. Meritorum causas inspice et miserationis affectus admirare.

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[56] una *CEF.*
[57] tibi *BR.*
[58] mihi *BR*] tui *E.*
[59] ne *ACEF.*
[60] ut *CE.*
[61] quod *C.* In margin in Petrarch's hand: accedit Socratis responsum.
[62] ut *Amb.*
[63] confoederationem *E Amb.* In margin in Petrarch's hand; vel iratus vel compunctus es, Petre.
[64] Argentolii *CEF.*
[65] conversabaris *Amb.*
[66] *om. Amb.*
[67] *om. BR.*
[68] inductam *T.*
[69] inreverenter *T.*
[70] veritas *CE.*
[71] piscatus fuerit *ACEF.*
[72] *om. R.*
[73] quanto *BR.*
[74] extraxerunt *BR.*
[75] perrumpere *Amb.* but prorumpere *G.*
[76] *Psalm* xxxix, 18.
[77] in . . . eramus *om. C.*
[78] constituti eramus *Amb.*

Nosti quantis turpitudinibus immoderata mea libido corpora nostra addixerat[87] ut nulla honestatis vel Dei reverentia in ipsis etiam diebus Dominicae passionis vel quantarumcumque solemnitatum ab huius luti volutabro me revocaret. Sed et te nolentem et, prout poteras, reluctantem et dissuadentem, quae natura infirmior eras, saepius minis ac flagellis ad consensum trahebam. Tanto enim tibi concupiscentiae ardore copulatus eram ut miseras illas et obscenissimas voluptates, quas etiam nominare confundimur, tam Deo quam mihi ipsi praeponerem; nec iam[88] aliter consulere posse divina videretur clementia, nisi has mihi voluptates sine spe ulla omnimo interdiceret.[89] Unde iustissime et clementissime, licet cum summa tui avunculi proditione, ut in multis crescerem, parte illa corporis mei[90] sum imminutus[91] in qua libidinis regnum erat et tota huius concupiscentiae causa consistebat ut iuste illud plecteretur membrum quod in nobis commiserat totum et expiaret patiendo quod deliquerat[92] oblectando et ab his me spurcitiis, quibus me totum quasi luto immerseram, tam mente quam corpore circumcideret; et tanto sacris etiam[93] altaribus idoneorem[94] efficeret, quanto me nulla hinc amplius carnalium contagia pollutionum revocarent. Quam clementer etiam in eo tantum me pati voluit membro, cuius privatio et animae saluti consuleret, et corpus non deturparet, nec ullam officiorum ministrationem praepediret.[95] Immo ad omnia, quae honeste geruntur, tanto me promptiorem efficeret,[96] quanto ab huius[97] concupiscentiae iugo maximo amplius liberaret.

Cum itaque membris his vilissimis, quae pro summae turpitudinis exercitio pudenda vocantur, nec proprium sustinent nomen, me divina gratia mundavit potius quam privavit, quid aliud egit quam ad puritatem munditiae conservandam sordida removit et vilia?[98] Hanc quidem munditiae puritatem nonnullos sapientium[99] vehementissime[99a] appetentes inferre etiam sibi manum audivimus ut hoc a se penitus removerent concupiscentiae flagitium. Pro quo etiam stimulo carnis auferendo et Apostolus perhibetur[100] Dominum rogasse,[1] nec exauditum esse. In exemplo est magnus ille[2] Christianorum philosophus Origenes[3] qui, ut hoc in se penitus incendium exstingueret, manus sibi inferre veritus non est; ac si illos ad litteram vere beatos intelligeret, qui se ipsos propter regnum coelorum castraverunt, et tales illud veraciter implere crederet quod de membris scandalizantibus nos[4] praecipit[5] Dominus ut ea scilicet a nobis abscindamus et proiiciamus, et quasi illam Isiae prophetiam[6] ad historiam magis quam ad mysterium duceret, per quam ceteris fidelibus eunuchos Dominus praefert, dicens: *Eunuchi si custodierint sabbata mea et elegerint quae volui, . . . dabo eis in domo mea et in muris meis locum, et nomen melius a filiis et filiabus. Nomen sempiternum dabo eis quod non peribit.* Culpam tamen non modicam Origines incurrit dum per poenam corporis remedium culpae quaerit, zelum quippe Dei habens,[7] sed non secundum scientiam, homicidii incurrit reatum, inferendo sibi manum. Suggestione diabolica[7a] vel errore maximo id ab ipso constat esse factum, quod miseratione Dei in me est ab alio[8] perpetratum. Culpam evito, non incurro. Mortem mereor et vitam assequor. Vocor et reluctor. Insto criminibus et ad veniam trahor invitus. Orat Apostolus nec exauditur. Precibus instat nec impetrat. Vere *Dominus*[9] *sollicitus est mei.* Vadam igitur et narrabo quanta fecit Dominus animae meae.

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[79] Cf. *Psalm* lxv, 16.
[80] et *F*] ac *ACE*.
[81] iam *G*.
[82] *om. CEF*.
[83] praestantur *CF*.
[84] *add* bene *ABCEFR*.
[85] disposuerit *F*.
[86] duobus *BR*.
[87] adduxerit *AB*.
[88] tam *Amb*.
[89] intercideret *FvG*.
[90] *om. Amb*.
[91] minutus *Amb*.] immunis *C*.
[92] deliqueram *CEF*.
[93] *om. BR*.
[94] idoniorem *T Amb*. Abelard means that he was thereby enabled to lead a pure life, not that a eunuch is better suited to be a priest. In the Code of Canon Law, Can. 985, 5, only one guilty of self-mutilation incurs an irregularity for Holy Orders.
[95] impediret *BG*.
[96] efficerent *BRT*.
[97] hoc *Amb*.
[98] et vilia *om. BR*] vitia *Amb*.
[99] sapientum *BR*.
[99a] vehemens *T*.
[100] *add* se *BR*.
[1] Cf. *II Cor*. xii, 8.
[2] ille magnus *Amb*.
[3] Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist*. 6, 7.
[4] non *BR*] non corrected to nos *T*] *om. F*] nobis *Amb*.
[5] *Matt*. xviii, 8. praecit *T*.

Accede et tu, inseparabilis comes, in una gratiarum actione, quae et culpae particeps facta es et gratiae. Nam et tuae Dominus non immemor salutis, immo plurimum tui[10] memor, qui etiam sancto quodam nominis praesagio te praecipue suam fore praesignavit, cum te videlicet Heloissam id[11] est divinam ex proprio nomine suo quod est Heloim insignivit; ipse, inquam, clementer disposuit in uno duobus consulere quos diabolus in uno nitebatur exstinguere. Paululum enim antequam hoc accideret, nos indissolubili lege sacramenti nuptialis invicem astrinxerat,[12] cum cuperem te mihi supra modum dilectam in perpetuum retinere, immo[13] cum ipse iam tractaret ad se nos ambos hac occasione convertere. Si enim mihi antea[14] matrimonio non esses copulata, facile in discessu meo a saeculo vel suggestione parentum vel carnalium oblectatione voluptatum saeculo inhaesisses.

Vide ergo quantum sollicitus nostri fuerit Dominus, quasi ad magnos aliquos nos reservaret usus, et quasi indignaretur aut doleret illa litteralis scientiae talenta, quae utrique nostrum commiserat, ad sui nominis honorem non dispensari; aut quasi etiam de incontinentissimo servulo suo[15] vereretur quod scriptum est:[16] Quia *mulieres faciunt* etiam *apostatare sapientes.* Sicut et[17] de sapientissimo certum est Salomone.[18] Tuae vero prudentiae talentum quantas quotidie Domino refert[19] usuras, quae multas Domino iam spirituales filias peperisti, me penitus sterili permanente, et in filiis perditionis[20] inaniter laborante. O quam detestabile damnum! Quam lamentabile incommodum, si carnalium voluptatum sordibus vacans paucos cum dolore pareres mundo, quae nunc multiplicem prolem cum exsultatione parturis coelo! Nec esses plus quam femina nunc etiam viros transcendis et quae maledictionem Evae in benedictionem vertisti Mariae. O quam indecenter manus illae sacrae, quae nunc etiam divina revolvunt volumina, curae muliebris obscenitatibus deservirent! Ipse nos a contagiis huiuis caeni,[21] a voluptabris[22] huius luti dignatus est erigere,[23] et ad seipsum vi quadam[24] attrahere, qua percussum voluit Paulum[25] convertere, et hoc ipso fortassis exemplo nostro alios quoque litterarum peritos ab hac deterrere[25a] praesumptione. Ne te id igitur, soror, obsecro, moveat, nec patri[26] paterne nos corrigenti sis molesta, sed attende quod scriptum est:[27] *Quos diligit Deus, hos corrigit;*[28] *castigat*[29] *autem omnem*[30] *filium quem recipit.* Et alibi:[31] *Qui parcit virgae, odit filium.* Poena[32] haec momentanea est[33] non aeterna, purgationis, non damnationis. Audi prophetam[34] et confortare: *Non iudicabit Dominus bis in idipsum,* et *non consurget duplex tribulatio.* Attende summam illam et maximam Veritatis adhortationem:[35] *In patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras.* Unde et Salomon:[36] *Melior est patiens viro forti, et qui dominatur animo suo, expugnatore urbium.*

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[6] *Isaias* lvi, 4, 5.

[7] Cf. *Romans* x, 2.

[7a] In *Historia Calamitatmum* (p. 207) Abelard says that Origen acted 'minus provide'.

[8] illo *A*] ipso *CF*.

[9] *Psalm* xxxix, 18.

[10] tuae *ACR*] me *B*. In margin in Petrarch's hand: Itaque caelitus, nisi fallor, et valde misericorditer actum est ut eo tecum nexu prius voluntarie iuncta esset, quo post te demum vel invita traheretur Heloysa tua, Petre.

[11] id est divinam] *om. Amb.*] id est dominm *F*.

[12] adstrinxerat *Amb.* In *Historia Calamitatum* (p. 185) Abelard says he married Heloise simply to pacify her uncle.

[13] immo . . . . convertere *om. CF*.

[14] *om. CF*.

[15] *om. Amb.*

[16] *Eccli.* xix, 2.

[17] *om. C Amb.*

[18] Cf. *III Kings* xi, 1 ff.

[19] referat *BRT Amb.*

[20] proditionis *BR*.

[21] corrupt *EFRT*.

[22] voluptabris *BCRT*] voluptatibus *Amb.*

[23] eruere *G*.

[24] in quadam sagena *F*.

[25] Cf. *Acts* xxvi, 14.

[25a] deterre *T*.

Non[37] te ad lacrymas aut ad compunctionem movet unigenitus Dei innocens pro te et omnibus ab impiissimis comprehensus, distractus, flagellatus et velata facie illusus et colaphizatus, sputis conspersus, spinis coronatus, et tandem in illo crucis[38] tunc tam ignominioso patibulo inter latrones suspensus atque illo tam[39] horrendo, et exsecrabili genere mortis interfectus? Hunc semper, soror, verum tuum et totius Ecclesiae sponsum prae oculis habe, mente gere. Intuere hunc exeuntem ad crucifigendum pro te et bajulantem sibi crucem. Esto de populo et mulieribus quae plangebant et lamentabantur eum, sicut Lucas his[40] verbis narrat:[41] *Sequebatur autem multa turba populi et mulierum quae plangebant et lamentabantur eum.* Ad quas quidem benigne conversus, clementer eis praedixit futurum in ultionem suae mortis exitium[42] a quo quidem, si saperent, cavere sibi per hoc possent. *Filiae,* inquit,[43] *Ierusalem, nolite flere super me sed*[44] *super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros. Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent: Beatae steriles, et ventres qui*[45] *non genuerunt et ubera quae non lactaverunt. Tunc incipient dicere montibus: Cadite super nos; et collibus: Operite nos. Quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido quid fiet?*

Patienti sponte[46] pro redemptione tua compatere et super crucifixo pro te compungere, Sepulcro eius mente semper assiste, et cum fidelibus feminis lamentare et luge. De[47] quibus etiam ut iam supra memini[48] scriptum est:[49] Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur flentes Dominum. Para cum illis sepulturae eius unguenta, sed meliora, spiritualia quidem, non corporalia; haec[50] enim requirit aromata qui non suscepit[51] illa. Super his toto devotionis affectu compungere. Ad quam quidem compassionis compunctionem ipse etiam[52] per Ieremiam fideles adhortatur, dicens:[53] *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor similis*[54] *sicut dolor meus,* id est, si super aliquo patiente ita est per compassionem dolendum, cum ego scilicet solus sine culpa quod alii deliquerint luam. Ipse autem est via per quam fideles de exsilio transeunt[55] ad patriam, qui etiam crucem, de qua sic clamat, ad hoc nobis erexit scalam. Hic pro te occisus est unigenitus Dei, *oblatus*[56] *est quia voluit.*

Super hoc uno compatiendo dole, dolendo compatere. Et quod per Zachariam[57] prophetam de animabus devotis praedictum est comple: *Plangent,* inquit, *planctum*[58] *quasi super unigenitum, et dolebunt super eum ut doleri solet in*

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[26] patri pat.] deo *CEF.*
[27] *Hebrews* xii, 6.
[28] corripit *F Amb.*
[29] flagellat *FG.*
[30] dominus *CE.*
[31] *Proverbs* xiii, 24.
[32] *add* est *Amb.*
[33] *om. Amb.*
[34] Cf. *Nahum* i, 9.
[35] *Luke* xxi, 19.
[36] *Proverbs* xvi, 32.
[37] num *G.*
[38] *om. ACEF.*
[39] tunc *T Amb.*
[40] his verbis *om. CEF.*
[41] *Luke* xxiii, 27.
[42] exitum *ACE.*
[43] *Luke* xxiii, 28 ff.
[44] sed . . . . fiet *om. CEF.*
[45] quae *BR.*
[46] sponsae *A.*
[47] De . . . . Dominum *om. CEF.*
[48] *add* sicut *BR.*
[49] Not scriptural wording but cf. *Luke* xxiii, 27 and 55. It is found in the Roman Breviary as the antiphon of the *Benedictus* on Holy Saturday.
[50] haec . . . . suis *om, CEF.*
[51] susceperit *BRT.*
[52] *om. A.*
[53] *Lamentations* i, 12.
[54] *om.* Vulgate.
[55] transierunt *A.*
[56] *Isaias* liii, 7.
[57] xii, 10.
[58] cum planctu Vulgate.

morte primogeniti. Vide, soror, quantus sit planctus his qui regem diligunt super morte primogeniti eius et unigeniti. Intuere quo planctu familia, quo moerore tota consumatur curia et, cum ad sponsam unigeniti mortui perveneris, intolerabiles ululatus eius non sustinebis. Hic tuus, soror, planctus; hic tuus sit ululatus, quae te huic[59] sponso felici copulasti matrimonio. Emit te iste non suis, sed seipso. Proprio sanguine emit te et[60] redemit. Quantum ius in te habeat vide et quam pretiosa sis intuere. Hoc quidem pretium suum Apostolus attendens, et in hoc pretio quanti sit ipse, pro quo ipsum datur, perpendens, et quam[61] tantae gratiae vicem referat adnectens: *Absit mihi,* inquit,[62] *gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo.* Maior es coelo, maior es mundo, cuius pretium ipse Conditor mundi factus est. Quid in te, rogo, viderit, qui nullius eget, ut pro te acquirenda usque ad agonias tam horrendae atque ignominiosae mortis certaverit?[63] Quid in te, inquam, quaerit[64] nisi teipsam? Verus est amicus qui teipsam non tua desiderat. Verus est amicus qui pro te moriturus dicebat:[65] *Maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam ponat quis*[66] *pro amicis suis.* Amabat[67] te ille veraciter, non ego. Amor meus, qui utrumque nostrum peccatis involvebat,[68] concupiscentia, non amor dicendus est. Miseras in te meas voluptates implebam, et hoc erat totum quod amabam. Pro te, inquis, passus sum, et fortassis verum est, sed magis per te, et hoc ipsum invitus, non amore tui, sed coactione mei, nec ad tuam salutem, sed ad dolorem. Ille[69] vero salubriter, ille[70] pro te[71] sponte passus est qui passione sua omnem curat languorem, omnem removet passionem.

In hoc, obsecro, non in me tua tota sit devotio, tota compassio, tota compunctio. Dole[72] in tam innocentem tantae crudelitatis perpetratam[72a] iniquitatem, non iustam in me aequitatis vindictam, immo gratiam, ut dictum est, in utrosque summam. Iniqua enim es, si aequitatem non amas, et iniquissima, si voluntati, immo tantae gratiae Dei scienter es[72b] adversa. Plange tuum reparatorem, non corruptorem, redemptorem, non scortatorem, pro te mortuum Dominum, non viventem servum, immo nunc primum de morte vere liberatum. Cave, obsecro, ne quod dixit[73] Pompeius maerenti Corneliae tibi improperetur turpissime:

Vivit post[74] proelia Magnus!
Sed fortuna perit. Quod defles, illud amasti.

Attende, precor, id, et erubesce nisi admissas[75] turpitudines impudentissimas commendes.[76] Accipe itaque, soror, accipe, quaeso, patienter quae nobis acciderunt misericorditer. Virga haec est patris, non gladius persecutoris. Percutit pater ut corrigat ne feriat[77] hostis ut occidat. Vulnere[78] mortem praevenit[79] non ingerit; immittit ferrum ut amputet morbum; corpus vulnerat et animam sanat; occidere debuerat et vivificat; immunditiam resecat ut mundum relinquat; punit semel ne puniat semper; patitur unus ex vulnere ut duobus parcatur a morte. Duo in culpa,[80] unus in poena. Id quoque tuae infirmitati[81] naturae divina indulgetur miseratione et quodam modo iuste. Quo enim naturaliter sexu infirmior eras et fortior continentia, poenae minus eras obnoxia.

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[59] *add* vero *BR.*
[60] ac *ABR.*
[61] quem *AR.*
[62] *Gal.* vi, 14.
[63] certaverunt *BR.*
[64] quaerunt *BR.*
[65] *John* xv, 3.
[66] qui *T.*
[67] ipse enim te veraciter amabit (amabat *E*) *CEF.*
[68] involvat *BR*] involverat *CEF.*
[69] ille . . . salubriter *om. CEF.*
[70] *add* vero *CEF.*
[71] *add* salubriter *F.*
[72] Dole . . . adversa *om. CEF.*
[72a] perpetrantem *T.*
[72b] est *T.*
[73] Lucan, *Pharsalia* VIII, 84-85.
[74] Post . . . Attende *F.* (id *CE*) *om. CEF.*
[75] amissas *CEF.*
[76] commendas *CF.*
[77] ferit *G.*
[78] Vulnere . . . sanat *om. CEF.*
[79] pervenit *BR.*
[80] culpam *Amb.*
[81] infirmitatis *CEF.*

Refero Domino et[82] in hoc grates,[83] qui te tunc et a poena liberavit et[84] ad coronam reservavit, et, cum me una corporis mei passione semel[85] ab omni aestu huius concupiscentiae, in qua una totus per immoderatam incontinentiam occupatus eram, refrigeravit[86] ne corruam, multas adolescentiae tuae maiores animi passiones ex assidua carnis suggestione reservavit ad martyrii coronam. Quod licet te audire taedeat et dici prohibeas, veritas tamen id loquitur manifesta. Cui enim superest[87] pugna, superest et corona quia *non coronabitur*[88] *nisi qui*[89] *legitime certaverit.* Mihi vero nulla superest corona quia nulla subest certaminis causa. Deest materia pugnae, cui ablatus est stimulus concupiscentiae.

Aliquid tamen esse aestimo, si, cum hinc nullam percipiam coronam, nonnullam tamen evitam poenam, et dolore unius momentaneae poenae multis fortassis indulgeatur aeternis. Scriptum est[90] quippe de huius miserrimae vitae hominibus, immo iumentis: *Computruerunt iumenta in stercoribus*[91] *suis.* Minus quoque meritum meum minui conqueror, dum tuum crescere non diffido. Unum quippe sumus in Christo, una per legem matrimonii caro. Quidquid est tuum, mihi non arbitror alienum. Tuus autem[92] est Christus quia facta est sponsa eius. Et nunc, ut supra memini, me habes servum quem olim agnoscebas dominum, magis tibi tamen amore nunc spirituali[93] coniunctum quam timore subiectum. Unde et de tuo nobis apud ipsum patrocinio[94] amplius confidimus ut id obtineam ex tua quod non possum ex oratione propria. Et nunc maxime cum quotidiana periculorum aut perturbationum instantia nec vivere me nec orationi sinat vacare, nec illum[95] beatissimum imitari eunuchum[96] potentem in domo[96a] Candacis reginae Aethiopum qui erat super omnes gazas eius et de tam longinquo venerat adorare in Ierusalem. Ad quem revertentem missus est ab angelo Philippus apostolus ut eum converteret ad fidem, quod iam ille meruerat per orationem vel sacrae lectionis assiduitatem. A qua quidem ut nec in via tunc vacaret licet ditissimus et gentilis, magno[97] divinae dispensationis actum est beneficio ut locus ei Scripturae occurreret qui opportunissimam conversionis[98] eius occasionem apostolo[99] praeberet. Ne quid vero hanc petitionem nostram impediat vel impleri differat, orationem quoque ipsam, quam[100] pro nobis Domino supplices,[1] componere, et mittere tibi maturavi.[2]

Deus, qui ab ipso humanae creationis exordio femina de costa viri formata nuptialis copulae sacramentum maximum sanxisti, quique immensis honoribus vel de desponsata nascendo, vel miracula inchoando nuptias sublimasti, meaeque[3] etiam fragilitatis incontinentiae utcumque tibi placuit olim hoc remedium indulsisti; ne despicias ancillulae tuae preces, quas pro meis ipsis carique mei[4] excessibus in conspectu maiestatis tuae[5] supplex effundo. Ignosce, o benignissime, immo benignitas ipsa; ignosce tot[6] et tantis criminibus nostris, et ineffabilis misericordiae tuae multitudinem culparum nostrarum immensitas experiatur. Puni, obsecro, in praesenti reos ut parcas in futuro. Puni ad horam ne punias in aeternum. Accipe in servos virgam correctionis, non gladium furoris. Afflige carnem ut conserves animas. Adsis purgator, non ultor, benignus magis quam iustus, pater misericors, non austerus Dominus.[7] Proba nos, Domine, et tenta, sicut de semetipso rogat[8] Propheta. Ac si aperte diceret: Prius vires inspice ac

[82] *om. F. Amb.*

[83] gratias *Amb.*

[84] *om. T.*

[85] *om. F. add* et *CE.*

[86] refrigerat *R*] refrigeraverit *ABT.*

[87] semper est *T Amb.*

[88] *II Tim.* ii, 5. coronatur, Vulgate.

[89] *om.* Vulgate.

[90] *Joel* i, 17.

[91] stercore suo Vulgate *EF.*

[92] *add* sponsus *CEF.*

[93] spiritali *T.*

[94] matrimonio *F.*

[95] *Acts* viii, 27 ff.

[96] *om. BRT Amb. Ms F* has comitari with imitari suprascript; potentis F.

[96a] in domo *om. T.*

[97] magnae *BRT.*

[98] conversationis *BR.*

[99] *add* Dei *CEF.*

[100] qua *A.*

[1] *add* dicatis *CEF Amb.*

[2] *add* Oratio *AT Amb.*

[3] meaeque . . . . et] et sequitur in fine *CEF.*

[4] tamquam meis *G.*

[5] suae *AT.*

[6] *om. Amb.*

[7] Deus *A.*

[8] Cf. *Psalm* xxv, 2.

secundum eas tentationum onera moderare. Quod et beatus Paulus fidelibus tuis promittens ait.[9] *Fidelis*[10] *est enim Deus, qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed*[11] *faciet cum tentatione etiam proventum ut possitis sustinere.* Coniunxisti nos, Domine, et divisisti quando placuit tibi et quo modo placuit. Nunc[12] quod, Domine, misericorditer coepisti, misericordissime comple. Et quos semel a[13] se divisisti in[14] mundo, perenniter tibi coniungas in coelo, spes[15] nostra, pars nostra, exspectatio nostra, consolatio nostra, Domine, qui es benedictus in[16] saecula. Amen.

Vale[17] in Christo, sponsa Christi, in Christo vale, et Christo vive, Amen.

V. (Item eadem ad eundem)[1]

Suo[2] specialiter, sua singulariter.

Ne me forte in aliquo de inobedientia causari queas, verbis etiam immoderati doloris tuae frenum impositum est iussionis[3] ut ab his mihi saltem in scribendo temperem a quibus in sermone non tam difficile quam impossibile est providere. Nihil[4] enim minus in nostra est potestate quam animus eique magis obedire cogimur quam imperare possimus. Unde et cum nos eius affectiones stimulant, nemo earum subitos impulsus ita repulerit ut non in effecta facile[5] prorumpant et se[6] per verba facilius effluant quae promptiores animi passionum sunt notae[7] secundum quod scriptum est:[8] *Ex abundantia enim*[9] *cordis os loquitur.* Revocabo itaque manum a scripto in quibus linguam a verbis temperare non valeo. Utinam sic animus dolentis parere promptus sit quemadmodum dextra[10] scribentis.

Aliquod tamen dolori[11] remedium vales conferre, si non hunc omnino possis auferre. Ut enim insertum clavum[12] alius expellit sic cogitatio nova priorem excludit cum alias intentus animus priorum memoriam dimittere cogitur aut intermittere. Tanto vero amplius cogitatio quaelibet animum occupat et ab[13] aliis deducit, quanto quod cogitatur honestius aestimatur et quo intendimus animum magis videtur necessarium.

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[9] Cf. *I Cor.* x, 13.

[10] potens *BRT Amb.*

[11] *add* si *BR.*

[12] hoc *G.*

[13] a se *om. CEF*] a se semel *Amb.*

[14] in mundo] a se invicem *CEF.*

[15] spes . . . . nostra *om. CF.* (domine *E*).

[16] in . . . Amen *om. CE* (*s.m.*) *F.*

[17] Vale . . . . Amen *om. ACEF.*

[1] *om. BCERT*] quae est eiusdem Heloissae ad eundem Petrum *Amb.*

[2] Domino *T Amb.* The *s* in *suo* is only partly done in illustration in *Ms B* and not put in in *Ms E.*

[3] visionis *BR.*

[4] nihil . . . necessarium *om. CEF.*

[5] *om. BR.*

[6] *om. A.*

[7] The statement: verba sunt notae passionum is common in Latin treatises on Logic. It goes back to Aristotle, *De Interpretatione* 1, which is translated by Boethius, *In Librum de Interpretatione*, *Editio prima*; PL 64, 297A: sunt ergo quae in voce earum quae sunt in anima passionum notae.

[8] *Matt.* xii, 34.

[9] *om. Amb.*

[10] dextera *T Amb.*

[11] doloris *BR*] *om. T* but dolo in margin (*s.m.*).

[12] Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 4, 35, 75.

[13] *add* hiis expunged *A.*

Ecrits Monastiques sur la Bible aux XI^e — XIII^e Siècles

J. LECLERCQ O.S.B.

LES récentes publications sur l'exégèse médiévale ont surtout traité des écrits issus des milieux scolastiques; elles ont fait peu de part aux ouvrages monastiques. Ceux-ci, pourtant, mériteraient une étude, dont le besoin se fait sentir.[1] On sait la place importante que la Bible occupait dans la vie des moines. La célébration de l'office divin et la pratique de la *lectio divina* exigeaient que les moines comprissent les textes scripturaires;[2] il fallait donc qu'ils leur fussent expliqués. Sans doute les bibliothèques des abbayes possédaient-elles les *expositiones* des Pères. Mais les moines eux-mêmes n'ont-ils pas composé de commentaires originaux? Un inventaire d'ensemble révélerait dans quelle mesure ils l'ont fait; ensuite deviendrait possible une étude sur les caractères de l'exégèse monastique, sur ses sources et son influence. Voici des indications sur quelques textes peu connus.

I. COMMENTAIRES DE LIVRES DIVERS

Les commentaires suivis de toute l'Ecriture ont été rares. L'*Hypognosticon* de Laurent de Durham (+1154) est un grand poème biblique dans le genre de l'*Occupatio* de saint Odon de Cluny;[1] les manuscrits en sont assez nombreux.[2] Mais les commentaires de livres particuliers ou de séries de livres ne manquent pas. Il semble qu'ils aient porté de préférence l'Ancien Testament. Sans doute on en possède quelques-uns sur les livres du Nouveau Testament, comme celui qu'écrivit, dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle, Thierry de Fleury sur les épîtres catholiques.[3] Ils ont cependant, le plus souvent, pour objet l'Ancien Testament. Celui que Pierre de Celle a composé sur le livre de Ruth a été signalé ailleurs, sinon édité entièrement.[4] Etant abbé de Battle, Odon de Cantorbéry (+1175) a écrit sur l'Ancien Testament des commentaires dont l'authenticité n'a pas encore été examinée de façon décisive;[5] il est au moins un texte qui lui est attribué sans aucun doute: un commentaire sur les Juges.[6] Guillaume de

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[1] We need a general study of the twelfth-century monastic commentators, écrit Beryl Smalley dans la deuxième édition de son livre si utile: *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), p. 72, note 2.

[2] Témoin, par, exemple, ce fragment d'un sermon conservé dans le *Ms* Lambeth 481 (XIII^e s., Llanthony, chan. rég.), fols. 109-109^v: Quidam in ruminio psalmorum et in canticis, quae non intelligunt, ex consuetudine uel ex dulcedine soni summe delectantur. Sed talis est contemplatio asini. . . . Sic monachus semper defert exterius cucullam, canonicus superpellicium, capam clausam, quae sunt liniamenta Benedicti et Augustini, sed sicut statua carent uita spirituali. La lecture de la Bible était l'un des thèmes de l'iconographie du moine. Par exemple, dans le *Ms Cotton Iul.* D.VIII (XIII^e s.), fol 42^r, un moine, désigné par cette inscription: *Frater Johannes de Wallingford quandoque infirmarius* est représenté, en plaine page, lisant un livre intitulé, *Salterium*; cette image a été reproduite par M. R. James, *The Drawings of Matthew Paris* (Walpole Society, XIV, 1925), pl. XXX.

[1] Ed. A. Swobada (Leipzig, 1900).

[2] On en trouve une liste dans P. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi* II (Madrid, 1951), p. 520, qui n'indique pas que des extraits ont été publiés par J. Raine, *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis* (Durham, 1880), pp. 62-71.

[3] *Ms* Wurtzbourg *Mp. th.*, fol. 44, (XI^e s., probablement de Saint-Jacques des Ecossais, O.S.B.). Des extraits ont été publiés par E. Dümmler, *Ueber Leben und Schriften des Mönches Theodorich, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, I (1894), 1-38.

[4] J'en ai donné l'analyse et un extrait dans *La spiritualité de Pierre de Celle (1115-1183)* (Paris, 1946), pp. 36-7 et 168-74.

[5] La notice consacrée par C. L. Kingsford à Odon de Cantorbéry dans le *Dictionary* of *National Biography* XIV (London, 1909), pp. 871-3, laisse subsister des doutes au sujet de ses commentaires sur le Pentateuche.

[6] *Ms* Cambridge University Cg.IV.7 (XIV^e s.) fols. 61-104: *Incipit tractatus Odonis abbatis de Bello in librum regum.* Post librum Iudicum sequitur Regum. . . . Sur ces sermons d'Odon de Cantorbéry, qui ont pour thèmes des textes bibliques, j'ai donné des indications sous le titre: 'Profession monastique, baptême et pénitence d'après Odon de Cantorbéry,' *Analecta monastica*, II (1953), 124-36. Il existe aussi deux longs

Flay a laissé, lui aussi, un commentaire sur les Juges[7] et quelques autres.

Le commentaire des Proverbes écrit par Richard de Fourneaux (+1131), abbé du monastère bénédictin de Préaux, au diocèse de Lisieux, est conservé dans le manuscrit Bodley 724 (XII^{e}s.); l'auteur ne s'y nomme pas, mais il nomme celui à qui son ouvrage est dédié: Ponce de Cluny. Or nous savons par Orderic Vital que Richard avait dédié à cet abbé un commentaire des Proverbes.[8] Le commentaire, divisé en 15 livres, n'occupe pas moins de 179 feuillets de grand format. Il est suivi, dans le même manuscrit (fols. 179-182), d'une lettre sur une apparente contradiction entre s. Augustin et s. Ambroise au sujet des anges, lettre au début de laquelle se nomme l'abbé de Préaux.[9] Orderic Vital nous apprend que Richard avait composé des commentaires sur la Genèse, l'Ecclésiaste, le Cantique des cantiques et beaucop d'autres textes.[10] Nous savons du moins que Richard écrivit le commentaire des Proverbes vers la fin de sa vie, comme pour se reposer des soucis que lui causait sa charge abbatiale;[11] voici, en effet, comment il s'exprime dans la lettre dédicatoire et au début de son ouvrage:

> *Incipit proemium in Prouerbiis Salomonis.* Pontio uenerando abbati Cluniensis coenobii, quidam seruus dominicae crucis: ea quae Dei sunt palato cordis gustare, facere, docere et ad morte usque propositae religionis praeuia atque ductrice censura rationis identidem perducere.
>
> Consideranti mihi, pater uenerande, quid personae uestrae specialius atque potissimum mittere possem, profecto Prouerbia Salomonis studio proprii stili enucleata et assignata in praesentiarum occurrunt, quatenus id quod per impensas forensium obsequiorum nusquam promeruerim neque, ni fallor, per reliquum aetatis, iam quidem in senium uergentis promeriturus sim, uel lectio praesens mihi satagat impetrare, repraesentans interdum uobis memoriam nominis mei. Ne id autem, quaeso, uos pensetis quod datur, sed a quo datur, quoniam qui dat id quod melius sibi aestimat non utique repulsam pati debet. *Explicit proemium.*
>
> *Incipit prologus.* Post negotia forensium rerum, item post frequentes strepitus indocilis uulgi, post angores inestimabiles ac intolerabiles curae pastoralis regrediens ad me . . .

L'*Hexaméron* d'Arnaud, abbé bénédictin de Bonneval de 1144 à 1154, a été publié,[12] sauf une curieuse préface où l'auteur exprime ses idées sur les origines de la littérature sacrée et ses rapports avec la culture profane. En voici le texte:[13]

> Apud Hebraeos ante Moysen nullum Scripturarum diuinarum legimus tractatorem, sed neque historiarum uel liberalium disciplinarum scriptores uel inquisitores in populo illo aliquos fuisse cognoscimus. In libro tamen Numeri, qui a Moyse conscriptus est, idem Moyses de quodam libro bellorum Domini mentionem facit,[14] cum de terminis Moabitarum et Amorrhaeorum transeunte Israel per Arnon, Sehon rex Amorrhaeorum eis per fines suos

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sermons inédits d'Alain de Tewkesbury (d. 1202) dans le *Ms* Douai 887 (XII^{e}-XIII^{e} s.), fols. 10-7.

[7] Dans le *Ms* Mazarine 771 (XII^{e} s.) fols. 78^{v}-102, il se trouve mêlé aux sermons que j'ai présentés sous le titre: 'Prédicateurs bénédictins au XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles,' *Revue Mabillon*, XXXIII (1943), 59-65.

[8] Egregio Cluniacensium abbati Pontio, eximiam explanationem super Parabolas Salomonis contexuit, *Hist. eccles.* VIII, 25; ed. A. L. Le Prévost (Paris, 1845), p. 431.

[9] H. filio suo canonico . . . Frater R. dictus abbas de Pratellis, salutem. . . . Modo uideamus quomodo conueniant. . . .

[10] Multosque tractatus super obscura Prophetarum problemata allegorice seu tropologice disseruit; *loc. cit.* Le prologue du commentaire des Proverbes est édité dans PL 166, 1357.

[11] Le commentaire fut écrit avant 1122, date où Ponce de Melgueil résigna sa charge d'abbé de Cluny.

[12] PL 189, 1515. Manuscrits indiqués dans Stegmüller, *op. cit.*, I, p. 303. Ajouter: Bodley 197 (XIII^{e} s.), Paris BN *lat.* 1925 (XII^{e} s., Foucarmont, O.S.B.).

[13] D'apres le *Ms* BN *lat.* 1925, fols. 31^{v}-33^{v}. A Wilmart a édité une courte préface au commentaire du *Ps.* cxxxii dans *Revue Mabillon*, XII (1922), 30, note 2.

[14] *Num.* xxi, 14.

transitum uetuit. Sed libri huius nec apud canonicas nec apud apocryphas scripturas uel auctor uel pagina inueniuntur. Fuisse tamen nonnullos uel apud Chaldaeos qui astronomiae uel apud Aegyptios qui geometriae uel aliis disciplinis operam darent, ex eo colligitur quod in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum Moysen accepimus eruditum. Legimus quoque in epistola Iudae Enoch septimum ab Adam prophetasse,[15] sed scripturam illam, si forte scriptura fuit, deleuit antiquitas. Longa ante diluuium tempora defluxere: nulla omnino in tot annorum serie relicta est scriptura, nisi quod aiunt Tubalcain[16] musicae fuisse repertorem et organorum regulas scripsisse in duobus columnis, quarum una lateritia, altera lapidea fuit. Audierat enim delendum huius mundi statum conflagratione et cataclysmo, et arte sua prouidens, ideo in lapide sculpsit ne aquis dilueretur, ideo in latere ne ignibus solueretur. Sed et Abraham, cum prophetes esset, nulla post se scripturae munimenta reliquit; potius quod ab illo prophetatum est, uel ab Israel, qui filiis suis benedicens futura praedixit, uel ab aliis, Moyses complexus est et per ordinem tam facta quam dicta praecedentium patrum digessit. Iuniores tempore tam graecos quam latinos scriptores fuisse dubium non est, cum eo tempore quo Roma condita est iam populus Israel ex Aegypto egressus in terra promissionis annos septingentos et octo haberetur, et tempore regis Ezechiae constet Romulum regnasse in Latio, qui Romae conditor fuit. Eodem sane tempore Isaias filius Amos prophetauit, postea uero iam senescente regno Iudaico, cum soluta est Iudaeorum captiuitas, primum sub Cyro ex parte, deinde ex toto sub Dario, Samius Pythagoras fuit, et non multo post Socrates Atheniensium magister, et post hunc Plato, deinde Aristotiles.

Quod ideo dico quia, secundum rationem temporum, non tantum Moyses, sed et reliqui prophetae philosophorum huius mundi aetates et studia praecesserunt. Et nouo adhuc saeculo agriculturae uel lanificiis uel fabrilibus uel huiusmodi artibus, quae uitae praesentis necessitas postulabat, operam dabat inculta antiquitas, paulatim redigens antiquitatis instrumentis in commoda publica et congruos usus, uel uenas metallicas conflans in aeramentum, uel pinguedines fructuum liquans in oleum, uel disponens colores, uel degustans sapores, uel probans aduersa, uel eligens naturalibus usibus proficientia. Sic ars fullonum uel tinctorum uel fabrorum uel medicorum quaedam ad remedia, quaedam ad delicias, oblectante Prouidentia, parturiebat. Et in his primo studiorum exercitio laborarunt et uenerunt materiales causae in congruam effigiem, et materiae formae et species assignatae sunt, et expresserunt causae naturales uires suas, et famulata est natura hominibus, in obsequium eorum se actu et scientia exponens, ut occuparetur et opus et usus. In huiusmodi exerciciis, nisi fallor, prima hominum studia sudauerunt, quibus deductis in medium curiosius agentes, qui acrioris et subtilioris fuerunt ingenii, scrutati sunt sublimiora, et inuisibilia Dei per ea quae facta sunt contemplantes, ex operibus operum conditorem cognouerunt, et quidam glorificauerunt inhaerentes ueritati, alii contabuerunt et euanuerunt, lucis diuinae radios non ferentes. Ita animales homines, ueritatem Dei in mendacium commutantes, dilexerunt uanitatem et quaesierunt mendacium, et conuersi ad nugas exquisierunt prudentiam quae de terra est, et fabricatores errorum in daemonum cultum inciderunt, et praeuaricatores et apostatae facti, instruentibus daemoniis et docentibus eos, fabricati sunt idola, scripserunt mendacia, et seductionibus uariis imperitos in errorum suorum impegere collegia. Oportuit itaque, quia homo labilis et mutabilis est, et transitoria scientia est, ut ad retinendos semel fixos limites suos, aeterna ueritas certa et firma repagula opponeret, quae nec transire posset catholicus, nec transire hereticus.

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[15] *Iuda*, 14.

[16] Cf. *Gen.* iv, 21-2.

Decursis igitur prioribus spatiis temporum, quae ab Adam usque ad Noe, et a Noe usque ad Abraham, et ab Abraham usque ad Moysen in aliis occupationibus defluxerunt, spiritus Domini repleuit Moysen cum esset in eremo, et quasi in paradisum introducens eum, locutus est ei, intrinsecus ostendens delicias loci, ligna fructifera, uirentia gramina, temperiem loci, fontem irrigum, hominem intus inclytum, extra miserum et confusum. Audit sacramentalia flumina de cardinali illo fonte manantia, audit Satanam in serpente homini suadentem mortifica, audit promulgatam in transgressorem exterminii censuram. Audit uel potius uidet Cherubim cum gladio flammeo reditum obstruentem proscriptis. Quod primum est, audit Deum, immo reuelante Deo. Trinitatis differentias assequitur, audit Patrem uisibilium et inuisibilium originem et fundatorem, Filium creatorem et operatorem, Spiritum Sanctum fecundatorem et sanctificatorem, ut habeat ex illo spirante praegnans materia uitam et formam, sicut habeat per uerbum originem et essentiam, et quamuis essentia et motus et uita ad proprietatem personarum respiciant, una tamen uirtute et bonitate fundata in unitate, nihil diuersum sentiant, ne plures naturas nec plures potentias, sed licet propriae sint efficientiae, una tamen omnipotentia, una uirtus, una diuinitas, una bonitas, una beatitudo, una aeternitas. Haec fidei fundamenta, cum soli Deo nota essent, cum nemo nosset Patrem nisi Filius, placuit Deo reuelare Moysi ueritatis originem, cuius litteris harum rerum distinctiones primo innotuere hominibus, ut imbuti fide, spe proficerent et usque ad caritatis latitudinem profectus augerent. Scripsit igitur in prima Geneseos parte, in capite libri, opera sex dierum, in quibus mysticis et secretis rationibus et aeternitas Dei et sapientia Verbi et benignitas Spiritus Sancti sic intimata est, ut haberet simplicitas fidei, illuminata per Verbum, ad altitudinem diuitiarum sapientiae Dei, secundum mensuram sibi datam, accessibilem introitum, in quo exercitaretur donec, ablato quod ex parte est, in ultimis consummaretur. Intimata est in hoc eodem libro angelorum creatio et diaboli casus, licet manifeste non sit ibi harum rerum expressa distinctio.

II. COMMENTAIRES DU CANTIQUE DES CANTIQUES

1. LES COMMENTAIRES DE TYPE MONASTIQUE

Le livre biblique le plus souvent commenté dans les monastères, spécialement au XII^e siècle, est le Cantique des cantiques. Ce texte a été l'occasion d'écrits nombreux qui constituent comme un genre littéraire nouveau: le Cantique y sert de prétexte à des exposés relatifs à la doctrine ou à la vie spirituelle.[1] Le chef-d'oeuvre du genre est constitué par les *Sermones in Cantica* de saint Bernard.[2] Mais il existe d'autres témoins de ce genre.[3] Un ancien catalogue de Rochester attribue à Ailred de Rievaulx un commentaire du Cantique;[4] ce commentaire pourra-t-il être retrouvé? Le manuscrit Oxford *Trinity* 19 en contient un qui mériterait d'être examiné.[5] Le manuscrit Vat. *lat.* 4235 (XII^{e}-XIII^{e}s.) en conserve également un (fols. 1-36) dont voici le prologue:[6]

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[1] Présentant 'Le commentaire de Gilbert de Stanford sur le Cantique des cantiques,' *Analecta monastica*, I (1948), 205-30, j'ai caractérisé ce genre. Je n'avais pu alors identifier Gilbert de Stanford; depuis, sans y être parvenu, j'ai du moins trouvé deux indications qui se rapportent peut-être à lui ou à son monastère: dans la *Continuatio ad Historiam Ingulphi*, publiée sous le nom de Pierre de Blois (éd. Fulman, *Rerum anglicarum scriptores* I [Oxford, 1864], p. 115), pour le début du XII^e siècle, il est fait mention de l''abbaye de Widthorp, qui se trouve près de Stanfordia, et de son abbé Joffridus de Croyland; *ibid.*, p. 114, parmi les moines envoyés à Cotenham près de Cambridge par Joffridus de Croyland, est mentionné un religieux dont il est dit: Magister uero Gislebertus omnibus dominicis diebus et sanctorum festis in diuersis ecclesiis uerbum Dei . . . etc. Un certain Gilbert de Stanford signe dans une charte non datée publiée par C. Dodsworth et G. Dugdale, *Monasticum anglicum* I (London, 1655), p. 463, l. 14; un autre témoin s'appele Thomas de Stanford.

[2] Présentant 'Le commentaire bref du Cantique attribué à s. Bernard,' dans *Etudes sur s. Bernard et le texte de ses écrits, Analecta S. Ord. Cisterciensis*, IX (1953), 121-4, j'ai montré l'originalité des *Sermones in Cantica*.

[3] Par exemple, les sermons inédits de Jean de Ford, O. Cist. (d. 1214), dont le prologue et le premier sermon ont été publiés dans *Collectanea Ord. Cist. Reform.*, V (1938), 250-61.

> Cum tuae nobilitatis reuerentiae luce clarius constat me infra feruentis adolescentiae annos stabilitum non posse carnalibus desideriis prout expedit contraire, praesertim cum inter clericorum petulantes garritus diutius quam deceret uidear immorari, non absurdum fore deliberaui nouo studii genere inualidae mentis inertiam releuare. Timens etiam ne sapientissimi Salomonis sententiae fierem obnoxious, qua subiacere desideriis omnis otiosus asseritur, hoc opusculo tuae dilectioni promisso uagacitatem lasciuae iuuentutis refrenandum prouidi. Quod quia superna clementia suffragante ad unguem usque perduxi, tuae sanctae dilectioni, quam plurinum constat in Christo reuerendam, ad corrigendum spe deuotionum destinaui.
>
> Percurre igitur legendo quae nobis per cymbalum Sancti Spiritus paternae maiestatis sacrosancta archana, ad nostri cordis caliginem detergendam, dulcibus modis sonuerunt. Iure quidem et conuenienter Salomonem spiritualem nominaui, qui nobis uelut aes dulciter resonans sacrosanctae dilectionis Christi uidelicet et ecclesiae uenerabile mysterium, Spiritu Sancto dictante declarauit. Declarauit, inquam, Salomon sponsi et sponsae dotalia, cum ipsum Dominum Iesum, qui sponsi nomine intelligitur, pro dilectione, quae sponsa nuncupatur, uulneratum fuisse manifeste insinuat, dicens ipsi ecclesiae in persona hominis in cruce pendentis: *Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea sponsa.*[7] Ab hoc salutifero uulnere ea dona profluxerunt per quae se sponsa gratulatur subarrhatam et sempiternae beatitudinis thalamo feliciter collocatam.
>
> Huius etiam uulneris cruore purpureo caeci illius euangelici iuxta uiam sedentis pariterque mendicantis tenebrae sunt expulsae et aeterni solis radius, nubilo peccatorum recedente, misericorditer est ostensus. Haec sunt ueneranda tuae erga nos dilectionis indicia, Domine Iesu, quibus infirmitatem nostram euacuas, quibus nos ad amorem tuae pietatis accendis, quibus etiam, ne inter aerumnas huius uitae deficiamus, ut benignissimus pater caros filios consolaris. Quod quia non nostro merito, sed tua gratuita bonitate fit, laudes et gratias quascumque praeualet tuae creaturae tibi persoluat affectus, quam non solum clementer cum non esset condidisti, uerum etiam compassionis ordine cum periisset redimisti, et sicut in his Canticorum canticis exprimitur, usque ad amoris colloquium descendisti.
>
> De quibus Canticis, mi amantissime, a mea pusillitate dilucidatum pro meo posse excipe opusculum, et eo feruore caritatis quo tibi ad corrigendum transmittitur, a tuae dilectionis prudentia non spernendo suscipiatur.
>
> Ad commendandam huius libri materiam et intentionem commemorandi sunt alii duo libri Salomonis . . .

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[4] *Ms Royal* 10.A.XII, fol. 111^{v}, éd. Warner-Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), p. 308.

[5] Fols. 97-122 (XII^{e}-XIII^{e} s.). On y relève, fol. 118^{v}, une déclaration au sujet de l'Immaculée Conception: Mariam quoque Spiritus Sanctus praeueniens a peccato purgauit et etiam a fonte (*inter lin.* uel fomite) uel ipsum penitus euacuando, ut quibusdam placet, uel sic debilitando et extenuando ut ei postmodum peccandi occasio nullatenus exstiterit. Un tel texte peut-il être sorti d'un milieu cistercien? Le *Ms Add.* 38112, fols. 102^{v}-121^{v} (XIII^{e} s.) contient un commentaire du Cantique en cinq livres, *inc.*: Canticum amoris amanti amabile est. . . .

[6] Le même texte est conservé dans *Ms* Munich *Clm* 14815 (XII^{e} s., Saint-Emmeran, O.S.B.), sous le titre: *Ismionis glossa in Cant. cant.* L'auteur reste à identifier. On le verra, ce commentaire présente avec les commentaires monastiques ce caractère commun de n'être point issu d'un enseignement scolaire, mais d'avoir été écrit pour répondre à des besoins spirtuels personnels qui, dans ce cas, sont ceux de l'auteur lui-même.

[7] *Cant.* iv, 9.

Les moines ont parfois exprimé, dans de courtes pièces de vers, leur admiration pour le Cantique des cantiques.[8] Tel de ces poèmes est une sorte de résumé des *Sermones in Cantica* de saint Bernard.[9] Cet écrit de saint Bernard a lui-même provoqué toute une littérature, qui à elle seule exigera une étude spéciale.

2. LES COMMENTAIRES MARIOLOGIQUES

Le XII^{e} siècle est l'époque ou le Cantique commença d'être interprété au sujet de la Vierge Marie. Deux commentaires de ce genre ont été édités, ceux d'Honorius Augustodunensis (+après 1130)[10] et de Rupert de Deutz (+1135).[11] Les manuscrits nous en livrent un autre, écrit probablement à la demande de l'abbé cistercien Roger de Byland:[12] c'est celui de Guillaume de Newburgh, chanoine régulier; s'il n'est donc pas l'oeuvre d'un moine, il était du moins destiné à un public de moines. En voici le début, d'où il ressort que l'auteur croyait être le premier à donner une interprétation mariologique du Cantique.[13]

> Crebra mihi iussione tua sanctitas imminet, pater Rogere, de sacro epithalamio in gloriosam Virginem Mariam exponendo, post egregios meiorum labores. Quomodo enim uel in ecclesiam uel in excellentis meriti animam idem nuptiale carmen intelligi debeat a uiris clarissimis splendido opere olim elaboratum est. Solus autem beatissimus Ieronymus, occasione cuiusdam sermonis, quaedam illius Cantici ad personam gloriosae Virginis et Matris specialiter retulit, et quod omnia que ibidem in sponsam dicuntur in eius ualeant specialiter personam exponi, leui paucorum capitulorum explanatione monstrauit.[14] Quod opus magnum et a magnis etiam uiris omissum meae paruitati tua discretione nescio qua ratione duxerit imperandum. Sane si tua dignatio cuperet experiri modicum quid insipientiae meae, uisionem tuam promptus et deuotus exsequerer . . .[15]

Geoffrey d'Auxerre a appliqué à la Vierge deux passages du Cantique.[16]

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[8] J'ai signalé plusieurs de ces poèmes après avoir analysé le commentaire de Geoffroy d'Auxerre sur le Cantique: 'Les écrits de Geoffroy d'Auxerre. Appendice III: Poèmes sur le Cantique des Cantiques,' *Rev. bénéd.*, LXII (1952), 290-1.

[9] Je l'ai édité à la suite d'une étude intitulée 'Manuscrits cisterciens dans les bibliothèques d'Allemagne,' *Analecta S. Ord. Cisterciensis*, VII (1951), 58-60.

[10] PL 172, 347. Les manuscrits sont très nombreux; Stegmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-7, en donne une liste à laquelle pourraient être ajoutés d'autres, par exemple, *Royal* 4.C.II (XII^{e} s.), fols. 145-6.

[11] PL 168, 839. Le titre est significatif: *In Cantica canticorum de incarnatione Domini.* L'interprétation mariale occupe aussi une large place dans les commentaires de Philippe de Harvengt, O. Praem. (d. 1183); PL 203, 188 et 488. Voir en particulier *ibid.*, 519; cf. F. Petit, 'La doctrine mariale de Philippe de Bonne Espérance,' *Analecta praemonstratensia*, XIII (1937), 97-108.

[12] Cf. C. H. Talbot, 'A Letter of Roger, Abbot of Byland,' *Analecta S. Ord. Cisterciensis*, VII (1951), 222, note 8.

[13] Le prologue, dont le début est donné ici d'après le *Ms* Bruxelles 1869 (XII^{e}-XIII^{e} s.), fol. 1, manque dans l'autre exemplaire connu, le *Ms* Cambridge Univ. Gg.IV.16; en revanche, dans ce dernier manuscrit, l'auteur est clairement identifié: fol. 1: *Inc. prol. magistri Willelmi Parui canonici de Newburgh super Cantica canticorum.* In primis igitur considerandum uidetur. . . . Des extraits du commentaire lui-même ont été publiés par M. Delrio, *Commentarius in Cant. cant. quadruplex et Catena mystica* (Ingolstadt, 1604).

[14] Ceci semble faire allusion au *De Assumptione* du Ps. Jérôme (Pascase Radbert), XIII-IX; PL 30, 129-31, dont l'auteur applique à Marie divers textes du Cantique, introduits par des phrases comme celle-ci: De qua (Maria) Salomon in Canticis, quasi in laudem eius (131D).

[15] La suite du prologue ne consiste qu'en précautions oratoires. Le commentaire lui-même, très long (fols. 1^{v}-169^{v}, suivi, fol. 170, d'une *excusatio*), est divisé en huit livres. Le Cantique est interprété comme un dialogue entre le Christ et Marie, ou entre Marie et l'Eglise; l'épouse est en même temps *pia mater*, et ce titre est toujours donné à la Vierge Marie. Plus tard, les commentaires mariologiques du Cantique deviennent plus nombreux. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* II, 146-8, en signale deux qui sont attribués à un Jean de Abbeville; l'un est de Jean Halgrin (PL 206, 19D), l'autre serait de Jean d'Abbeville, archidiacre de Meaux au XIV^{e} siècle, *Mss* Paris BN, *lat.* 478 et 13198. Stegmüller, *op. cit.*, no. 4542, signale ces manuscrits sans noter la différence.

[16] Cf. *Rev. bénéd.*, LXII (1952), 278 et 279. D'autres indications sur l'application à la Vierge du Cantique ou de certaines de ses parties sont données par H. Barré, 'Marie et l'église du Vénérable Bède à s. Albert le Grand,' *Etudes mariales, Marie et l'église, Bulletin de la société française d'études mariales*, I (1951), 98 et 119.

III. COMMENTAIRES D'EXTRAITS BIBLIQUES

Les ouvrages révélateurs de l'exégèse monastique du moyen âge ne sont pas seulement les commentaires de livres entiers. Les tendances de cette exégèse apparaissent aussi dans des commentaires partiels. Ceux-ci sont donnés soit dans des sermons,[1] soit sous forme de traités. L'un de ces derniers est conservé dans le manuscrit Lambeth 488;[2] il a pour objet *Mt.*, xv, 21-28. Il est adressé par un moine à un abbé, si l'on en juge par la lettre dédicatoire:

> Reuerendo patri in Christo omnique honore dignissimo: diu bene uiuere in hoc saeculo et perenniter beate in futuro.
>
> Licet a primo die mihi uestrae dulcedinis honestas innotuit uos semper amauerim, tamen postquam promotus estis in abbatem meis se uisceribus et altius immisit et arctius impressit uestri amor, non quidem propter dignitatis quam indigni saepius occupant Ulsitudinem, sed propter eam quae tanto in potentibus est rarior, tanto debet esse carior humilitatis consummationem. Difficile namque est ut sit humilis animo qui sublimis est loco et sit spiritu modicus qui terrenis rebus est amplus . . .
>
> Sic uos, pater sancte custodiui ut pupillam oculi, quae tamen nigra et parua, sed totius corporis esse lucerna dinoscitur. Nigra uero est pupilla quae transeuntem per se uisualem confortet radium, quia sicut philosophorum eximius Aristotiles ait: *Nigredo est color segregatiuus uisus*[3]. Porro nigredo significat humilitatem. Unde in signum humilitatis quidam monachi nigris cucullis, canonici capis, moniales uelis utuntur. Et scimus quod sicut nigredo uisum corporalem, sic humilitas confortat et fouet mentalem . . . Ex tanto ergo merito est quod in omnibus agendis circumpecte uos agitis et nostri temporis ad hoc utraque manu utimimini pro dextra, dum secundum documentum nostri Legislatoris in Regula, *in omnibus operibus uestris prouidus estis et consideratus, siue secundum Deum, siue secundum saeculum sint.*[4] Hinc est quod uos unice diligo. Et quia amor nescit esse otiosus, quibus possum indiciis ostendo, loquens illud poeticum:
>
> *quia pauper amabam,*
> *Cum dare non poteram munera, uerba dabam.*[5]
>
> Vobis igitur cui ostium apertum est in caelo, eo quod modicam habeatis uirtutem, id est in secreta Sacrae Scripturae liber et facilis patet ingressus quia uirtutem habetis humilitatis, quae fecit hominem de se sentire modica, studii mei in diuinis litteris libo primitias, expositiumculam scilicet illius lectionis euangelicae quae filiam chananeae demonicam matris prece mediante curata dicitur a Domino. In qua sane nulla plausibilis pictura splendit eloquii, quia non eam fucorum floribus colorare, sed sententiarum fructibus

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[1] Par exemple, dans le *Ms* Lambeth 481, déjà mentionné plus haut, p. 95, note 2, se trouve un commentaire sur l'Evangile *Intrauit Iesus in quoddam castellum* qui débute ainsi: Cum in hoc euangelio non fiat mentio de beata Virgine, merito quaeritur quare in Assumptione legatur. Ad quod dicendum quod mysterium excellentiae b. Virginis in hac lectione praecipue declaratur. Fuit enim castellum in quo Dei Filius intrauit, hospitium in quo reclinauit, ut dicit Bernardus. Beata Virgo excellentissimum hospitium exhibuit Domino in incarnatione, ideo Dominus praeparauit ei dulcissimum hospitium in assumptione. Item in hospitio duas sorores Martham et Mariam inuenit: per Martham negotium, per Mariam otium designatur. Haec sunt duae uitae, actiua et contemplatiua . . . (fol. 108). La question posée au début de ce texte est déjà celle à laquelle répondaient Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum B. Mariae* (PL 172, 497), et Roaul d'Escures dans l'homélie (PL 158, 644) que lui a restituée A. Wilmart dans *Archives d'hist. doctr. et litt. au moyen âge*, II (1927), 16-23. C'est dans ce dernier texte (PL 158, 646D-647) et non dans s. Bernard, que se trouvent les idées qui sont ici résumées et attribuées à Bernard; l'homélie de Raoul d'Escures était parfois, dans les manuscrits, attribuée à Bernard, comme dans *Ms* Luxemboug 119 (XIIe-XIIIe s., Münster, O.S.B.), ou mêlée à ses oeuvres, comme dans *Mss* Tolède 9.26 (XIIe s.), Luxembourg 49 (XIIIe s., Orval, O. Cist.).

[2] XIIIe s., fols. 101-6.

[3] *Metaphys.* IX, vii; éd. Bekker I, 1057, 8-9.

[4] *Regula s. Benedicti*, cap. 64.

[5] Ovidius, *Ars. am.* II, 165-6.

> studui fecundare. Quod an consecutus sim an proposito meo sim frustatus uestrae dilectionis examinabit arbitrium, cuius erit errata corrigere, superflua resecare, diminuata supplere. Valeat apud Deum et homines paternitatis uestrae benignissima caritas. *Explicit epistola.*

Suit l'*expositio.*[6] Comme dans le prologue, l'auteur y cite la Règle de saint Benoît[7], mais également Horace et d'autres *gentiles poetae et philosophi.*[8] Ce long exposé est divisé en vingt-deux sections, dont chacune porte un titre.[9] A la fin, l'auteur livre son nom et déclare son intention d'écrire d'autres ouvrages si celui-ci est agréé:

> *Explicit homilia Willelmi de Lafford de muliere chananea . . .*[10] *Gratulatio auctoris et gratiarum actio de consummatione operis sui. Amen.* Iam tandem aliquando, pater sancte, telam pertexui quam olim orditus sum inter tribulationes multas et malas quae me durius et diutius afflixerunt . . . Praeterea quantulamcumque sententiolam meam iucundiorem mihi feci, proximis eam communicando, quia uix alicuius boni sine socio est iucunda possessio. Porro omne bonum in commune deductum pulchrius elucescit, et quidem non solum ex eo quod consummatum pulchrius est quodcumque bonum, sed etiam utilius, teste romanae eloquentiae principe, qui in libris *De amicitia* quodam loco sic ait: *Fructus ingenii et uirtutis omnisque praestantiae tunc maximus capitur cum in proximum quemque confertur.*[11] Unde libellum istum libenter patior publicari, dum tamen correctionis uestrae lima complanatus, honestius proferatur in publicum qui festiuior esse debebit quod uestro nomine consignatus. Post hunc aliquid quod minus prouectos in intelligentia scripturarum prouehere possit curabo conficere, si mihi pacem temporis clementia diuina contulerit . . .

Le manuscrit Bodley 87 (XII^{e}-XIII^{e} s.) conserve aussi un prologue dont l'auteur est un abbé nommé Gilbert, qu'il n'est pas facile d'identifier.[12] Il n'est même pas certain que le sermon qui fait suite à ce texte soit le commentaire auquel celui-ci devait servir d'introduction.[13] Du moins cet habile prologue contient-il d'excellentes formules sur l'Ecriture Sainte, qu'on peut sans cesse commenter sans l'épuiser jamais:

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[6] *Inc.*: Egressus Iesu . . . Qui enim Uerbi egrediendi sine . . .

[7] Fol. 102.

[8] Fol. 103.

[9] Voici les premiers: *De multitudine laqueorum. Quod nisi precedat Dei miseratio non sequitur remuneratio. De diuersitate clamorum sine clamantium.*

[10] Je n'ai pu identifier ce Guillaume de Lafford. Dans deux chartes du temps du XII^{e} siècle conservées au British Museum (*Mss Harley* Ch.56.C.46 et 51.G.15, actes en faveur de l'abbaye cistercienne de Kirkested) est mentionné un *Willelmus capellanus de Lafford,* en même temps qu'un *Radulphus prepositus de Lafford* et plusieurs *clerici de Lafford.* Mais ceux-ci ne semblent pas avoir été moines, comme l'auteur de notre commentaire, et ce commentaire remonte à une époque plus tardive que la leur.

[11] *De Amicitia* XIX, 70.

[12] Fols. 89^{v}-90; précédé de textes d'Hugues de Saint-Victor et d'Hildebert de Lavardin. S'agit-il de Gilbert de Stanford, mentionné plus haut, p. 98, note 1, ou de Gilbert de Hoyland, ou de quelque autre? L'imprécision des titres dans les manuscrits a occasionné des confusions comme celles qu'a signalées J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster* (Cambridge 1911), pp. 56-7.

[13] C. de Visch, *Biblioth. scriptor. S. Ord. Cisterc.* (Cologne, 1656), p. 126, attribue à Gilbert de Hoyland un *In Matthaeum lib. I;* notre prologue précédait-il ce commentaire? Dans le manuscrit, il est suivi (fols. 90-4^{v}) d'un sermon qui, de fait, a pour thème un passage de s. Mathieu (x, 34 sqq.): *Sermo de eodem incipit s[ecundum] M[atthaeum].* In illo tempore dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Nolite arbitrari quia uenerim pacem mittere in terra. Et reliqua. Rem contra prophetarum proponit oracula . . .; la fin du sermon, d'ailleurs beau, traite de s. Etienne et indique que le sermon se rapporte à sa fête, ce à quoi le prologue fait aucune allusion. Ce sermon est lui-même suivi d'un autre (fols. 94^{v}-7): *Item sermo de eodem martyre incipit a magistro G. editus.* Hostium mihi hodie sermonis apertum est magnum et euidens et auditores multi . . . Le premier sermon est adressé à des religieux; l'auteur parle de l'entrée en religion, qui sépare l'homme des siens (fol. 92), de 'la vie commune dont ont fait profession' ses auditeurs (fol. 93); il dit encore: Videte, fratres, ne sit in aliquo uestrum morbum singularitatis discedendi a consortio fratrum, a spiritualis patris custodia . . . — pensée très cistercienne, comme il ressort des textes que j'ai rassemblés dans *Etudes sur s. Bernard, Analecta S. Ord. Cisterciensis* IX (1953), 126-7.

De Visch attribue aussi à Gilbert de Hoy-

INCIPIT PROLOGUS GILEBERTI ABBATIS SUPER EVANGELIUM SECUNDUM MATTHAEUM

Lusisti utiliter ubertimque in ista iam pridem materia, et nunc superuacuos me iubes in ea labores instaurare. Quidni superuacuos? Verba haec a te sufficienter uindemiata sunt, et adhuc tenues, si qui residui sunt, me uis *recolligere racemos.*[14] Ero ergo iuxta Prophetam, *sicut congregans in messe*[15] quod restiterit, et quasi *spicas colligens.*[16] Si tamen colligens et non magis quaerens, sicut apud eumdem Prophetam incontinenti legitur: *Et erit*, inquit, *sicut quaerens spicas in ualle.*[17] Quid enim est quod aut memoriam tuam fugerit, aut non ingenium penetrauerit? Quid est quod aut disputationis tuae copiae possit adici, uel cultius dici? Et praeripuisti quae dicerem, et quae dicta sunt a te ne exspectes ut ego accuratius dicam. Instans tamen, et non raros *racemos, sicut cum fuerit finita uindemia,*[18] sed ubertatem plenam deposcis uuarum. Nosti enim quod sacrae uerba Scripturae, cum semel et bis uindemiata fuerint, ac si grauida sacris iterum soleant influere sensibus, et quasi prius tacta non essent, ubertim et inebriantem effundant expressa liquorem. Res ista nostrae facultatis non est, post ueterum et modernorum studia, de pertractata materia nouos et plenos sensus eruere. Spiritus ad oboedientam *promptus est*, sed *infirma*[19] ad exsequendum scientia. Si quasi *per noctem laborans nihil cepero,* tibi imputa, in cuius imperio coactus quidem sermonis *rete laxabo.*[20] Si nihil cepero, tibi, inquam, imputa, qui totum extraxisti in sagena tua. Et quidem an aliquid sim capturus ignoro, unum autem scio quod in hoc me Iesus ipse capit et cludit sermone.

* * *

Si l'on en juge d'après ceux qui viennent d'être présentés ici, les écrits monastiques sur la Bible revêtent un caractère personnel; ils ne sont pas issus de l'enseignement théologique d'un maître à ses élèves, mais ils répondent à un besoin spirituel de leur auteur ou de celui qui lui demande d'écrire.[21] Ce besoin relève de la piété plus que de la science abstraite. Il s'agit moins de progresser dans l'intelligence de la foi, ou de faire progresser la doctrine de l'Eglise, que d'entretenir en soi le "goût" des réalités surnaturelles.[22] On utilise la science,

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land (encore appelé Gilbert de Swineshead) d'autres commentaires bibliques et des 'homélies diverses'; deux de ces dernières sont peut-être conservées dans le *Ms* Oxford *Trinity* 18 (XII^e-XIII^e s., Reading, O.S.B.) car elles sont précédées des initiales *A S* qui d'après le contexte, peuvent designer l'*abbas Swinesheuedensis.* Voici les incipits de ces sermons sur des thèmes scripturaires: *Pater noster . . .* (*Mt.* vi, 9) Haec oratio dominica . . . (fol. 127); *Seraphim stabat . . .* (*Is.* vi, 2) Vidit propheta Isaias . . . (fol. 128).

[14] *Deut.* xxiv, 21.

[15] *Is.* xvii, 5.

[16] *Leu.* xix, 2.

[17] *Is.* xvii, 5.

[18] *Is.* xxiv, 13.

[19] *Mt.* xxvi, 41.

[20] *Lc.* v, 5.

[21] Etudiant le commentaire du Psautier *iuxta Hebraeos* composé par Herbert de Bosham à la demande de Pierre, abbé cistercien de Pontigny, près de Cîteaux (d. 1203), Miss Beryl Smalley a souligné avec raison qu'il s'agit là 'd'un commentaire d'un type rare'; en effet, n'étant pas chargé, comme les maîtres parisiens de la *sacra pagina*, de donner à des étudiants une formation morale, mais étant, d'autre part, 'incapable de supporter le fardeau de la vie monastique,' Herbert n'a pas voulu non plus proposer une interprétation spirituelle du texte sacré, mais s'est borné à en chercher le sens littéral; 'A Commentary on the *Hebraica* of Herbert of Bosham,' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, XVIII (1952), 29-65, en particulier 36. Depuis, les procédés et les sources d'Herbert ont été étudiés par R. Loewe, 'Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter,' *Biblica*, XXXIV (1953), 44-47, 159-92.

Déjà Nicolas Maniacoria, cistercien à Trois-Fontaines vers le milieu du XII^e siècle, avait composé un correctoire du psautier gallican de s. Jérôme; ce *Libellus de corruptione et correptione psalmorum et aliorum quarumdam scripturarum* (*Ms* Montpellier Fac. de Médicine 294, fols. 144-59^v) reste à éditer et à étudier, Dom A. Wilmart n'en ayant publié que des extraits dans *Rev. bénéd.* XXXIII (1921), 136-43. A la lumière de documents récemment découverts, Dom R. Weber, 'Deux préfaces du psautier dues à Nicolas Maniacoria,' *ibid.*, LXIII (1953), 3-17, a pu établir que Nicolas procéda également à une révision du psautier romain et du psautier Hébraïque.

[22] Ce trait caractéristique de la lecture biblique dans le monachisme au moyen âge vient d'être souligné dans le livre très suggestif de M. Dumontier, *Saint Bernard et la Bible* (Paris, Bruges, 1953).

mais le but est plus élevé: la *lectio diuina* conduit à l'oraison, à la contemplation, au point de se confondre parfois avec elles. Cet idéal est clairement formulé dans un opuscule anonyme destiné au moine quand il est encore novice:

> Si ad legendum accedat, non quaerat scientiam, sed saporem. Et enim Sacra Scriptura puteus Iacob ex quo hauriuntur aquae quae in oratione funduntur. Et nota quod non semper ad oratorium sit eundum, sed in ipsa lectione poterit contemplari et orare.[23]

APPENDICE

NOUVEAUX TEMOIGNAGES SUR ORIGENE AU XIIe SIECLE

Les écrits exégétiques d'Origène ont exercé une grande influence sur la littérature monastique du XIIe siècle. On était à la fois attiré par l'allégorisme génial d'Origène, et inquiet au sujet de sa doctrine sur certains points. Cette attitude complexe apparaît en de nombreux témoignages dispersés.[1] Mais elle s'exprime longuement aussi dans un traité de Siméon de Durham[2] dont voici le début[3]:

> Aetatis utriusque merito patri uenerando Holdeberto, Simeon seruuorum sancti Cuthberti minimus: omnium expetendorum summam.
>
> Super his quae ex homeliis Origenis uos ambigua mouerant, prior domum rediens desiderio uestro satisfacere uigilanter instabat. Cuius ego imperium oboedienter prosequens catholicorum patrum reuoluendo opuscula, eorum super illas quaestiones sententias prout poteram diligenter perquisiui, perquisitas in unum uobis transmitendas collegi. Quod sane negotium, et si minus desiderabiliter quam debui, sum exsecutus, et ut iubenti exhiberem reuerentiam, et ampliorem uestrae dilectionis merear[4] assequi gratiam. Ea quippe quae de uobis dulciter fragrat,[5] etiam eos qui uos non norunt in uestri amorem bonitatis fama prouocat. Iste itaque Origenes multum, ut beatus Hieronymus testatur, in exponendis sanctis Scripturis laborando multa uolumina condidit, sed in his multa, licet utilia, licet satisque approbanda disseruerit, quaedam tamen interseruit quae catholica fides perniciosa multumque improbanda respuit.[6] Unde beatus Hieronymus a quodam[7] Tranquillo consultus qualiter Origenes esset legendus, ita per epistolam respondit: Quod dicis multos Origenis errore deceptos et sanctum filium meum Oceanum illorum insaniae repugnare . . .[8]

Siméon cite encore d'autres témoignages de Jérôme, d' Epiphane, d'Augustin, au sujet d'Origène, puis en vient au texte incriminé: il s'agit du passage de la Iere homélie sur Ezéchiel où Origène semble dire que Sodome et Gomorre n'ont pu se repentir, afin qu'ayant été châtiés en cette vie, les habitants de ces deux villes pussent être pardonnés en l'autre.[9] *Haec Origenis uerba uos arbitror legisse, haec uos in stupore uertisse recolitis. . . .* Pour réfuter cette doctrine, Siméon cite Maxime, Grégoire le Grand, un canon de concile prohibant le suicide, Augustin, Jérôme et Ambroise. Tous ces textes sont invoqués contre les partisans d'une erreur bien déterminée: *qui lapsis nituntur paenitentiam negare.* Il ne s'agit, on le voit, que d'un texte très particulier d'Origène, et il n'est pas clair qu'Origène, en ce texte, soit responsable de l'erreur qui occasionne le débat.

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[23] *Ms* British Museum *Burney* 309 (XIIIe s.), fol. 27. L'opuscule (fols. 27-28v) est intitulé *Incipit bona lectio et sub compendio ad monachos milites Christi.* Constitutiones nouiciorum monachorum pro quo surgitur ad uigilias. Uitae suae tempus per momenta singula debet monachus computare . . .

[1] Sous le titre 'Origène au XIIe siècle,' *Irénikon,* XXIV (1951), 425-39, j'ai rassemblé plusieurs de ces témoignages.

[2] Préchantre du monastère cathédrale de Durham, O.S.B., mort peu après 1129.

[3] *Ms Laud.* Misc. 123 (XIIe-XIIIe s.), fols. 165-71.

[4] Dans le manuscrit: merer.

[5] Dans le manuscrit: fraglat.

[6] Cf. s. Jérôme, *Epist. LXI,* 2; PL 22, 603; *LXXXIV,* 7-8; PL 22, 749-50.

[7] Dans le manuscrit: a quo tam.

[8] *Epist. LXII,* 2; PL 22, 606.

[9] *In Ezech.* (traduction de s. Jérôme) I, 2; éd. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1925), p. 322, 10 sq.: *inc.* Si ueneris ad eos qui puniti sunt . . .

Un autre moine accordait plus de confiance à Origène, sur un point de doctrine cependant peu sûr: il s'agit de l'auteur, jusqu'à présent non identifié, de la vaste compilation de "miracles" et de "visions" que contient le manuscrit Lambeth 51 (XIIIᵉs.).[10] Dans le récit des pérégrinations de plusieurs âmes après la mort, il insère un développement dont voici la *rubrica* et le début:[11]

> *Mansionem secundum Origenem quas facient animae corporibus exutae ab exitu suo usque ad caelum et ad uisionem Dei perueniant.*
>
> Ecce iam superius in proxima uisione, quae uidelicet fuit Eadmundi monachi de Heinesham, satis uidere potuimus quasdam distinctiones et prouectus quosdam esse in requie animarum postquam exierint de poenis purgatorii. Forte has distinctiones et prouectus animarum quiete fruentium post praedictas poenas, uel etiam alias distinctiones et prouectus qui fieri possunt post hanc uitam, dicit Origenes secundum anagogicum intellectum super Numeri esse XLII mansiones et prouectus quos fecerunt filii Israel in deserto, ascendentes de Aegypto usque ad terram promissionis, id est usque ad ipsam terram uiuentium, de qua dicitur: *Credo uidere bona Domini in terra uiuentium.*[12] Omnia enim quae continentur in Ueteri Testamento, dicit Origenes mysteria esse futurorum quae erunt post hanc uitam. Et hoc probat auctoritate Apostoli et aliorum sanctorum. . . .[13]

L'auteur cite encore cinq témoignages d' Origène, chacun précédé de ce titre: *Origenes de mansionibus animarum*; il applique donc aux pérégrinations de l'âme, et d'une façon que ne justifie pas entièrement le texte d'Origène, ce que celui-ci avait dit *De mansionibus filiorum Israel.*[14] Mais il ne peut le faire que parce qu'il a d'abord approuvé la méthode allégorique d'Origène.

Plusieurs indices donnent à penser que saint Bernard et les milieux cisterciens ont joué un rôle prépondérant dans le revival origénien du XIIᵉ siècle.[15] Il semble qu'il y ait une preuve précise de l'influence de saint Bernard dans le fait suivant: l'abbaye de Clairvaux possédait, du commentaire d'Origène sur le Cantique des cantiques, un exemplaire où le texte était expliqué seulement jusqu'à ces mots: *Capite nobis uulpes.*[16] Or à la bibliothèque d'Orval, monastère cistercien fondé en 1132, l'exemplaire d'Origène sur le Cantique se terminait au même endroit.[17] Il en va de même pour l'exemplaire de l'abbaye bénédictine de Liessies,[18] dont nous savons qu'on y fit copier de textes patristiques sur des manuscrits de Clairvaux au temps de saint Bernard.[19] Ces exemples, dont sans doute on pourrait allonger la liste, font supposer que Clairvaux a été un centre de diffusion pour les textes d'Origène.

ADDENDA: Dans la seconde moitié du XIᵉ siècle, l'abbé bénédictin d'Ebersberg Willeram (+1084), avait composé une paraphrase en vers du Cantique, dédiée à l'empereur Henri IV (édition sous le nom de Marbode dans A. Beaugendre,

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[10] Description détaillée dans M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 71 et suiv.

[11] Fol. 54C.

[12] *Ps.* xxiii, 13. La première main avait écrit: uidentium.

[13] Résume Origène, *In Num.* (trad. de Rufin) XXVII, 2-3; éd. Baehrens (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 258-60.

[14] Tel est le titre de l'*Hom XXVII in Num.* dans la traduction de Rufin; éd. cit., p. 255.

[15] Cf. *Irénikon, art. cit.*, 429-32.

[16] Cf. A. Wilmart, 'L'Ancienne bibliothèque de Clairvaux', *Mémories de la société académique d'agriculture, des sciences, arts et belles-lettres du Départment de l'Aube,* LIV (1917), 150.

[17] Ce manuscrit est actuellement conservé à la Bibliothèque de Luxembourg sous la cote 62.

[18] D'après le catalogue ancien édité par A. Sander, *Bibliotheca belgica manuscripta* II (Lille, 1641), p. 29.

[19] La preuve en est dans la lettre de Philippe de l'Aumône, alors prieur de Clairvaux, à l'abbé de Liessies, que j'ai publiée dans une étude sur 'Les Manuscrits de l'abbaye de Liessies', *Scriptorium,* VI (1952), 51-3.

Hildeberti et Marbodi opera (Paris, 1708), Addenda; cf. *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters, Verfasserlexikon* IV, pp. 985 ss.); l'allégorie du Christ et de l'épouse lui donnait l'occasion d'y exposer l'idéal de vie dont l'Eglise et ses clercs devraient donner l'exemple; on a pu voir là un indice des tendances réformatrices que propageait alors Cluny (A. Mayer, *Lexikon f. Theol. und Kirche* X, p. 921). La paraphrase de Willeram a elle-même servi de source, au XII^{e} siècle, au commentaire attribué aux abbesses Relindis et Herrade (cf. M. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalt.* II, p. 598).

Guillaume de Weyarn, chanoine régulier, a composé, vers la fin du XII^{e} siécle, une longue paraphrase mariale du Cantique, en vers, inspirée du commentaire du Cantique au moyen âge, depuis Bède jusqu'aux commentaires mariologiques *Lit. d. Mittelalt., Verfasserlexikon* IV, p. 984. Sur l'histoire de l'interprétation du Cantique au moyen-âge, depuis Bède jusqu'aux commentaires mariologiques du XII^{e} siécle, quelques indications sont données par B. Bischoff, 'Der Canticumcommentar des Johannes von Mantua,' *Lebenskräfte in der abendländischen Geistesgeschichte* (Festgabe W. Goetz, Marburg, 1948), 27-8.

Chaucer's Ancient and Biblical World

FRANCIS P. MAGOUN, Jr.

FOREWORD

THE present paper sets forth in alphabetical order the geographical and ethnic names of the ancient and biblical world as reflected in the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer. The whole may be taken as representative of his knowledge of the subject. Included, too, are the not many names pertaining to what one may call the geography of Greek mythology, also the names of languages. Merely to list concordance-wise a name with its modern equivalent and geographical location, more or less as did Allan H. Gilbert in *A Geographical Dictionary of Milton* (New Haven, Conn., 1919), useful as this may be, tells the reader little or nothing of how or why, with reference to, or in connection with, what the author of a literary work is using a given name. As in an earlier paper, 'Geographical and Ethnic Names in the *Nibelungenlied*,' *Mediaeval Studies*, VII (1945), 85-138, I have tried to make each entry tell a story, speak for itself, as it were. In many cases an analysis of the occurrence of a name itself fails to tell the whole story or give a complete picture of the poet's ideas about the place and its function in his writings. A town or a river may be referred to only once directly by name, yet be alluded to several times as *toun, cité,* or *streem,* with accompanying observations; such references are quite as significant as the name itself and an analysis of them will add much to the scene or the action. Like the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* Chaucer often embellishes his story by filling in from imagination details about certain localities, notably Athens and Troy, with talk about streets, buildings, the interior of the same and the like. These details, especially when taken together, add considerably to effects of verisimilitude and give additional life to the narrative. I have made every effort to include such matters and to weave them appropriately into the main fabric of the entry in question. Chaucer's use or application of a very few of the present names extends into the Middle Ages, most conspicuously Rome; I have included an analysis of these mediaeval phases of the names in question.

Within certain limits the present list gives us much information about Chaucer's acquaintance with the ancient world in general; it often reveals misunderstandings and misinformation, while on occasion the treatment of certain matters displays a point of view toward what one would today call classical archaeology which will bring a smile to our more informed faces; for Chaucer tends to picture the material life of the past as identical or all but identical with that of his own day, and a long time, indeed, was to pass before the exact sort of reconstruction of the ancient world, which is today expected by us all and to achieve which Hollywood is ready to spend millions, became anything like possible.

The geographical and ethnic range in this list is considerable and involves Europe, where Greece figures most prominently, North Africa, and the Near East. Many bodies of water are mentioned, some by name, others more usually as *see* or the like, the latter often identifiable from the context. It would, however, be quite wrong to imagine that Chaucer had any such knowledge of these places and peoples as we today possess or can easily acquire from handbooks. His representation of Helicon, somehow confused with Castalia, is illustrative. To have constructed anything like a correct map of this world would have been impossible for him or for anybody of his time and long after; his notion of the spacial relations involved may well have been much like that of a child of today who is casually versed in classical myth and legend and in stories from the Bible.

Except for a few gross distortions Chaucer's name-forms are generally speaking those used in the French of his day (often close to those of modern French) or are taken directly from Latin as *Delphicus* or *Macedo* or are closely adapted from Latin by merely dropping a Latin inflectional ending as *Mantoan* from *Mantuanus, Troian* (vs. Old French *Troien*) from *Troianus*.

The key-words (and a few variants) are taken from Robinson's Chaucer, as are the line numbers; title-abbreviations are those of the Tatlock-Kennedy *Concordance to the Complete Works of Chaucer*, whose line-numbers in the case of the *Astrolabe* and *Boethius*, as well as the book and line numbers of books 2 and 3 of the *Hous of Fame* are given parenthetically after Robinson's number. References to the B group of the *Canterbury Tales*, broken up by Robinson into B^1 and B^2, are given as in Robinson: the break comes at B 1190 and in the continuous numbering B^2 lines are preceeded by an asterisk, i.e., B *1191 ff. The independent numbering for B^2 follows this in parentheses and without special designation. Y is everywhere alphabeted in with *i*.

A

ACHALEOUS, the river Achelous (Lat. *Acheloüs*), mod. Aspropotamos, rising in Mt. Pindus (mod. Mezzara) and emptying into the Ionian Sea, is in *Bo* 4, m.7, l.47 (1605-10) a *flod*, mentioned in connection with the story of Hercules's successful struggle against the river-god of the same name (cp. also *CT* B *3296 [2106]).

Chaucer's form would seem, if not accidental, to be based on a Gk type gen. vs. Boethius' *Achelous amnis*.

ACHEMENYE (Lat. *Achaemenia*), the Persian (Achaemenian) Empire of the Achaemenides (OPers. Hakhamanishiya), a dynasty at its height in the time of Cyrus and Darius and later kings, would in *Bo* 5, m.1, l.3 (1640-45) seem to refer specifically to the province of Parthia (mod. Khorasan), being mentioned as a *contré* whose warriors in true or feigned flight would turn on their foes and shoot at them ("Parthian shot") (ll.4-6). It is also the realm in whose rocky highlands (*cragges of the roche*, 11.2-3; Boethius' *rupis Achaemenidae*) are wrongly said to rise from a single source (*o welle*, l.2) the Euphrates and the Tigris (see *Eufrates*, *Tigris*, below).

Chaucer's form is French.

(AEGEAN SEA, THE AEGEAN) (Lat. [*Mare*] *Aegeum*), extending eastward from Greece to Asia Minor, is referred to as *see* in *HF* 417, *LGW* 1462, 1470, 1495, 1510, 2178, 2196, 2405, 2419; in 2163 it is described as *wilde*.

AFRIKE (AUFFRIKE) (Lat. *Africa*), Africa:

A. Reflecting the original Carthaginian application of the ethnic name *Afer*, plur. *Afri*, to the peoples of the area of Carthage (*Cartage*, below) and/or Libya (*Libie*, below), hence virtually synonymous with Carthage or Libya. In *HF* 431 *Auffrikes regioun* is Libya, in l.432 it is more closely idenitfied with Dido's *faire toun* (of Carthage). In *Bo* 2, pr. 6, l.78 (500-05) *men of Affryke* are Carthaginians taken prisoners by Marcus Atilius Regulus in the course of the First Punic War. In *PF* 37 Scipio Africanus (Chaucer's *African*, etc.) comes to *Affrike* to meet the Numidian prince Massinissa (see under *Cartage*) on which occasion (*CT* B *4314 [3124]) Scipio has a vision portending the fall of Carthage.

B. By extension this name comes to apply to the whole continent and is thus used in *HF* 1339 (3,249).

Chaucer's form is French, mod. *Afrique*.

ALCATHOE, Alcathoe (Lat. *Alcathoe*, *-es*, f.), citadel of ancient Megara on the Saronic Gulf, now the Gulf of Aegina S of Athens, and chief town of ancient Megaris. It is mentioned with reference to the *sege* by Minos, legendary king of Crete (*LGW* 1909), and in *LGW* 1902, 1923; it is a *cité* (*LGW* 1904, 1916) with strong *walles* (1903). *Other tounes moo* mentioned with Alcathoe in *LGW* 1923 refer to other cities in Greece in general.

Chaucer's form is Latin; the name is based on the personal name *Alcathoüs*, son of Pelops, legendary founder of Megara.

(AMBRACIAN GULF), (Lat. *Sinus Ambracius*), mod. Gulf of Arta at the mouth of the Arta (ancient *Arachthus*) on the NW coast of Greece, is referred to as a *see* in *LGW* 634 in connection with the Battle of Actium (mod. Punta), site of the Emperor Octavian's naval victory over Mark Anthony B.C. 31.

ARAB(Y)E (Lat. *Arabia*), Arabia, the Arabian peninsula, is mentioned in *BD* 982 to define the legendary phoenix bird, sometimes associated with Arabia Felix. In *CT* F 110 *Arabe* (var. *Arabye*) is the realm of an unnamed thirteenth-century ruler said also to rule *Inde* (see below).

Chaucer's form is French, mod. *Arabie*. The form *Arabe* of *CT* F 110 is either a scribal error or, more likely, due to confusion with the French form of the ethnic name *Arabe* 'an Arab.'

ARABYEN, adj. subst., an Arabian, Arab, inhabitant of the Arabian peninsula:

A. Used in *CT* B *3529 (2339) in a catalog of peoples who in the third century A.D. dared not oppose Queen Zenobia of Parlmyra (see *Palymerie*, below).

B. In *Astr. Pr.* 36 (5-11) reference is to Arab scholars of the eighth century A.D.; in *Astr.* Pt. I, § 10, l.8 (45-50) *arabiens* is a plur. adj.

Arabyen, mod. Fr. *arabien* as if from Lat. **Arabianus*, is based on the regional name Arabia (see *Arabye*, above).

ARCADYE (Lat. *Arcadia*), Arcadia, central mountainous province of the Peloponnesus, is mentioned quite incidentally in *Bo* 3, m. 3, ll. 18-19 (1315-20) (*Mercurie . . . the bridd of Arcadye*) with reference to the legendary birth-place of the god Mercurius Cyllenius on Mt Cyllene (see *Cilenios*, below) in NE Arcadia; the god is spoken of as a bird because of being traditionally figured with wings (cp. *the winged god Mercurie*, *CT* A 1385).

Chaucer's form is French, mod. *Arcadie*.

ARDEA (Lat. *Ardea*), Ardea, a town 23 m. S of Rome in Latium, capital of Turnus and the tribe of the Rutuli, also said to have been burned by Aeneas; from the ashes of the town the heron (*ardea*) was said to have been engendered. In *LGW* 1694 Ardea is mentioned in connection with a siege by the Romans in the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (*regn.* 534-10 B.C.). In *LGW* 1730 it is a *place*, its *walles* are mentioned in 1726; the *sege* is referred to in 1696, 1725, 1758.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

ARGE, ARGON (Lat. *Argos* sg., more frequently *Argi* plur.), chief city and district of the peninsula of Argolis in the NE Peloponnesus, mod. Morea. It is mentioned together with *Calidoigne* (see below) as the realm of Diomedes of the Homeric Age in *TC* 5,805,934, and as *Argon that cité*, the city proper, in *LGW* 2682, answering to Ovid's *Heroides* 14, 34: *quies alta per Argos erat*, where it is probably poetical for all Greece

Chaucer's *Arge* looks back *to* OFr *Arge(s)* vs. mod. *Argos*; Chaucer's *Argon* represents somehow a Gk acc. of *Argos*.

ARGEYES, Argives, people of Argos (see *Arge*, above), are mentioned in *TC* 5, 1501, where they are said to be ruled by Tydeus, historically the father—in Chaucer wrongly the grandfather—of Diomedes. See also *Argyves*, below.

ARGON, see *Arge*, above.

ARGYVES (Lat. *Argivus*), Argives, people of Argos, poetical for Greeks in general, is mentioned in *TC* 5, 1509. A sing. form *Argyve*, as if an "Argive woman," occurs in *TC* 4, 762 as Chaucer's invented name of Criseyde's mother, in turn by error or curious confusion presumably somehow based on the personal name *Argia*.

Chaucer's form derives from OFr *Argive*, pl.-*es*. Cp. *Argeyes*.

ASYE (Lat. *Asia*), Asia, originally probably a name for a town in ancient Lydia (*Lyde*, below) or for Lydia itself; as extended to include all Asia Minor it is a late Roman term.

A. It is used presumably in this earlier sense of Asia Minor in *CT* B *1678 (488) to identify an imaginary Christian settlement (*a greet cité*) with a Jewish quarter (see *Jewerye*, below) in an unnamed *contré* (B *1680 [490]).

B. In *HF* 1339 (3, 249) it refers to the whole continent of Asia, mentioned in connection with Europe and Africa.

Chaucer's form is French (mod. Fr. *Asie*).

AT(T)HENES, ATHENYS (Lat. *Athenae*), Athens, chief city of ancient Attica and of the modern kingdom of Greece. It is referred to mostly in the *Legend of Ariadne* and in the *Knight's Tale*, often in most general connections, sometimes defining a ruler (duke, governor, king, lord, prince): *HF* 388 (1, 388), 1228 (3, 138), *Anel* 46, *LGW head* (between 1885-86), 1897, 1922, 1944, 2122, *end* (between 2227-28), 2128, 2361, 2406, 2442, *CT* A 861, 873, 880, 968, 973, 1023, 1194, 1391, 1395, 1406, 1413, 2098, 2483, 2701, 2964, 2971, F 1369. It is a *cité* in *LGW* 1899, 1904, *CT* A 1066 (*noble*), 1287, 2188, 2191, 2567 (*large*), 2574, 2701, 2902; a *place* in *LGW* 1915; a *toun* in *Bo* 5, m. 4, l.2 (1805-10); *LGW* 1942, *CT* A 894, 973, 1628, 2189, 2738, 2829. Athenians are referred to as *hem of Athenes* in *Bo* 1, pr. 5, l. 21 (200-05), and *LGW* 1925, 1940. Though not directly mentioned, the port town of Peiraeeus, some five miles from Athens, is assumed in *LGW* 2552 (*haven of Athenes*), 2361, 2509; in 2305-06 it is suggested that the main street (*mayster-strete*) leads from the city to the harbor, also in *CT* A 2902, 2904 (*strete*). *Athenes*, mentioned in *LGW* 1965-66, is some kind of slip for Crete.

Within the town is the Stoa or *Porch* of Zeno (*Bo* 5, m. 4, ll. 1, 2, 4 [1805-10]), defined as a *gate*, perhaps in the sense of a "passage way" rather than a "gate." Demophon's *palace large* is mentioned in *LGW* 2406, Theseus' palace in *CT* A 2199 (with a dais), 2494, 2513, 2525 (*riche*), 2527, with a *halle* or great hall in A 2521, the king's *chambre* (A 2525) and a *wyndowe* (A 2528). The latter is likewise referred to as a *court* in A 1414, 1430, 1497 (*roial*), 1504, with a gate (A 1415), and in A 1057 as a *castel*. Adjacent is Emelye's walled garden (A 1051, 1060 [*gardyn wal*], 1067, 1099, 1105), referred to as a *place* in A 1119. Overlooking the garden and built on to the garden wall is the main *tour* (A 1030, 1056, 1277), and constituting the main keep (*dongeon*, A 1057) of Theseus' castle was a *priso(u)n* high up (A 1023, 1058, 1085, 1095, 1107, 1109, 1185, 1206, 1229, 1236, 1237, 1335, 1451, 1468, 1562, 1592, 1735, 1792), in which was a *chambre* (A 1065, 1071) with a heavily barred window (A 1075-76). In the town is a temple of Isis (*HF* 1844-45 [3, 754-55]).

Leading out of the town is a highway (A 897: *the heighe wey*) and in the outskirts a temple of the goddess Clementia (A 928), also lodgings for visitors (*hostelryes*, A 2493). Farther out begin *feeld*(*es*) (A 1503, 1632), the open country of the Attic plain, and a mile or two out (A 1504) is a *grove* (A 1478, 1481, 1505, 1514, 1635, 2860, 2898) with a brook (A 1693) and a *launde* or clearing (A 1691, 1696).

The most conspicuous architectural monument of Theseus' Athens is a bowl-type stadium, presumably outside the town-walls, and constructed by Theseus especially for the tournament between Palamon and Arcite Referred to as a *theatre* (A 1885, 1901, 2091), a *place* (A 2585, 2678, 2690), and more often as *lystes* (A 1884, 2089, 2218, 2545, 2566, 2575, 2662), it is a circular stone structure (A 1889) with a moat (*walled of stoon and dyched al withoute*, A 1888), 1 mile in circumference, 60 paces high (*pas*, A 1890), and with rising tiers of seats (*degrees*, A 1890, 1891, 2579) banked to afford the spectator an unobstructed view (A 1892), also called *seetes* in A 2580. The number of rows of seats is not specified; the stadium is said to be *ful of degrees,* i.e., tiers of seats (A 1890). The full diameter must be thought of as some 560 yards, the height perhaps 150 feet, if one modestly reckons a "pace" as *ca* 2½ feet. Stadium builders tell me that the playing surface might be reckoned as some 1000 feet in diameter, corresponding to a king-size polo field, and that the edifice might have seated a couple of hundred thousand people. The Colosseum of ancient Rome seated about 45,000; the world's largest stadium in Rio de Janeiro seats 175,000 spectators. About a year was allowed for the construction of the Theseus Bowl (A 1850-51), in which many engineers, craftsmen and artists took part (A 1897-1901) and was done at great cost (A 2090). The Theseus Bowl was not only by all odds the world's biggest stadium but was handsome as well. At the east and west points of the circle were white marble *gates,* the main entries (A 1893-94, 1909, 2597); above the east entry was a chapel or shrine (*oratorie,* A 1904-05, 2585) dedicated to Venus; above the west entry one to Mars (A 1906-07, 2581); while on the north side in a *touret* springing from the outer wall is a third oratory dedicated to Diana (A 1909-12); these are referred to as *thise oratories thre* in A 1917 and are characterized by elaborate murals. Despite the term *temple* applied to them in A 1918 (cp. 2663), 2218, 2251-52 (with an altar) (of Venus); 1969, 1982, 2009, 2368, 2407, 2410, 2422, 2425-26 (with an altar) (of Mars); A 2051, 2281 (of Diana), these shrines should not be thought of as "temples" in the sense of Lat. *templum* but rather as Lat. *aedis* which by *interpretatio christiana* is well described by the word *oratorie.* From his experience as Clerk of the King's Works (1389-90) Chaucer might have learned much about elaborate construction of this sort though he had certainly written up this material or an earlier equivalent much earlier. On Boccacio's account of Teseo's theatre in the *Teseida* see R. A. Pratt, *PMLA,* LXII (1947), 100 and notes; on Chaucer's adjustment of Boccacio's treatment of the oratories see Pratt, *ibid.,* 617-18.

Chaucer's form of the name, whence mod. Athens, looks back to OFr *Athenes* (Lat. *Athenas*).

(ATTICA), not directly mentioned, may be inferred in *contré* in *LGW* 2053, 2057, 2176, 2472; *CT* A 869, 1213, and *land* in *LGW* 2154, 2478, *CT* A 1725, also more indirectly by *homeward* (*LGW* 2162) and *contréward* (*LGW* 2176).

B

BABILAN, this curious form, perhaps for *Babilon,* used for "of Babylon the city" or "of the region of Babylonia," "Babylonian," is applied in *CT* B 63 to Thisbe of ancient legend. The adjective form may be based on the OFr type of the city-name *Babilon(n)e* "Babylon," by-form of the more usual *Babiloigne,* below.

BABILOIGNE (Lat. *Babylonia*), famous Euphrates city of Babylon, is mentioned in connection with more than one period of its history.

A. In *CT* B *3339 (2149) it is the principal seat (*sovereign see*) of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar II the Assyrian (*regn.* 605-562 B.C.), famed for its wealth (*BD* 1060-61), referring either to the city or the province.

B. In *CT* B *3374 (2184), *3380 (2190), *3404 (2214), *3424 (2234) it is the kingdom or realm (*regne*) of Belshazzar or Balsharazur, son of Nebuchadrezzar and last king of Babylon.

C. In *CT* D 2082 it is the goal of conquest of Cyrus the Great, who entered the city in 539 B.C.

D. Most references occur in the "Legend of Thisbe" and refer to the legendary period of Queen Semiramis (Sammuramat) and of Pyramus and Thisbe (*LGW* 706 ff.). Here the outlying region of Babylonia, not mentioned by name, is referred to as a *lond* (*LGW* 716, *CT* B *3397 [2207]), as a (Near-) Eastern country (*lond estward, LGW* 718), and as a *contré* (*LGW* 721).

The city itself is a (*noble*) *toun* (*LGW* 707, 710), a *cité* (781). Semiramis, widow of King Ninus, had a moat built about the city (*let dychen al aboute*, 708) and high ramparts built of hard well-baked tiles (*walles ful hye of harde tiles wel ybake*, 708-09). The unnamed fathers of Pyramus and Thisbe are said to have their estates on an open space (*grene*, 712) in the city, separated only by a wall (*stonwall*, 713, *wall* 737, 750, 754, 756), evidently badly in want of repair, for it has a crack (*clyfte*, 740 ff.) of long standing which runs from the foundation to the top of the wall. A good deal is told about the outlying countryside. There is open country (*feldes*, 782, 787), a wood (*wode*, 806, 822; *forest*, 842) infested with lions (cp. *wilde lyonesse*, 805 ff.); King Ninus, legendary eponymous of Nineveh (see *Nynyvee* below), was buried out there (785). There was a cave in the vicinity (811), also a well or spring (*welle*, 788, 804, 808, 818). The sun is said to set beneath the sea (*se*, 792) though Babylon was some 500-600 miles east of the Mediterranean.

Chaucer's form looks back to OFr *Babiloigne*, in turn a normal development of Lat. *Babilonia*, properly the name of the region.

BABILONIA (Lat.), whose genitive *Babilonie* is used in LGW 706 *head* to define Thisbe (*Tesbe*). See *Babiloigne*, above.

BARBARIE, vaguely the ancient pagan world, throughout which is said (*CT* F 1452) to be famous Artemisia, wife of Mausolus, king or dynast of Caria (approx. the mod. Turkish prov. of Aydin and Denizli) (d. *ca* 353 B.C.), on whose death Artemisia built a magnificent tomb, the first "mausoleum."

The name reflects an OFr adaptation of Lat. (*terra*) *barbaria* "foreign, barbarous country;" the name is not to be confused geographically with the later-day Barbary, Barbary Coast, and the like.

BETHULIA (Lat. *Betylua*), Bethulia, a far from certainly identified locality but perhaps to be associated with the town of Shechem or Sichem, later (Flavia) Neapolis, mod. Nab(u)lus(?), in ancient Samaria, corresponding to central Israel. In *CT* B *3755 (2565) it is a *strong cité* and a center of Isrealitish resistance to the Assyrian Nebuchadrezzar II; in B *2289 (1098) it is a *cité,* delivered by Judith from the hands of Nebuchadrezzar's general Holophernes.

For literature on this disputed name see Robert H. Pfeiffer, *The History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper, 1949), p. 297, n. 15.

C

CALYDOIGNE clearly reflects an OFr *Calidoi(g)ne*, in turn looking back to non-classical **Calydonia*, and thus would mean "region centering on Calydon" (Lat. *Calydon*), perhaps falsely inferred from *Calydonia regna* of Ovid's *Met.* 15, 769, describing the realm of Diomedes in Apulia, Italy, whither he is said to have gone after the fall of Troy. Really intended by Chaucer is, however, the ancient Aetolian town on the lower reaches of the Euenus (now Phidaris); the town gave its name to the Gulf of Calydon (now Gulf of Patras, Patrai). Said to have been founded by Calydon, son of Aetolus, eponymous of Aetolia, it was the royal residence of Oeneus, father of Meleager and Deianira and grandfather of Diomedes. *Calydoigne* occurs only with a following *and Arge* (i.e., Argos) to describe in *TC* 5, 805 the kingdom of Tydeus of Aetolia to which Diomedes is heir (*TC* 5, 934).

CAMPAYNE, ancient Roman province of Campania, south of Latium, of which the chief city was Capua and famed for its fertility, is mentioned in *Bo* 1, pr.4, l.97 (120-25) as the *provynce of Campayne* in connection with measures once taken by Boethius himself in a time of famine.

This region is not to be associated with the well-known modern "Campagna" surrounding Rome.

CANANEE, adj. Cananaean, Canaanitic, of or pertaining to the land of Canaan (Lat. *Chanaanaeus*), is used in *CT* G 59 in connection with the story of the woman of Canaan (*mulier Chanaanaeae, Matth.* xv, 22). The adjective looks back to the ancient regional name Canaan, more commonly Land of Canaan (*terra Chanaan*), generally denoting the low-lying area of Israel west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

Canaan, fourth son of Ham, is mentioned in *CT* I 765.

(THE) CANE (OF GALILEE), Cana (Lat. *Cana*), a not certainly identified locality in Galilee, mentioned in *CT* D 11 with reference to the wedding in Cana (*John* ii, 1). The phrasal formula follows the original *in Cana Galilaeae*; I do not understand the use of the definite article since there seems to be no other Cana's in the Bible. The locality is either to be identified with mod. Kefr-Kenna *ca* 4 m. NNE of Nazareth or, perhaps less likely—since there is no spring there—with Khirbet Kana 9 m. N of Nazareth.

CARIBDIS, Charybdis (Lat. *Charybdis*), legendarily a dangerous whirlpool in later classical times located on the Sicilian side of the Straits of Messina opposite Scylla which was placed on the Italian side. In *TC* 5, 644 Charybdis threatens, figuratively speaking, to destroy Troilus and his ship (of life); in *RR* 4713 it is used, as in classical tradition, of anything dangerous or destructive: love is a *Caribdis* (var. *Karibdous*) *perilous.*

CARTAGE, Carthage (Lat. *Kartago, -inis*), ancient Phoenician colonial city on the north-east coast of Africa near the mod. city of Tunis in the district of Tunis, was founded *ca* 850 B.C. by refugees from Tyre, lead by Ellis(s)a(r), daughter of King Beleus of Tyre; Elissar is better known by her later epithet "Dido" "the refugee." After a long and brilliant history Byrsa, the citadel, was dismantled by P. Scipio Africanus in 146 B.C. at the end of the Third Punic War.

Cartage is used to define Dido's queenship (*BD* 732, *LGW* 1283) and as a symbol of great wealth (*BD* 1062, cp. 1060). It is a *cité* (*LGW* 1049, 1051), a *toun* (*LGW* 1016, *CT* F 1401), a *faire toun* (*HF* 432), *noble toun of Cartage* (*LGW* 1008), and as the place to which Venus directs Aeneas (*HF* 236, *LGW* 1000) to seek out the survivors among his shipwrecked comrades (cp. *BD* 209-10, 220-21, 237-38; *LGW* 902). The outlying region of Libya is referred to as the *contré of Cartage* (*HF* 224); on certain aspects of this Libyan countryside see *Affrike*, above, and *Libie*, below. Aeneas takes refuge in the *haven* (*LGW* 963), perhaps to be imagined as the ancient military harbor of Cothon. A *temple*, meeting-place of Aeneas and Dido (cp. Troilus and Criseyde under *Troie*, below), is featured in *LGW* 1024, 1036, 1052, 1270; it is large (*LGW* 1019), and in 1016 where it is referred to as the *mayster-temple* "main temple," it is perhaps appropriately to be conceived of historically as the famous temple of Tanit (Phoenician Astarte, Roman Venus), palladium of Carthage.

Dido's *royal paleys* (*LGW* 1096) is luxuriously appointed and has richly hung ball-rooms (*LGW* 1106: *dauncynge chaumbers ful of paramentes*); her apartment (*chaumbre*) is mentioned in *HF* 366, Aeneas' in *LGW* 1111. One or the other or both these suites of rooms are the site of the action of much of the later part of the story in *LGW*. There is a courtyard (*LGW* 1194: *court*) outside the royal palace. Out in the forested countryside (see *Libie*, below) is a (*litel*) *cave* (*LGW* 1125, 1244), somewhat central to the action of the story and source of court scandal (*LGW* 1242: *wikke fame*).

The destruction of Carthage by the Romans is alluded to in *CT* B *4555 (3365) and in F 1400, the latter with specific reference to the suicide of the wife of Hasdrubal, last-ditch defender of Carthaginian freedom. The impending destruction of the city is portended in *PF* 44 (cp. 1.37), where Scipio Africanus in 150 B.C. visits Massinissa, king of Numida.

In *LGW* 1188 *se* might be imagined historically as the Gulf of Carthage or the Lake of Tunis.

CAUCASUS (KAUKASOUS), the mountain system of the Caucasus (Lat. *Caucasus*) between the Black and the Caspian Seas, is mentioned in *Bo* 2, pr. 7, l. 71 (540-45) as a *mountaigne* which in the time of Cicero (106-43 B.C.) had not yet come under Roman sway. In *CT* D 1140 it is the *mount of Kaukasous*, mentioned as a very remote region and used as a figure of great distance (cp. *Inde*, below). With the use here of *montaigne* and *mount* in the singular for a whole mountain-range, cp. OE *munt* for the Alps and OE *mór* for the Kjöllen range in Norway.

CHALDEYE, Chaldaea (Lat. *Chaldaea*), in ancient geography a part of the Assyrian Empire at the head of the Persian Gulf (mod. Iraq), is mentioned in *CT* B *3347 (2157) as a part of the Assyrian empire of Nebuchadressar (*regn.* 605-562 B.C.) where no scholar but Daniel could be found to interpret the king's dreams. (Cp. *Dan.* v, 10-13).

CILENIOS, -US, adj. Cyllenian, of or pertaining to Mt. Cyllene in NE Arcadia (*Arcayde*, above), legendary birth-place of the god Mercury (Gk. Hermes), whence the adjective also means "of or pertaining to Mercury." It is used for the god in *Mars* 113, 144, as a substantive "the one of Mt. Cyllene."

CYMERIE, Cimmeria (Lat. *Cimmeria*), legendary land of the Cimmerians (Lat. *Cimmerii*); historically the Cimmerians were driven out of their homeland in Thrace (*Trace*, below) by the Scythians (cp. *Scithie*, below) a little before the time of Homer and to the region of the Crimea: they are best known from the legendary description in *Odessey* viii, 1 ff., where they are pictured as living in caves and in perpetual darkness, enshrouded in fog. It is in line with this tradition that a branch of the Lethe (*Lete*, below) is in *HF* 73 placed in their country, also thought of as the home of Morpheus, god of sleep.

CIR(R)EA, Lat. *Cirr(h)a*, properly a town in Phocis on the Gulf of Crisa, mod. Amphissa (off the Gulf of Corinth); inland and some 5 or 6 m. SSW of Mt. Parnassus and Delphi (*Delphos*, below) was the ancient city of Crisa. By the ancients the name of the more important seaport Cirrha was often substituted for Crisa and it is for Crisa that Chaucer intends his *Cirrea*. It is mentioned more or less rightly in *Anel* 17 as not far from Mt. Parnassus (*Parnaso*, below) and wrongly as near Mt Helicon (*Elicon*, below) some 25 m. away in Boeotia, whence it is said to be the home of the muse Poly(hy)mnia.

Formally Chaucer's *Cirrea* seems to show contamination of Lat.*Cirrha* by the adj. *Cirrhaeus* "of or pertaining to Cirrha."

CITHE, CITHIA, see SCITHIA, below:

CITHERO(U)N (MOUNT OF), Lat. *Cithaeron*, *-onis* m., a mountain range, famous in Greek mythology as sacred to Bacchus and the Muses; now renamed from its pine forests it is called Elatia (Gk *elates* "silver fir"), separating Boeotia from Megaris and Attica, and on its northern slope is Plataea. In *CT* A 1936-38 the mountain is said to be represented by a mural in Venus' oratory, located over the east entry of the Theseus Bowl (see under *Attenes*, above), in A 2223 it is associated with Venus as one whose presence, through her affair with Adonis, cheered the mountain.

Chaucer's form looks back to OFr.

COLCOS, Lat. *Colchis*, *-idis* f., in ancient geography a district in Asia Minor at the east end of the Black (Euxine) Sea and just south of the Caucasus (*Caucasus*, above), corresponds to the lowland area Mingrelia of the Georgian S.S.R. of the Soviet Union. Celebrated in Greek mythology as the home of Medea, the land of the Golden Fleece, and the goal of Jason and his Argonauts, it is so introduced in the Legend of Hypsipyle and Medea. Mentioned in *LGW* 1580, 1591, it is said, following Guido delle Colonne (*insula*), in *LGW* 1425, 1438 incorrectly to be an *yle,* correctly (l. 1426) as *beyonde Troye, estward in the se* (Propontis and Euxine). The quest of the Golden Fleece is referred to as the *adventures of Colcos* (*LGW* 1515); in *LGW* 1593 it is a *contré.* The capital is *Jaconitos* (see below). Jason's route from his home in Thessaly (*Tessalie, LGW* 1461, and below) is reasonably plotted as crossing the Aegean Sea (*salte se, se, LGW* 1462, 1470, 1495, 1510; see further "Aegean Sea," above), with a stopover on the island of Lemnos (*Lemnoun,* l. 1463), thence by implication (see above) sailing by the Troad, through the Propontis and east out the Euxine.

Chaucer's *Colcos,* as other names in this story, derive from Guido delle Colonne's corrupt *Colcos.*

CORYNTHE, Corinth, Lat. *Corinthus*, city and small territory of ancient Greece just south of the Isthmus of Corinth with its famous citadel or Acro-Corinth; the modern town of New Corinth, founded in 1858, lies some 3 m. east of the old city. Corinth is mentioned in *CT* C 604 as the goal of a mission by one Stilbon, on whom see Robinson, p. 831, n. *ad loc.* Important Corinthians, conceived of as inveterate gamblers, are *alle the gretteste . . . of that lond* (*CT* C 607).

Chaucer's and the mod. form derive from OFr.

CRETE, Crete (Lat. *Creta*, *Crete*), island in the Mediterranean SE of Greece, now Kandia. In *LGW* 1886, 1894, it defines the kingship of the semi-legendary Minos, king of Crete in a period well before the Trojan War; his wife Pasiphaë is mentioned as queen of Crete in *CT* D 733; in *LGW* 2216 it is a *contré.* In *LGW* 1895 Minos is said to have a *hundred cités stronge and grete*, not necessarily all in Crete (cp. his conquest of Athens, etc., ll. 1901 ff.); in his unnamed capital is his *court* (1949) and a dungeon (*tour*, 1960) is built on to the same *wal* (1962, 1971) in which is built a privy (*foreyne*, 1962; cp. Germ. *Abort* and see further *Speculum,* IX [1934], esp. 314 ff.); this dungeon is the *prysoun* (1950, 1975, 1997, 2011) of Theseus, prince of Athens. Somehow adjoining or very near Theseus' prison is the Labyrinth (*hous*, 2012, 2141-42), constructed as a *mase* (2014) where he slays the Minator (2104, 2142, 2145), in l. 1928 named a man-eating *monstre.* This latter event is alluded to also in *CT* A 980.

Chaucer's and the modern form are based on OFr.

D

DAMYSSENE, formally the adj. Damascene (Lat. *Damascenus*: see *NED* s.v.), of or pertaining to Damascus, chief town of the Roman province of Syria and of the modern state. In *CT* B *3197 (2007) it is used for the town of Damascus or perhaps more generally for the area round about the town (mod. Ghutah); Adam is said to have been created in the *Feeld of Damyssene* "plain of Damascus," answering to a Lat. *in agro Damasceno.*

The adj. is OFr (see *NED loc. cit.*) and is based on the town-name.

DELPHICUS, Lat. adj. "Delphic," "of or pertaining to Delphi," is used in *TC* 1, 70 for the sake of rhyme (: *thus*) and describes Apollo. The Lat. adj. is based on the place-name Delphi (see *Delphos*, below).

DELPHOS, formally Lat. acc. pl. of Delphi, a site in ancient Phocis *ca* 5 m. from Cirrha (*Cirrea*, above) and the Gulf of Crisa at the foot of Mt. Parnassus (*Parnaso*, below) and seat of the oracle of the Pythian (from Pytho, earlier name of Delphi) or Delphic Apollo, most famous of antiquity. The oracle is mentioned in *TC* 4, 1411, with reference to an occasion in the course of the Trojan War when Calchas visited Delphi on behalf of the Trojans, and in *CT* F 1077 where the oracle is a *temple* of the god, which Aurelius promises to visit as a barefoot pilgrim.

E

EBRAYK, see (H)EBRAYK, below:

EGIPCIEN

A. adj. Egyptian (Lat. *Aegyptianus,* Fr. *égyptien*) in *CT* B 500 qualifies the semi-legendary St Mary of Egypt.

B. sb. an Egyptian, mentioned in *CT* B *3528 (2338) in a catalog of peoples not brave enough to meet Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (*Palymerie,* below) in battle.

EGIPT(E), Egypt (Lat. *Aegyptus*), viewed as forming a part of Asia until the time of Ptolemy I (*regn.* 311?-285 B.C.), who declared the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea to be the boundary between the continents of Africa and Asia; since then Egypt has been viewed as forming the NE extremity of Africa. In Chaucer Egypt is mentioned in two main connections:

A. as the site of the Biblical story of Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel: so in *BD* 280-81 it defines Joseph and in *CT* B *4323 (3133) an unidentified Hykson, king of Egypt of the fifteenth-sixteenth dynasties, Pharaoh and Joseph's friend and patron; both passages have to do with Joseph as an interpreter of dreams (cp. *Gen.* xli, 25 ff.).

B. in connection with the romantic story of Anthony and Cleopatra (d. 30 B.C.), daughter of Ptolemy Auletes (d. 51 B.C.): so in *LGW* 581 *Egipt* is said to have passed under the rule of Cleopatra (*regn.* 52-49, 48-30 B.C.) after the death of her father, and in *LGW* 674 it is a land rich in precious stones used by Cleopatra to adorn her shrine. In *CT* B 500, 501 mention is made of a *cave* and the *desert.*

In *BD* 1207 the *ten woundes of Egipte* is a rendering of sorts, though wrong, of the so-called *dies Aegyptiaci* "Egyptian (i.e., unlucky) Days" of mediaeval calenders.

Chaucer's and the modern form is from OFr. (mod. *Égypte*).

ELICON(E), formally Mt. Helicon of antiquity (mod. Zagora) a mountain-range in Boeotia some 25 m. SE of Mt. Parnassus (*Parnaso,* below) and Delphi (*Delphos,* above), celebrated in antiquity as an abode of the Muses with a temple and grove sacred to them. It is mentioned in *HF* 521-22, (2, 13-14) correctly as the abode of the Muses while the *clere welle* "clear spring" might be taken to refer to the famous fountains of Aganippe and Hippocrene (but see below); in *TC* 3, 1809-10 it is wrongly located on or near Parnassus. In *Anel* 17 it is on Parnassus and near Cirrha-Crisa. From a practical point of view Helicon as an abode of the Muses has been confused with Castalia or the Castalian Spring (mod. Aio Janni) flowing out of the gorge framed by the cliffs named Phaedriadae, sacred to Apollo and the Muses; on this confusion already found in post-classical authors see Robinson, p. 891, col. 1, n. *ad loc.*

ELISOS, as if a distortion of the Lat. m. acc. pl. *Elysios* of *Elysii* "the Elysian Fields" (in full *Elysii Campi*), Elysium, mythological abode of good persons and heroes exempt from death. It is mentioned in *TC* 4, 790, as a final happy refuge of Troilus and Criseyde, and in l. 789 is defined as *the feld of pité,* on which special and peculiar definition see Robinson, pp. 942-43, n. *ad loc.*

ENNOPYE, Oenopia (Lat. *Oenopia*), older name of Aegina, island in the Saronic Gulf, now Gulf of Egina, between Attica and the Peloponnesus (now Morea), is mentioned in *LGW* 2155 as a *contré* and refuge of Theseus, Ariadne, Phaedra, and Theseus' friendly jailer.

(AD) EPHESIOS, Lat. acc. pl., Ephesians (Lat. *Ephesii*), natives of Ephesus, commercial town in Ionia (Asia Minor), whose ruins are near the modern village of Ayasuluk (prov. of Izmir), Turkey, are mentioned in *CT* I 748 with reference to St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (*Ephes.* v, 5).

ERMYN, adj. sb., an Armenian, native inhabitant of Armenia, is mentioned in *CT* B *3528 (2338) as one of a number of nationals who dared not oppose Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (*Palmyrie*, below) in battle.

Chaucer's form is OFr vs. mod. *arménien* and is based on the regional name *Ermony*, below.

ERMONY, Armenia (Lat. *Armenia*), classical name of Hebrew Ararat, a country extending between the shore of Lake Van, the upper Euphrates (*Eufrates*, below), and Media (*Mede*, below), is used, probably fancifully, in *Anel* 72 to define the queenship of Anelida, who resides in a *toun* there.

Chaucer's form is based on OFr *Ermenie* (mod. Arménie) which in OFr is also used for the land of the Saracens. The native name was *Biana*, mod. Armenian *Van*.

EST-SEE is mentioned in *TC* 5, 1109 implicity as the first body of water to be warmed by the rising sun and would appear to be thought of as east of Troy. In this respect the passage may be compared with the ninth or early tenth-century Germano-Latin *Waltharius*, l. 1189: *Taprobane clarum videt insula solem* (Taprobane [i.e., Ceylon] is already seeing the bright sun), this observation being made as the first rays of dawn are striking Mt Olympus. Hence, *Est-see* would seem quite possibly, indeed not unlikely and/or despite Guido, to refer to the Indian Ocean rather than some vague, actually non-existent, body of water lying east of Troy as is urged by Robert A. Pratt, 'A Geographical Problem in *Troilus and Criseyde*,' *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LXI (1946), 541-43.

ETHNA, Etna, the largest volcano of Europe (Lat. *Aetna*), rising on the east coast of Sicily. In *Bo* 2, m. 5, l. 35 (480-85) and pr. 6, l. 8 (485-90) it is the *mountaigne of Ethna*; in the first instance its *fyer* is said to burn as does human greed, in the second its *flaumbe*, when the latter surges up, does more damage than wicked men do. In *CT* E 2230 the volcano is mentioned in connection with the rape of Proserpina by the underworld god Pluto.

Chaucer's form is Latin with a decorative, silent *h*.

EUFRATES, the great Mesopotamian river Euphrates (Lat. *Euphrates*, Turk. *Frat su*) whose main stream (north branch) rises in Dumlu Dagh (ancient Taurus range) NNW of Erzerum (ancient Theodosiopolis). In *Bo* 5, m. 1, ll. 1, 7 (1640-45, 1645-50), it is said wrongly to rise from a common source with the Tigris (*Tygris*, below); it is then said to separate from the Tigris (ll. 7-8), later and correctly said to unite with the latter in a mighty stream (ll. 8-9, 15); the juncture of the two rivers is just below Korna.

EURIPPE, Lat. *Euripus*, channel between Boeotia (and Attica) and the island of Euboea, at whose narrowest point, opposite Chalcis on Euboea, it is only 120 ft. wide; the channel is remarkable for extraordinary changes of current. The strait is mentioned twice in *Bo* 2, m. 1, ll. 3-4 (290-95), where it is described as *boylynge*, while the immediately following gloss, where it is an *arm of the see*, speaks of the characteristic changes in the course of the current.

Chaucer's form is OFr.

EUROPE, Europe (Lat. *Europa*) is mentioned in *HF* 1339 (3, 249) and *CT* B 161 with reference to the whole European continent.

The name, first recorded in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* and first used with the modern distinction between Europe and Asia by Aeschylus, was probably transmitted to the Greeks from the east, perhaps from Assyria.

Chaucer's and the mod. form are French.

(EUXINE or BLACK SEA) (Lat. *Euxinus Pontus*) is referred to as *the se* in *LGW* 1426 at the east end of which (*estward in the se*) is the district of Colchis (*Colcos*, above). The outspoken modern name describes its fogs and its inhospitable character.

F

FAY(E)RYE, essentially the land or home of fays (OFr *fae*, mod. *fée*) or supernatural beings possessed of miraculous powers, is used to designate:

A. the underworld of antiquity of which Pluto is king in *CT* E 2227, 2234, and Proserpina *a queene* (E 2316).

B. in a less definite sense in *CT* F 96 as the or an underworld from which Sir Gawain might conceivably return to earth.

C. an enchanted land or *contré*, yet on this earth, in which Sir Thopas finds himself in *CT* B *1992 (802). In *CT* B *1991 (801) it is a secret place (*pryvé woon*), ruled by an elfin queen (*elf-queene*, B *1989 [799]), in B *2004 (814) called the *queene of F.*

Chaucer's form is OFr *fae(i)rie*, mod. *féerie*; see *NED* under "*faerie*," "*fairy*, A.1."

FEMENYE, as if Lat. **Feminia* "land of women," is used specifically of the legendary land of the Amazons, female warriors whose queen Hippolyta, wedded to Theseus, and her sister Emelye (in ancient legend Antiope) are brought back by Theseus to Athens. Hippolyta's realm (*regne of Femenye*) is mentioned in *CT* A 866, 877 where it is equated with Scythia (*Scithia*, below); the people are *Amazones* (*CT* A 880).

In the OFr romances *Femenie* is thought of as a land beyond the Red Sea, with Saracen associations, and Chaucer may have thought of it thus, if indeed he gave the matter any thought at all. In antiquity the land of the Amazons was thought of as bordering the river Thermodon, now the Terme çayı, flowing into the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) just east of the Turkish city of of Tçarçembe.

The geography here could scarcely be more confused. Chaucer's form is OFr.

FLEGETOUN, the Phlegethon, mythological river of the Greek underworld, flowing with fire instead of water. In *TC* 3, 1600, it is the *fiery flood of helle*, mentioned as a place from which Troilus' soul has been saved.

Chaucer's form is OFr.

FRYGIUS, Lat. adj. (Lat. *Phrygius*), Phrygian, pertaining to the ancient country of Phrygia in central and northern Asia Minor, of varying boundaries but at times including the Troad. In *BD* 1070 it is used to define Dares, supporter of Troy in the war against the Greeks and suppositious author of the epitomized account of the war from the Trojan point of view: *de Excidio Troiae.*

G

GALGOPHEYE, a distortion of Gargaphia (Lat. *Gargaphia, -phie*), valley in Boeotia sacred to Diana, with a fountain of the same name where Actaeon was turned into a stag and was torn to pieces by hounds. In *CT* A 2626 it is mentioned as *vale* inhabited by fierce mother-tigresses.

GALILEE, Galilee (Lat. *Galilaea*), in Roman times the northernmost province of Palestine, is used in *CT* D 11 to identify Cana (*Cane*, above). The Sea of Galilee is referred to as *the see* in *CT* A 698 with reference to *Matth.* xiv, 29.

GAWLE, formally Gaul (Lat. *Gallia*), in antiquity an area answering in part to modern France. In *CT* F 1411 the *folk of Gawle* refers not to the ancient Gauls of Caesar but to an eastward migrating splinter group, more properly referred to as Galatians (Lat. *Galatae*) or Gallograeci, which invaded Asia Minor in 278-277 B.C. and in 276 sacked the Carian city of Miletus (*Melesie*, below).

The form is OFr, mod. *Gaule.*

GAZAN, Gaza (Lat. *Gaza*, mod. Arabaic Ghazzeh), one of the chief towns of the Philistines in Palestine (mod. Syria), is mentioned in *CT* B *3237 (2047) in connection with the story of Sampson (*Judges* 13-16); it is a *cité* (B *3238 [2048]) or *toun* (B *3239 [2049]) with *gates* (B *3239 [2049]) and a nearby *hill* (B *3241 [2051]). The great stone *temple* is mentioned in B *3272 (2082), *3275 (2085), 3279 (2089) with pillars (*pilers,* B *3274 [2084]), destroyed by Sampson; Sampson's prison is in a *cave* (B *3263 [2073]) and he is set to work at a hand-mill (*queerne,* B *3264 [2074]).

The form *Gazan* is perhaps based on Lat. acc. *Gazam* of *Judges* xvi, 1, and despite the var. *Gaza* would seem to be Chaucer's form.

GYSEN, a distortion long antedating Chaucer of Gyndes (Lat. *Gyndes*, acc. *-en*), now Diala or Kerkah(?), tributary of the Tigris (*Tigrys*, below), which joins the latter below the site of Baghdad, is mentioned in *CT* D 2080 in connection with Cyrus' futile and angry gesture of "destroying" the river by diverting it into 360 rivulets and thus drying it up, a story derived from Lucius Annaeus Seneca's dialogue *De Ira* III, 21, § 3.

The Gyndes river (acc. *Gynden*) appears wrongly as *Gygem* or *Gigen* in all manuscripts of Seneca's work, as if somehow associated with King Gyges of Lydia! and was first put right by Erasmus. Chaucer's copy of Seneca all but surely had *Gysen* for *Gynden* of the modern standard editions of Seneca.

GOTHES, Ostrogoths (Lat. *Goti, Gothi*) is mentioned in *Bo* 1, pr. 4, l. 82 (115-20) to define the kingship of Theoderic, sole ruler of Italy A.D. 493-526.

Chaucer's form with an ornamental and doubtless silent *h* (cp. Shakespeare's pun of "goats" and "Gotes" in *AYL* III, iii, 9), derives from French; the modern pronunciation with a false "th" is late (see *NED s.v.* "Goth").

GREECE, ancient Greece, referred to in general in *TC* 1, 609; *LGW* 2271; *CT* A 962 (perhaps as opposed to Thebes) F. 1444. It is mentioned as distinct from Thebes in *Anel.* 53 (cp. *CT* A 962), as the country of Penelope in *BD* 1081, as the home-land of Danaus (wrongly for Aegyptus) in *LGW* 2562, as the land of the Academia or Academe of Plato near Athens and of the Eleatic School of Zeno in Elea (Lat. *Velia*, mod. Castellamare della Bruca, prov. Campania, Italy), this latter locality bringing the definition of Greece to include Magna Graecia (*Bo* 1, pr. 1, l. 74 [30-35]). In *LGW* 1886 *Grece* appears as a variant for *Crete,* apparently wrongly. *Grece the contré* of *CT* B *3847 (2657) embraces Macedonia (*Macedoyne,* below), kingdom of Alexander the Great.

In *TC* 5, 924, Diomedes would rather serve Criseyde than be king of twelve Greece's (*Greces twelve*), and the *folk of Grece* of TC 5, 123, is equivalent to *Grekes* (cp. 1. *Greek,* below), while the *See of Greece* of *CT* B 464 is one of Chaucer's terms for the Mediterranean, *q.v.*, below.

Chaucer's and the modern form look back to OFr *Grece.*

(1) GRE(E)K, sb.

1. A native of ancient Greece and, unless otherwise noted, a Greek opponent of the Trojans in the siege of Troy (*Troie*, below): *BD* 1167, *LGW* Prol. G 275; *CT* D 744 (ancient Greeks in general); *CT* A 2899, 2951, 2959, 2969 (Athenians); *HF* 1479 (3, 389); *TC* 1, 57, 73, 135, 137, 148, 477, 483, 553, 578, 802, 1046, 1075; 2, 154, 194, 198, 511; 3, 544; 4, 30, 34, 57 (var.), 65, 82, 176, 332, 1348, 1363 (var.), 1411 (var.), 1466, 1473, 1486; 5, 118, 125, 141, 688, 861, 893, 918, 960, 967, 1000, 1465, 1581, 1756, 1801; *LGW* 931.

2. Used attributively to describe a person as of Greek origin: *BD* 667; *HF* 152; *CT* B *4418 (3228).

Chaucer's and the modern form may well look back to OE *Grécas* "Greeks" vs. the more normal OE *Crécas.*

(2) GRE(E)K, GRE(E)C, adj.

1. Pertaining to a native of ancient Greece as in *TC* 2, 1112; *Astr.* Prol. l. 35.

2. Used absolutely for the language of ancient Greece, Greek studies in general, in *Bo* 2, pr. 2, l. 81, (315-20); 3, pr. 12, l. 212 (1110-15); 4, pr. 6, l. 283 (1515-20); 5, pr. 2, l. 53 (1660-65); *Astr.* Prol. l. 36 (5-11), Pt. 1, § 21, l. 60 (100-08).

Chaucer's and the modern form may look back to the substantive (1. *Greek*, above), also influenced by OFr *grec*.

GREKISSH, -YSSH, GRYKKYSSH, adj. 1. Of or pertaining to ancient Greece or the Greeks, Greeks, Grecian, Greekish (archaic): *Bo* 4, m. 7, l. 10 (1595-1600). 2. With reference to letters (pi, tau) of the Greek alphabet: *Bo* 1, pr. 1, ll. 32, 34-35 (15-20, 20-25).

This now archaic adj. looks back to OE *grécisc* "Greek" vs. the more normal OE *crécisc*. Cp. *Troiannysh*, below.

H

(H)EBRAYK, adj. Hebrew (Lat. *Hebraicus*), Israelitish, Jewish. In *CT* B 489 it defines *peple* and refers to the Hebrews of the time of Moses (*Exod.* xiv, 21-31); in *HF* 1433 (3,343) it defines the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-*ca* 95); in *CT* B *1750 (560) the *Hebrayk peple*, apostrophized by Satan, are residents of the Jewish quarter (*Jewerie*, below) in an unidentified town in Asia Minor. The language (*Ebrew*) is mentioned in *Astr.* Prol. 37 (5-11). See further *Jew*, below.

Chaucer's form is adapted from the Lat. *Hebraicus.*

HELLE (OE *hell*), Hades, Orcus, the pagan underworld of shades, is in Chaucer ruled by Pluto who is also king of fairyland (*CT* E 2227: *Fayerye*). In most instances *Helle* refers to the Christian hell, even in such works pretending to a pagan background as *TC*. It is mentioned in *CT* A 1200, B *3292 (2102); *BD* 589; *HF* 72, 441, 445, 1510 (3,420); *PF* 32; *Bo* 3, m. 12, ll. 21, 31, 35, 56, 65, 73 (1120-45); TC 1, 786, 859; 2, 105, 436; 3, 592, 1600; 4, 1540, 1554, 1698; 5, 212, 1532; *LGW* Prol. F 514, G 502, F 516, G 504, F 553, 1104(?). The pagan Hades is referred to as Pluto's *derke regioun* (*CT* A 2082 and *regne* (A 2299) which is *derk and lowe* ("deep") and *under ground* (F 1075). In *TC* 4, 790, it is alluded to as *ther Pluto regneth.* On various features and characteristics of this *Helle* see the late Theodore Spencer, 'Chaucer's Hell,' *Speculum*, II (1927), 177-200.

For other underworld localities see *Flethegon, Lete, Stix.*

(HELLESPONT), "Sea of Helle" (Lat. *Hellespontus*), mod. Dardanelles, is referred to in *TC* 4, 1549, as the *se* into which the Simois (*Symois*, below) flows.

Chaucer's and the mod. form seem to be based on the Latin.

HERMUS, Hermus (Lat. *Hermus*), mod. Sarabat, in antiquity known as a gold-bearing river in Aeolis (Aeolia), Asia Minor, flowing into the Gulf of Smyrna (cp. *PMLA*, XLII [1927], 670-72). In *Bo* 3, m. 10, l. 15 (960-65) it is mentioned along with the Indus and Tagus as a source of wealth; *rede brinke* (l. 16) refers to gold-bearing gravel.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

I

ILIO(U)N, (Lat. *Ilium*), in antiquity a poetical name for Troy (*Troie*, below) whose citadel was *Pergama* (neut. plur.) or *Pergamum* (sg.). Among mediaeval writers Pergamum was supplanted as the name of the citadel by Ilium and is so used by Chaucer. It is mentioned in *HF* 158, *LGW* 936, *CT* B 289, B *4546 (3356). It is described as the chief donjon (*dongeoun*) of Troy in *LGW* 937, similarly as a *noble tour* (*LGW* 936) and evidently as a *castel* in *HF* 163. The pairing of *Troie and of Ilyoun* in *BD* 1248 suggests that Chaucer may have thought of Ilium as an enclave, a town within Troy.

Chaucer's form looks back to OFr *Ilioun*; the whole name is based on Ilus, son of Tros, legendary eponymous of Troy.

INDE, India, answering essentially to mod. India and Pakistan (Lat. *India*), etymologically the region of the river Indus of Pakistan (*Indus*, below), is chiefly mentioned as symbolic of a remote and distant place, somewhere far off (cp. *Caucasus*, above): so in *RR* 624; *BD* 889; *Bo* 3, m. 5, l. 6 (740-45) (*a contré*); *TC* 5,971; *CT* C 722, D 824. It is used twice to describe tigers: *Bo* 4, m. 3, l. 17 (1315-20); *CT* E 1199. It is a realm of a legendary or imaginary king Demetrius (*CT* A 2156) and of an unnamed thirteenth-century ruler said also to rule Arabia (*CT* F 110); in *Mars* 246 it is a source of precious stones (so *Nibelungenlied* 403. 1). It is twice mentioned with reference to the supposed scene of the missionary activities of the apostle St Thomas (shrine at Mylapur, Madras): *CT* D 1980 (*Thomas lyf of Inde*), E 1230.

Chaucer's form is based on OFr *Inde* vs. mod. Fr. *les Indes*.

INDUS, Lat., the Indus (Sanskrit *Sindh*), the great river of Pakistan and source of the name "India" (*Inde*, above), rises in the Himalayas of Tibet and flows into the Arabian Sea. It is mentioned in *Bo* 3, m. 10, l. 16 (965-70) as a source of precious stones (cp. *Mars* 246) and is said (l. 17) to be *next the hote partie of the world*, perhaps with reference to the fact that it enters the Arabian Sea only a little north of the Tropic of Cancer.

ISRAEL, (kingdom of) Israel (Lat. *Israel*), the people descended from Jacob, called Israel ("he that strives with God", *Gen.* xxxii, 28), the Jewish or Hebrew people; cp. *Jewerie*, below. In *CT* B *3250 (2060) Sampson is said to have the rule of Israel, in B *3342 (2152) Nebuchadrezzar has male children of the royal blood of Israel castrated; in *LGW* 1880 it is a *lond*, vaguely Palestine, and is mentioned in connection with the woman of Samaria (*Samaritan*, below).

YTACUS, Lat. adj.-sb., the Ithacan (Lat. *Ithacus*), is used for Ulysses in *Bo.* 4, m. 7, l. 20 (1600-05). Cp. *Narcice*, below.

ITAYL(L)E, Italy, the Italian peninsula (Lat. *Italia*) is mentioned in connection with three quite different periods of Italian history:

A. Most of Chaucer's references are to various phases of Aeneas' voyage from Troy via Carthage (*HF* 187, 196, 298, 430, 433; *LGW* 952, 1329), his arrival (*HF* 147, 452 cp. *Lavyne*, below), and the presaged conquest (*LGW* 1298 and cp. *Ardea*, above).

B. In *CT* B 441 *Ytaille* is the goal of Constance's ordeal when she is launched from Syria; the period is the late sixth century in the reign of Ælla, first king of Deira (later part of Northumbria, England), *regn.* A.D. 560-88.

C. The other references are to Italy of Chaucer's own time. In *CT* B *3650 (2460) the *grete poete of Ytaille* is Dante, while in E 33 Petrarch is said to illumine all Italy with his poetry. The Clerk's Tale begins in the district of Saluzzo (*Saluces*) in the west of Italy (*CT* E 57). There is delicious food in the Italy of Chaucer's day (*CT* E 266, 1714), and the country is referred to in a general way in *CT* E 1132, 1178, 1511.

J

JACONITOS is mentioned in *LGW* 1590 as the capital of the district of Colchis (*Colcos*, above); in l. 1589 it is a *cyté*, in 1591 the *mayster-town* or capital, ruled by Oetes (l. 1593). Medea lives here and her *halle* is mentioned in l. 1602. Historically the chief coastal town of Colchis was Dioscuras, mod. Sukhum Kaleh.

Chaucer's name derives from Guido delle Colonne's *Iaconites . . . caput regni pro sua magnitudine constituta, urbs valda pulcra*, etc.; the present form may well be a scribal error for *Jaconites*.

JERUSALEM, Jerusalem (Lat. *Hierusolyma*, n. pl. later *Hierusalem, Ierusalem*, n.), ancient capital of Palestine, the Holy City, is mentioned in three quite different connections:

A. The city in Biblical times. In *CT* B *3337 (2147) it is a *cité*, twice conquered by Nebuchadrezzar whose son Belshazzar in B *3386 (2196) uses vessels taken by his father from the *Temple* (B *3338 [2148]). In B *3786 (2596) Antiochus threatens vengeance on the city.

B. A goal of mediaeval pilgrims. It is mentioned in *CT* A, 463, D 495. In *RR* 554 the reference is general, Jerusalem being one terminus of a long distance, chosen probably, however, because of its familiarity to pilgrims.

C. With the adj. *celestial* it refers to the "holy city, new Jerusalem" of *Apoc.* xxi, 2, in *CT* I 51, 80; in I 588 it is the *cité of a greet Kyng.*

The name is often pronounced trisyllabically (Jer'salem); for a similarly reduced pronunciation cp. Icel. *Jórsalir* (m.pl.) with popular adaptation of *-salem* to Icel.*-salir* "dwellings," common in placenames.

JEW (JUE), Jew (OFr *giu*), a person of Hebrew race (originally of the kingdom of Judah), an Israelite; cp. *(H)ebraik*, above.

A. With reference to the ancient Hebrews in *CT* C 351, 364 (an unidentified "holy Jew," perhaps Jacob), E 2277 (Solomon), B *3782-83 (2592-93) (Maccabean Jews of II *Macc.* 9); *HF* 1434 (3,344) (*Jewes gestes*, i.e., Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates*). The reference in *CT* B *1749 (559) is very general.

B. With reference to the Jews as slayers of Christ: *CT* C 475; I, 590-95, 595-600, 660-65, 885-90.

C. With reference to Asia Minor Jews of the Christian era as perpetrators of ritual murder: *CT* B *1755 (565), *1760 (570), *1763 (573), *1789 (599), *1791 (601), 1810 (620), 1819 (629), 1875 (685).

D. With reference to mediaeval European Jews as skilled armorers: *CT* B *2054 (864).

Chaucer's form, whence mod. "Jew," is of the older French type, later replaced by *juif* (see *NED s.v.* "Jew"); both French types look back to Lat. *Iudaeus*, in turn looking back ultimately to the patriarch Judah and the powerful tribe descended from the latter.

JEWERYE (JUERIE), Jewry (OFr. *Juerie*, mod. *Juiverie*):

A. The land of the Jews, Judaea, here all Palestine: *HF* 1436 (3, 346) with reference to Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates*.

B. A district of a town inhabited by Jews, a Jewish quarter but not a ghetto, first established in Venice in 1516: *CT* B *1679 (489), *1741 (551), *1782 (592).

K, see *C*

L

LACEDOMYE, LACIDOMYE, Lacedaemonia (late Lat. *Lacedaemia*, class. Lat. *Lacedaemo(n), -onis*, f.), south-eastern division of the Peleponnesus (mod. Morea) centering on the town of Lacedaemon or Sparta, in antiquity also called *Laconia*; the region and town appear in the late non-classical form *Lacedaeminia*. The region is mentioned in *CT* C 605 as the source of a mission to Corinth and in F 1380 as the home of fifty virgins claimed of the Lacedaemonians by their western neighbors of Messene or Messenia (*Mecene*, below). In C 1610 the region is referred to as a *contré.*

Chaucer's form would seem to be a reduction of sorts via OFr of the late form *Lacedaemonia*.

LATYN, adj. and sb., Latin (Lat. *Latinus*), adj based on Latium, the portion of ancient Italy which included Rome.

A. adj. 1. Of or pertaining to Latium or the ancient Latins or Romans:

HF 1438 (3, 393) (*the Latyn poete, Virgile*), *Astr Prol.* 32-42 (20-24) (*Latyn folk*).

2. Pertaining to the language of the ancient Latins or Romans: *Astr.*, Pt. 1, ch. 21, § 61 (100-08) (*Latyn tonge*).

B. absol. and as sb. The language of the Latins or ancient Romans; the Latin language *CT* A 638, B 519, 1190, *1713 (523), *4355 (3165), C 344, F 1174, I 865-70, 870-75; *Anel* 10; *TC* 2, 14; *Astr. Prol.* 32-42, 62 (5-11, 11-15).

Chaucer's form is from OFr.

LAVYNE, ancient city of Lavinium (Lat. *Lavinium*) in Latium, Italy, now Pratica (prov. Lazio), near the coast and 15 m. south of Rome, defines in *HF* 148 the coastal region (*strondes of Lavyne*) where Aeneas first landed on reaching Italy (cp. *Itaylle* A, above).

The town-name is based on the personal name Lavinia, daughter of Latinus and wife of Aeneas.

LEMNOUN, Lemnos (Lat. *Lemnos, -us*), mod. Lemno (Ital. Stalimeni), island in the Aegean (*salte se, LGW* 1462, 1510; *se* 1470, 1495), in antiquity thought of as the abode of Vulcan (Hephaestus), is mentioned in *LGW* 1463 as the home of Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas and queen of Lemnos at the time of the Argonautic Expedition. It is an *yle* (*LGW* 1463, 1466) with a coast-line characterized by cliffs (*clyves, clyf,* 1470, 1497); Hypsipyle has a *castel* (1507) where she takes Jason and his Argonauts.

Chaucer's *Lemnoun* would seem to OFr. and as if based on a Lat. *Lemno, -onem.*

LETE, the Lethe mythological river of the ancient Greek underworld (Lat. *Lethe, -es,* f.), is in *HF* 71-72 a *flood of Helle unswete* ("unpleasant"); one branch (*strem,* 1.71), flowing into the land of the Cimmerians (*Cymerie,* above), is the river on whose bank Morpheus, god of sleep, resides.

LIBIE, Libya (Lat. *Libya*), in ancient geography North Africa west and exclusive of Egypt, also known in Carthaginian terminology as Africa (see *Affrike,* above), was later applied to Cyrenaica. In this latter, more general sense the shore or coasts (*strondes of Libye*) are mentioned in *Bo* 4, m. 7, 1.56 (1610-15) as where Hercules slew a huge giant Antaeus, similarly in a reference to the *desert of Lybye* (*HF* 488) as comparable to the imaginary sandy waste in which the dreamer finds himself.

More often *Libie* (=*Affrike,* above) refers to Dido's realm, centering on Carthage: so in the cases of the *reyne of Libie* (*LGW* 922), the *lond of Libie* (1123), and *Libie* (959), where Aeneas arrives after his storm-tossed voyage from Troy and takes refuge in the *haven* mentioned under *Cartage,* above. In this same application it is a *contré* (*HF* 241, *LGW* 990), a *reame* (*LGW* 1281), to be defined as either of Africa, Carthage, or Libya, a *regioun* (*LGW* 995). In the country out around Carthage is a forest (*LGW* 981) teeming with game, including lions (see *Marmoryke, Pene,* below).

Chaucer's form is OFr.

LYDE, Lydia (Lat. *Lydia*), a country in ancient Asia Minor corresponding approximately to the Turkish province of Saruehan with Sardis (mod. Salihly) as its capital and legendary homeland of the Etruscans. It is used to define the kingship of Croesus, fabulously rich successor of Alyattes in 560 B.C.: *kyng of Lyde* (*HF* 105, *CT* B *3917 [2727]), *of Lyde kyng* (CT B *4328 [3138]).

Chaucer's form is OFr.

LYDIENS, sb. plur., Lydians inhabitants of the region of Lydia (*Lyde,* above), is used in *Bo* 2, pr. 2, l. 65 (310-15) to define the kingship of Croesus.

Chaucer's form is OFr (mod. *lydien*) and, as if from Lat. **Lydianus,* is based on the regional name *Lydia.*

M

MACEDO, Lat. n. sg., a Macedonian, inhabitant of Macedon (see *Macedoyne*, below), in *HF* 915 (2, 407) identifies Alexander the Great and as in the case of the Lat. adj. *Delphicus* (above) is used for reasons of rhyme (: *Scipio*). Cp. also *Tyro*, below.

MACEDOYNE, MACEDONYE, Macedonia, Macedon (Lat. *Macedonia*), a region of varying limits north of the Aegean Sea between Thessaly (*Tessalie*, below) and Thrace (*Trace*, below), homeland of the *Macedones* (see *Macedo*, above), is in *BD* 1062 (cp. 1060) thought of as a region of great wealth and in *CT* B *3846 (2656) identifies as father of Alexander the Great Phillip under whom Macedonia first became powerful. In *CT* F 1435 *oon of Macedoyne* stands for "a Macedonian."

Chaucer's forms look back on the one hand to the semi-learned OFr *Macedonie*, on the other to the more popular type *Macedoine* (mod. Fr. *Macédoine*), familiar in Mod. English as a culinary term to describe a mixture of cut up fruits or vegetables.

MARMORYKE, Marmarica (Lat. *Marmarica*), in ancient geography a region on the north coast of Africa between Egypt and Cyrenaica, the eastern part of Barca or Benghasi, is in *Bo* 4, m. 3, l. 13 (1310-15) a *contré* in which there are lions; for other North African lions see *Libie*, above, and *Pene*, below.

Chaucer's form is OFr.

MANTOAN (Lat. *Mantuanus*), Mantuan, pertaining to Mantua (mod. Mantova, prov. Mantova), ancient Etruscan city of Gallia Transpadana built on an island in the Mincio. In *LGW* 924 it is used to describe Virgil, whose birthplace at Andes was near Mantua where he later long resided.

Mantoan (for *Mantuan*) is a more or less learned adaptation of the Lat. adj.; cp. *Theban, Tholosan, Trojan*, below.

MECENE, Messene or Messenia (Lat. *Messene*, *-es*, f.) is a district and town in the SW Peloponnesus, whose people, *hem of Mecene*, are mentioned in *CT* F 1379 in connection with a mission to neighboring Lacedaemon (*Lacedomye*, above).

MEDES, the Medes (Lat. *Medi*), people of ancient Media in NW Iran, here viewed as united with the Persians (*Perces*, below), are mentioned in *CT* B *3425 (2235) together with the Persians as a people who will take over the Assyrian kingdom centering on Babylon (*Babiloigne*, above), ruled by Belshazzar, son of Nebuchadrezzar.

Chaucer's form is OFr, based on Lat. acc. pl. *Medos*.

(MEDITERRANEAN SEA), generally speaking the sea which separates Europe from Africa and extends from Palestine to the Strait of Gibraltar (*Pileer of Hercules*, below), is in *RR* 2748, BD 140, *CT* A 59 *the Gre(e)te Se(e)*; in *CT* B 464 the *See of Greece*. Elsewhere it is a *se*, occasionally with the conventional epithet *salte*: *BD* 67, 69, 208; *HF* 238, 255; *Bo* 4, m. 3, l. 3 (1310-15); *LGW* 950, 953, 958, 1048, 1188, 1278; *CT* B 445.

MELESIE, Miletus (Lat. *Miletus*), mod. Palatia (?), a town in ancient Caria (Asia Minor) on the Latmic Gulf nr. the mouth of the Maeander river (mod. Mendere su), is mentioned in *CT* F 1409 in connection with the sack of the town in 276 B.C. by the Gauls (*Gawle*, above).

Chaucer's form is OFr (mod. Milet) and as if from a Lat. **Miletia*.

N

NARICE, Mt. Neritos (Lat. *Neritos*, *-us*) on the small Ionian island of Ithaca (popularly Thiaki, see *Ythacus*, above), home of Ulysses, hence poetically here for the island itself. In *Bo* 4, m. 1. 2 (1310-15) it is a *contré* of which Ulysses is *duc.*

The Latin caption to Chaucer's version of Boethius' meter reads "*Vela Naricii ducis*" for "*Neritii ducis*" of Boethius; on this slightly corrupted form (with the common confusion of *t* and c) of the Lat. adj. *Neritius* "pertaining to Neritos, Ithacan" Chaucer has based his form of the name.

(NAXOS, older DIA), mod. Naxia, Axia, Aegean island of the Cyclades, not named directly, is referred to as an *yle* and as the place where Ariadne, daughter of King Minos of Crete, was abandoned by Theseus of Athens (*HF* 416, *LGW* 2163, 2167). In *HF* 417 it is *desert* (uninhabited) and *CT* B 68 *bareyne* (desolate), in *LGW* 2168 it is a *lond*, in *LGW* 2189 the shore (*stronde*) is mentioned, also caves (*holwe rokkes*, 2193) and a cliff (*rokke*, 2195).

NAZARENUS, Lat. adj., Nazarene, of or pertaining to Nazareth, mod. En-Nasira, a town of Palestine and home of the parents of Jesus Christ and place of Jesus' early childhood. It is mentioned in *CT* I, 283 (*John* xix, 19) to define Jesus disparagingly; in I 288 the name is etymologized "flourishing" (see Robinson p. 876 n. *ad loc.*)

NYNEVE(E), Nineveh, long the capital of ancient Assyria, on the east bank of the upper Tigris (*Tigrys*, below), is mentioned in *BD* 1063 (cp. l. 1060) as representative of great wealth, and in *CT* G 974, along with Rome, Alexandria in Egypt, and Troy, as a very large city. In *CT* B 487 it is referred to as the site of Jonah's delivery to dry land from the stomach of a fish (*Jon*, ii, 1, 10). Mosul (Iraq) is across the river from the ancient sites.

O

OCCIAN, in antiquity the sea or waters surrounding the known world of Europe, Africa, and Asia (Lat. *Oceanus*), is in effect the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea. It is mentioned in *Bo* 4, m. 6, ll. 15-16 (1550-55) as *the see of the Occian* and *the See*, in ll. 13-14 it is *the Westrene See*, said to be where the stars set; so, too, in *Bo* 4, m. 5, l. 7 (1430-35). In *CT* B 505 *oure Occian* refers to the Atlantic Ocean between the Strait of Gibraltar and England; in B 506 *oure wilde see* may refer to the English Channel. It is *see* in *Bo* 3, m. 5, l. 7 (740-45) with reference to the North Atlantic where *Tyle* (see below) is located.

OREB, Mt. Oreb or Horeb, is in the Bible the less usual designation of Mt Sinai (*Synay*, below); originally two different mountains may have been intended. In *CT* D 1891 it is a *mount* and is mentioned in connection with Elijah's fast of forty days and forty nights (I *Kings* xix, 8).

ORKADES, the Orcades (Lat. *Orcades*), the Orkneys, Orkney Islands (Icel. *Orkneyjar*), co. of Orkney, Scotland, a group name including at present 29 inhabited islands, are mentioned in *TC* 5, 971, as one terminus of a long distance; cp. *Caucasus, Inde,* above.

The ancient name is based on a Celtic ethnic name **Orcoi* "the Boars" or directly from an Old Celtic substantive reflected in Old Irish *orc* "(young) pig" from a fancied resemblance of these low-lying islands to a herd of swine. In Viking times this name was reformed by the Norwegians on the basis of ON *orkn* "grey seal" and *eyjar* "islands."

P

PALYMERIE, Palmyra (Lat. *Palmyra, -ira*), in antiquity a city and great trading-center, was situated on an oasis 150 m. east of Damascus (*Damyssene*, above) and in the late third century A.D. especially flourished under the Palmyrene prince Odaenathus (*dux Orientis*, d. A.D. 267) and under his relict, Queen Zenobia, enjoyed a state of formal independence of Rome. It is the Tadmor of 2 *Chron.* viii, 4 (probably an error for Tamar) and is still so known among the Arabs. It is mentioned in *CT* B *3437 (2247) with reference to Queen Zenobia; in B *3545 (2355) it is a *lond*, in B *3518 (2328) as "realms" (*regnes*), while in B *3462 (2272) it is a *contré*.

Chaucer's form, based on OFr, shows the development of a parasitic vowel (*y*) between the *l* and *m*.

PARNASO, PERNASO (HIL, MOUNT OF), Mount Parnassus, mod. Luakura (Lat. *Parnassus*), a mountain-range, mainly in Phocis, was viewed as holy and with Delphi (*Delphos*, above) as a home of the Muses (see *Elicone*, above). In this latter connection it is mentioned in *HF* 521 (2, 13), *Anel* 16 (with particular reference to Polyhymnia), *TC* 3, 1810 (*In Hil Pernaso*) and *CT* F 721 (*Mount of Pernaso*).

Chaucer's form looks back to Ital. *Parnaso*.

PARTHES, Parthians (Lat. *Parthi*), a Scythian people of Parthia (Lat. *Parthia*, mod. Kohistan "highlands," applied to several districts west of the Indus), formed the nucleus of the later great Parthian Empire, often at war with Rome; their history is much involved with that of the Medes and the Persians. They are mentioned in *Bo* 2, pr. 7, l. 73 (540-45) as a people who in the time of Cicero (106-43 B.C.) feared Rome; in *CT C* 622 there is mention of an unidentified *kyng of Parthes* who gives a present of gaming dice to one Demetrius of uncertain identity and in a perhaps purely legendary situation.

PATHMOS (Lat. *Patmos, -us*, f.), mod. Patmo or Patino, was in Roman times a place of exile, to which St John the Evangelist was sent and where he is said to have written the *Apocalypse* (*Revelations*); in this connection it is mentioned in *CT* B *1773 (583).

Chaucer's spelling shows an ornamental, silent *h*.

PENE, Punic land, Carthage (Lat. *Poenus*, a Phoenician, Carthaginian) is mentioned in *Bo* 3, m. 2, l. 10 (655-60)as the *contré of Pene* with reference to tame Libyan or Carthaginian lions (cp. *LGW* 1214); for more North African lions see *Libie*, *Marmoryke*, above.

Through a French intermediary the form would seem to be based on the Latin ethnic name *Poeni* "Carthaginians."

PERCES, Persians, inhabitants of the empire of ancient Persia, mod. Iran (Lat. *Persae* pl. "Persians, also sg. *Perses, -ae*), are mentioned in *CT* B*3425 (2235) in conjunction with the *Medes* (above).

The form is OFr., based on Lat. acc. pl. *Persas*.

PERCIEN, adj. and sb.

A. adj. Persian, of or pertaining to the ancient empire of Persia (Iran) (cp. *Perses*, above), in *CT* D 2079 defines Cyrus the Great (d. 529 B.C.), founder of the Persian Empire.

B. sb. pl. *Persiens* "Persians" are mentioned in *CT B* *3438 (2248) and *3536 (2346) as nationals familiar with Queen Zenobia of *Palymerie* (above) and her sons, of royal Persian descent.

In *Bo* 2, pr. 2, l. 73 (310-15) *Percyens*, appearing in the phrase *kyng of Percyens* (from Fr *le roi de Perse*), is an error for Perses or Perseus III of Macedonia, defeated by the Romans in B.C. 186.

Percien from OFr looks back to Lat. *Persianus*, based on Lat. *Persia* (see *Perse*, above).

PERNASO, see PARNASO, above.

PHILIPENSES, Lat. nom. plur. adj., Philippians, citizens of Philippi (Lat. *Philippi*), city of Macedonia (*Macedoine*, above) 73 m. ENE of Saloniki, is mentioned in *CT* I 598 with reference to St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (*Phil.* ii, 10).

PHILISTIENS, Philistines (late Lat. *Philistinii*), natives of Philistaea whose chief town was Gaza (*Gazan*, above), are referred to in *CT* B *3238 (2048) as unsuccessful defender of Gaza, *that cité*, in the same line; they are a people of uncertain origin who occupied the south-west part of Palestine.

The form is OFr; cp. ME and mod. English "Philistian," *NED s.v.*

PILEER (OF HERCULES), the Pillars of Hercules (Lat. *Herculis Columnae*), mentioned in *CT* B *3308 (2118) as set up by Hercules, refer in ancient geography to the two promontories between which is the Strait of Gibraltar; one of the two "pillars" or promontories was Calpe in Hispania Baetica (mod. Rock of Gibraltar), the other Abyla, a mountain spur on the North African side of the Strait. As an outlet to the Atlantic the Strait was thought of as marking one of the "ends" of the earth. On this and on the suggestion of a similar "pillar" in the East, see Robinson, p. 854, n. *ad loc.*

R

RAVENNE, Ravenna (Lat. *Ravenna*), in antiquity a sea-port of Gallia Transpadana, now chief city of the prov. of Ravenna, Italy, was in Boethius's day the chief city of Theoderic the Ostrogoth (in later legend his chief city came to be Verona [Berne]); in *Bo* 1, pr. 4, l. 136 (130-35) it is a *cité* and is mentioned as a place from which Boethius' adversaries Opulio and Gaudentius fled.

Chaucer's form is OFr.

(THE)REDE SEE, the Red Sea (Lat. *Mare Rubrum*), a narrow sea separating the coast of Arabia and Egypt, is mentioned in *Bo* 3, m. 3, l. 6 (685-90) as a source of precious stones; in *CT* B 490 it is alluded to as *see* with reference to *Exod.* xiii-xiv.

RODOPEYA, -PEYE, a mountain range in Thrace, now the Despoto Dagh (Lat. *Rhodope, -es*), is in the Legend of Phyllis obviously thought of as a region and city (*lond*, *LGW* 2423, 2427, 2434) where Demophon rests up (l. 2437) after an arduous sea-voyage from Troy; later, when able to walk again, he proceeds to the court (l. 2440), presumably in the city of *Rodopeya.* The queen of the country (l. 2424) is *Phillis,* in l. 2498 of *Rodopeye.*

The form *Rodopeye*, Latinized as *Rodopeya*, is based on the Lat. adj.-type *Rhodopeius* "a Rhodopeian," poetically used for "Thracian."

ROMAN (ROMEYN), adj. and sb.

A. adj. pertaining to Rome, ancient and mediaeval (cp. *Rome*, below) and its inhabitants: *CT* B 954, *3526 (2336) (defining Galien), *LGW* 1812. Stories of ancient Rome are referred to loosely as (*olde*) *Romayn gestes* in *CT* B 1126, E 2284.

B. sb. sing. and pl., an inhabitant of Rome, ancient and medieval: (1) in sing. in *BD* 1084 (defining Livy), *CT* D 647 (defining P. Sempronius Sophus), F 1404, *Bo* 2, pr. 7, l. 79 (545-50); (2) in the plur. in *CT* B 291, 394, *2178 (988), *2629 (1439), *3551 (2361) (defining Aurelian), B *4555 (3365), F 1401, G 121, *LGW* G 275, 627, 630, 1695, 1812.

Chaucer's forms are based on Lat. *Romanus* and OFr. *romein,* respectively.

ROME (Lat. *Roma*).

A. Rome of classical antiquity, cut through by the river Tiber (*Tybre*, below), is mentioned as the center or symbol of the Roman kingdom, republic or empire, or as early Christian Rome in *CT* B *3866 (2676); *BD* 1063; *LGW* 584, 595, 1710, 1712; *Bo* 2, pr. 7, l. 72 (540-45). *Rome* identifies or defines kings of ancient Rome (*LGW* 1680-81), consuls (*Bo* 2, pr. 2, l. 72 [310-15]; 3, pr. 4, l. 13 [690-95]), Julius Caesar (*CT* B *3867 [2677]), *"lordes"* (Caesar and Pompey, *Astr* Pt. i, § 10, ll. 9-11 [45-50], Pompey (*CT* B *3879 [2689]), and the late emperor Claudius II (*CT* B *3525 [2335]). The Roman commonwealth is the *commune of R.* (*Bo* 2, pr. 7, l. 68 [540-45]) and the praetorship the *provostrye of R.* (*Bo* 3, pr. 4, l. 90 [710-75]). It is referred to as *cité of R.* in *Bo* 2, pr. 6, ll. 18-19 (485-90) and *Bo* 2, m. 6, l. 4 (515-20) and in *CT* B *4560-61 (3370-71); *toun of R.* in *LGW* 586, 591, 1861; *CT* G 361; *Rome toun* in *LGW* F 257 (G 211), 1691, 1869. The poss. sg. *Romes* (*HF* 1504 [3, 414]) refers to the glorious past that was Rome's, the Lat. gen. sg. *Rome* (= *Romae*) to Lucretia (*LGW* Legend of Lucrece, head and end). It is referred to merely as *toun* in *CT* G 173, LGW 1727, 1867, and implicitly in *CT* C 118 (here cp. Gower, *CA* vii, 5131: *at Rome*). Rome and the surrounding region, the Roman Campagna is implied in *lond* and *regioun* in *CT* C 113, 122. In *CT* G 975 it is a symbol of greatness.

The Capitol (*Capitolie*, Lat. *Capitolium*) is mentioned in *CT* B *3893 (2703), *3895 (2705); the Appian Way (Lat. *Via Appia*), as if a place, in *CT* G 172; the Catacombs (*Seintes Buryeles*) in G 186, referred to as a *place* in G 183; the cathedral church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere (*Chirche of Seint Cecilie*) mentioned in G 550, is said to have been built on the site of the house of Valerian and Cecilia (G 514, 550, and implicitly in G 141-42, 218-19). The house of Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus and Lucretia is mentioned in *LGW* 1713, 1716, 1778, and described *passim*; according to more orthodox tradition it was in the Sabine town of Collatia near Rome.

B. The Rome of Boethius (*ca* 475-525) during the reign of Theoderic the Ostrogoth is mentioned in *Bo* 1, pr. 4, l. 189 (145-50), *Bo* 2, pr. 7, l. 80 (540-50); in *Bo* 1, pr. 4, l. 265 (160-65) it is the *cité of R.*, and in *Bo* 1, pr. 4, ll. 102-11 (120-25) it defines two contemporary consuls.

In the *Man of Law's Tale*, placed in the following century, it defines a *strete* (*CT* B 1103) and the lodgings (*in*) of Ælla, first king of Deira (later part of Northumbria, England), *regn.* 560-588 A.D.

C. Medieval Rome, often thought of as a pilgrimage center and the seat of the Papal Court is mentioned in *HF* 1930 (3, 840); *RR* 1093; *CT* F 231; in *CT* B 156, 309 it defines a late sixth-century emperor. It is the *toun of R.* in *CT* B 1148 and is referred to merely as *toun* in B 310. It is the goal of pilgrims in *TC* 2, 36; *Astr* Pref. l. 47 (5-11), and in *CT* A 465 and B 995 it is *Rome toun*. It is identified with the Papal Court in *RR* 7190 (cp. l. 7198); *CT* A 671, 687, E 737, and implicitly in B 991 (cp. l. 992).

Chaucer's form is based on OFr.

ROMEYN, see ROMAN

S

SAMARITAN, sb. a Samaritan (late Lat. *Samaritanus*), a native or inhabitant of Samaria, a district of Palestine (Lat. *Samaritis*), named for its chief town, anciently the capital of the kingdom of Israel, is used in *CT* D 16, 22, specifically of the woman of Samaria (*John* iv, 7-18).

Chaucer's form is a learned adaptation of the Lat. adj.

SCITHIA, CITHE, CITHIA, formally the land of the Scythians (Lat. *Scytha*, *-ae* m., *Scythes*, *-ae*, m., mostly in the plural), Scythia, was among the ancients a vaguely and fluctuatingly defined region, at times at least, roughly corresponding to the Russian steppe between the Carpathian mountains and the river Don. Whatever notions Chaucer may have had about the geography—and vague indeed they must have been—his use of the name obviously derives from Statius' *Thebaid* XII, 519 ff., where Scythia is associated with Lake Maeotis (l. 527), now the Sea of Azov. For Chaucer Scythia was identical with his *Femenye* (above), the land of the Amazons in NE Turkey. The geography makes utter nonsense.

The country is referred to as *Scithia* in *CT* A 867 and in A 882 and *Anel* 36-37 (*Cithia*) defines the the queen, Hippolyta. The Scythians, i.e., Amazons, are described as the *aspre folk of Cithe* in *Anel* 23, based on *Thebaid* XII, 519-20. The forms *(S)cithia* are Latin, while *Cithe* (mod. Fr. *Scythie*) is OFr.

(SEA OF GALILEE), is referred to as the *see* in *CT* A 698 in connection with the miracle of St. Peter's walking over its waters to Jesus (*Matth.* xiv, 29). See further *Galilee,* above.

SEREYENS, sb. pl. Chinese (Lat. *Seres, -um*), whose *contré* is mentioned in *Bo* 2, m. 5, l. 12 (475-80) as a source of fine wool (*bryhte* ["clean, white"] *fleeses*).

Chaucer's form has almost certainly been influenced (by misunderstanding?) with "Syrian;" cp. *Syrien,* below.

SYMOIS, the Simois (Lat. *Simois*), mod. Turk. Dümberek su, a small river in the Troad, tributary of the ancient Scamander, mod. Medere cayı, which flows into the Dardanelles, is in *TC* 4, 1548, incorrectly said to cut through Troy.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

SYNAY, Mt. Sinai (in the Bible alternately but less commonly known as Horeb or Oreb), the mountain which gives its name to the Sinaitic peninsula, projecting into the Red Sea between the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba, is in *CT* D 1887 a *mountaigne* (var. *mount*) and is mentioned in connection with Moses' fast of forty days and forty nights (*Exod.* xxxiv 28). See also *Oreb,* above.

SYRIEN, adj. Chinese (or Syrian?) is used in *Bo* 2, m. 5, l. 14 (475-80) to define a *contré*, a land producing white wool (*white fleeses*). See *Seryens,* above, and *Surryen,* below.

SYSILE, the island of Sicily (Lat. *Sicilia*), originally a settlement of the Ligurian tribe of the Siculi, driven from their home on the Tiber (*Tybre,* below), is mentioned in *Bo* 3, pr. 5, l. 26 (725-30) in connection with the well-known story of Dionysius the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, and the so-called sword of Damocles (ll. 28-30).

Chaucer's form is OFr. (mod. Fr. *la Sicile*).

STIX, lit. the Styx, river of the Greek underworld (Lat. *Styx, -yges, -ygos*) by which the gods swore, is in *TC* 4, 1540 *the put* ("pit") *of helle* and viewed as a place of torment, perhaps meant for Hades as a whole; on this medieval conception of the Styx see *Speculum*, II (1927), 180-181.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

SURRYE, Syria (Lat. *Syria*, also *Siria, Suria*), a land in SW Asia Minor on the Mediterranean, under Graeco-Roman administration essentially the valley of the Orintes, and corresponding territorially at least in part to the modern state of the same name, is mentioned in *CT* B 134, 173, 177, 279, 387, 441, 955, 1108 as of the late sixth century; in B 177 *et passim* it is ruled by a Mohamedan sultan (*sowdan*).

Chaucer's form is OFr.

SURRYEN (-IEN), adj. and sb. a Syrian, native or inhabitant of Syria (*Surrye,* above).

A. In *CT* B *3529 (2339) it is used of Syrians of the third century A.D. as one of a number of peoples who did not dare meet Queen Zenobia of Palmyra (*Palymerie,* above) in battle.

B. In *CT* B 394, 435, 963 it is used of sixth-century Syrians of the time of Ælla, first king of Deira (later part of Northumbria, England), *regn.* 560-88; in B 153 it is used adjecitvally.

Chaucer's form is OFr (mod. *syrien*), looking back to a late Lat. **Syrianus.*

T

TAGUS, the Tagus (Lat. *Tagus*, Span. *Tajo*, Port. *Tejo*), largest river of the

Iberian peninsula, rises in Mt Muela de San Juan in Spain and, flowing past Toledo, forms the boundary between Spain and Portugal and empties into the Bay of Lisbon. In *Bo* 3, m. 10, l. 13 (960-65) it is mentioned, along with the *Hermus* (above) and *Indus* (above), as a river noted for its gold-yielding gravel (*goldene gravelis*).

Chaucer's form is Latin.

TESSALIE, see T(H)ESSALIE, below:

THEBAN, adj. (Lat. *Thebanus*), pertaining to *1 Thebes* (below), Theban, usually with reference to the two noble kinsmen, Palamon and/or Arcite: *Anel* 85, 210, *TC* 5, 601, *CT* A 2515, 2526, F 1432, 1434.

Sb., inhabitant of *1 Thebes*: *Anel* 60, *CT* A 1877, 2570, 2623, 2829, 2882, 2974.

Chaucer's form is directly adapted from Latin.

1 THEBES (Lat. *Thebae*), chief city of the ancient Greek state of Boeotia, situated *ca* 35 m. NE of *Athenes* (above), is in Chaucer essentially thought of as in the time of the legendary King Creon and the wars of the "Seven." It is mentioned often in connection with some person or event of the wars of the Seven and especially frequently in the Knight's Tale: *TC* 5, 937, 1486, 1490; *LGW* F 421 (G409); *CT* A 933, 967, 983, 986, 1002, 1203, 1283, 1331, 1355, 1383, 1483, 1548, 1793, 1880, 2658, D 741, 746, E 1716, 1721, H 116. In *CT* A 939, 1544, B 289 it is *T. the cité*; *Anel* 66, *TC* 5, 1486, *CT* A 989, 1549, E 1721, H 117 it is a *cité*, and a *toun* in *Anel* 68, 70, 72, *TC* 5, 1510, *CT* A 936, 1548. Its ramparts (*wall, walles*) are mentioned in *CT* A 990, 1331 (*waste*), 1880 (*wyde*), and the same, i.e., the "seven-gated" wall of the legendary king Amphion, is mentioned in *CT* H 117 (*walled the cité*). There is a temple of Mars (*Anel* 355-56).

Outside the town is a *feeld* or open country (*CT* A 984, 1003).

In *Anel* 53 *Thebes*, presumably standing for Boeotia, is contrasted to the rest of Greece; Boeotia is also implied in *contré* of *CT* A 1004, 1383.

In *TC* 5, 602, *hem of Thebes* stands for *Thebans* sb. (above).

The war of the "Seven" is specifically referred to in *TC* 2, 107 (*assege*), *CT A* 937 (*seege*), B 200 (*strif*); the town is said to have been burned (*TC* 5, 1510) and afterward was *desolat* and *bare* (*Anel* 62). Statius' *Thebaid*, dealing with this subject, is alluded to in *HF* 1460 (3, 370), *Anel* 10 (*storie in Latyn*; cp. l. 21); *TC* 2, 83-84 (*geste of the seege of Thebes*, and cp. 2, 108), 100 (*romaunce*), and though wrongly, in *CT* A 2294 ("*Stace of Thebes*") where the source is in fact Boccaccio's *Teseida*.

The *broche of Thebes*, described at length in *Mars* 245-62, actually refers to a bracelet made by Vulcan-Haephestus to bring misfortune on Harmonia, daughter of Mars and Venus, and subsequent owners. The story is told in Statius' *Thebaid* II, 265 ff. It was worn inauspiciously by Argia on the occasion of her marriage to Polynices of Thebes.

Chaucer's form is OF *T(h)ebes* (mod. *Thebes*), in turn based on Lat. acc. pl. *Thebas*.

2 THEBES (Lat. *Thebae*), Greek name of the ancient Egyptian city of *Wesi*, later Ne "the city," on the Nile some 400 m. above its mouth, was the ancient capital of Upper Egypt on whose site Kamak and Luxor now stand. The Greeks seem to have applied the name of *1 Thebes* to the Egyptian site because of some fancied resemblance, perhaps the numerous gates common to both. It is mentioned in *CT* A 1472 to define *nercotikes and opie . . . fyn*, on whose traditional association with the Egyptian city see O.F. Emerson, "Chaucer's 'Opie of Thebes Fyn,' *Modern Philology* XVII (1919-20), 287-91.

T(H)ESSALIE, Thessaly (Lat. *Thessalia*), NE division of Greece, south of Macedonia (*Macedoine*, above), with Larissa its chief city, is mentioned as the kingdom of Pelleus and home of Jason in *LGW* 1396, 1461, 1533, 1619, 1654; in *LGW* 1651 it is referred to as *hom.* It is Pelleus' *regne* (*LGW* 1401), a *lond* (1403), a *regioun* (1412), a *contré* (1461) and in *CT* B *3869 (2679) the scene of Julius Caesar's attack on Pompey.

Chaucer's form is OFr.

THOLOSAN (Lat. *Tolosanus*), adj., of or pertaining to Toulouse (Lat. *Tolosa*), dept. Haute-Garonne, France, Tolosan, was in antiquity a city in Gallia Narbonensis. In *HF* 1460 (3, 370) it is applied wrongly to the Neapolitan poet Publius Papinus Statius (A.D. 45-96), an error Chaucer may have picked up from Dante.

Chaucer's form with ornamental, silent *h*, is adapted from Latin; cp *Mantoan*, above.

TYBRE, the central Italian river Tiber (Lat. *Tiberis*, Ital. *Tevere*) which rises in the Tuscan Apennines, cuts through Rome, crosses the Roman Campagna, and enters the Mediterranean (Tyrrhenian) Sea at Ostia. It is mentioned in *CT* B *3666 (2476) as a river in which the Emperor Nero liked to fish with nets of thread of gold.

Chaucer's form is the semi-learned OFr (and mod. Fr.) *Tibre* vs. popular OFr *Teivre*, *Toivre*, forms found also in ME.

TIGRYS, the Tigris (Lat. *Tigris*), with the Euphrates the lesser of two great rivers of Mesopotamia, is in *Bo* 5, m. 1, ll. 1-2 (1640-45) wrongly said to rise from a common source with the Euphrates (*Eufrates*, above). The Tigris is the Hiddekel of *Gen.* ii, 14, *Dan.* x, 4.

Chaucer's form is Latin.

TYLE, (Ultima) Thule (Lat. *Thyle*, *Tyle*, rarely *Thule*), from the time (330 B.C.) of Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles) was thought of as an island in the extreme north of Europe; it has been a matter of almost endless conjecture whether Pytheas meant Iceland (otherwise unknown until the ninth century A.D.) or some other island between Iceland and Britain. Today the name Thule has been arbitrarily or fancifully applied to an air-base in NW Greenland. It is mentioned in *Bo* 3, m. 5, l. 8 (740-45) as one terminus of a long distance; in l. 7 it is *the laste ile in the See* (ie., *Occian*, above).

Chaucer's form answers to the Lat. type *T(h)yle*, preferred until the time of the Renaissance.

TYRENE, adj. Tyrrhenian, Etruscan, Etrurian (Lat. *Tyrrhenius*), referring to that part of the Mediterranean lying between the Italian mainland and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, is used in *Bo* 3, m. 8, l.10 (795-800) to define the Tiber (*watir that highte Tyrene*) as a river flowing into the Tyrrhenian Sea (cp. *flumen Tyrrhenium, Aen.* 7, 663). This *watir* (*NED s.v.* 12c) has *foordes* convenient for huntsmen. Then are dealt with certain fine things to be got from the *see* (pearls, tender fish, sea-urchins) which presumably is the Tyrrhenian Sea proper (cp. *Tyrrhena vada, Aen.* 1, 67).

TYRIE, Tyre, an important town of ancient Phoenicia (Lat. *Tyrus*, *-i*, f.), now the unimportant town of C̣ur under the government of Beirut, is mentioned in *Bo* 2, m. 5, ll. 12, 15 (475-80) in connection with the famous purple crimson dye (*venym of Tyrie*) extracted from the bodies of certain molluscs (*a maner schelle-fyssch*) used to dye cloth (*purpre*) or wool; similarly in *Bo* 3, m. 4, l. 3 (715-20) there is mention of *faire purpres of Tyrie* for purple cloth, the dress of emperors or kings (see NED "purple" B. 1a and "purper" B I).

Chaucer's form through OFr represents an adaptation of the Lat. adj. *Tyrius* "of, pertaining to Tyre" in Boethius (*Tyrio . . . veneno*).

TYRO, a Tyrian, man of Tyre (Lat. *Tyrus*, *-i* f. Tyre), is used in *CT* B 81 in the combination *Tyro Appollonius* to refer to the novelist Apollonius of Tyre

(Lat. *Apollonius de Tyro*) of uncertain date and identity, where Chaucer has evidently taken the abl. *Tyro* as the nom. of a sb. *Tyro, -onis* (cp. *Macedo*, above).

TRACE, Thrace (Lat. *Thracia, Threcia*), in antiquity an area in northern Greece, in the course of history of fluctuating boundaries and centering on the mountain range of Rhodope (*Rodopeya,-peye,* above) and the river Hebrus, rising in Mt. Haemus and flowing into the Thracian Sea, mod. Maritza(?) was in Chaucer's time under Turkish sway.

It is mentioned as being reached from Athens by rowing in *LGW* 2308-09 (cp. l. 2361, *from Atthenes in a barge*). It is the homeland of Phyllis, daughter of King Sithon of Thrace (*HF* 391), also is a *lond* (*LGW* 2423, 2427, 2434), reached by Demophon from Troy be sea (*se*: ll. 2405, 2419). In *Bo* 3, m. 12, l. 4 (1115-20) it is the home of Orpheus (*poete of Trace*), and in *LGW* 2244 Tereus, kinsman of Mars and husband of Procne, is lord of the land. The worship of Mars and the *grete temple* are alluded to in *Anel* 1-4 (*Trace*, l. 2) and in *CT* A 1972. Among the supporters of Palamon is Lycurgus, *the grete king of Trace* (*CT* A 2129), legendary king of the Thracian tribe of the Edones (cp. Statius' *Thebaid* IV, 386; VII, 180); the latter's garb and his fondness for hunting lion and deer (*CT* A 2137-50) are in keeping with other descriptions of the region (*contré*, A 2137). The wildness of the country and its unfriendly climate are emphasized in *Anel* 2 (*frosty contré*), *CT* A 1973 (*colde, frosty regioun*), while the forbidding countryside is pictured in murals in the oratory of Mars (*CT* A 1975-94). In the Legend of Philomela (*LGW* 2310-12, 2362) something is made of a forest and dark cave, and in *CT* A 1639-42 Thrace is a land where the lion and the bear are hunted.

In two situations Thrace has untraditionally been confused with or substituted for Thessaly (*Tessalie*, above): in *HF* 1572 (3, 482), 1585 (3, 495, *a contré*), 1789 (3, 699) it is the home of Aeolus, god of the winds, who lives and rules there as king; traditionally Aeolus' home was in the Lipari islands, between Italy and Sicily; here there is confusion with Aeolus, a king in Thessaly and grandson of Deucalion (cp. Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 585). Again in *LGW* F 432 (G 422) Alcestis is spoken of as *whilom quene of Trace*, whereas her husband Admetus was king of Pelasgis, a district of Thessaly (Thessalia Pelasgiotis) with his residence in Pherae, now Velestino.

Chaucer's form is OFr.

TROIAN, TROYEN, adj. and sb. (Lat. *Troianus*).

A. adj. pertaining to Troy or its inhabitants, is used of a song (*TC* 2, 825), of the Trojan legend (*gestes*, *TC* 1, 145), of the Trojans Aeneas (*HF* 217), Calkas (*TC* 4, 71-72, 332), Ripheus (*TC* 4, 53), and of the Trojan nation (*HF* 207).

B. sb., sg. and pl., an inhabitant or native of Troy, occurs in *HF* 156, *TC* 2, 977 (var. *Troyens*), 4, 107, 1490, 5, 122, 126, 141, 877, 912, 920; *LGW* 933, and is used specifically of Aeneas in *LGW* 1172, 1211, 1265. For circumlocutions to express "Trojan, sb." see *Troie*, below (*folk of, they, hem of T.*).

Chaucer's form *Troian* looks back to Lat. *Troianus* perhaps by way of Ital. *Troiano* (cp. *Mantoan, Tholsan*, above), while *Troien* is OFr., in turn from Lat. *Troianus*.

TROIANYSSH, adj. Trojan and equivalent to *Troian* A, above, is used in *HF* 201 to define "blood," i.e., "lineage, race." It is formed from *Troian*, above, with the OE suffiix *-isc*, ME *-ish*. Cp. *Grekyssh*, above.

TROIE, Troy (Lat. *Troia*, Turk. *Truva*), of which Ilium, the old poetical name, is the ancient fortified Thraco-Phrygian town (Troy VII, 2 of the archaeologists), whose site is commonly identified with the mound of Hisarlik

(Turk. "place of fortress"), Biga, villayet of Canakkale (= Dardanelles, ancient Hellespont), Turkey. Hisarlik lies some 3-4 m. in from the west end of the Dardanelles and in the fork above the juncture of the Dümberek su (*Symois*, above) and the Mendere çayı (Maeander) or Pinarbasi çayı (Scamander), the latter flowing into the Dardanelles east of the promintory of Yenesehir (Lat. *Sigeum*). Essentially because of its prominence in *TC, Troie* is by far the most frequently used geographical name in Chaucer and the one about which most is told. In *TC* many invented details are supplied and it is clear that Chaucer pictured Troy as much like his own London; see *Mediaeval Studies*, VII (1945), 96-97, 133-35, for a similar treatment of Etzeln burc and Worms by the author of the *Nibelungenlied*.

> "In Troy, there lies the scene,"
>
> Shakespeare, *TC*, Prol. l. 1.

Troy is often mentioned as the scene of the Graeco-Trojan war and especially in *TC* as the place in which persons involved in the war find themselves (*assege, sege, were*); it is the place from which they come, to which they go, and the like: *CT* A 2833, B 288, *4419 (3229), F 210, 1446, G 975 (size emphasized); *BD* 1066, 1120; *Bo* 4, m. 7, ll. 4-5 (1595-1600); *TC* 1, 59 (*to Troie wardes*, 68, 74, 76, 119; 2, 644; 3, 357, 1441, 1452; 4, 77, 91, 93, 119, 140, 336, 533, 661, 1307, 1343, 1441, 1549, 1558, 1630; 5, 28, 45, 91, 197, 393, 426, 609, 616, 729, 765, 779, 874, 912, 916, 960, 1380, 1546, 1662. It is occasionally *Troie town*: *TC* 4, 30; 5, 768, 856, 969, 1006, 1649, also *town of Troie* in *TC* 2, 139, 748, 881; 3, 874; 4, 126, 204-05. In *TC* it is often alluded to merely as *town*: 1, 64, 75, 86, 141, 186, 558, 1076; 2, 189, 378, 379, 737 (*noble town*), 1416; 3, 383, 570, 577, 1772, 1782; 4, 62, 79, 112, 118, 121, 126 (var.), 192, 204, 209,401, 531, 547, 553, 585, 1340, 1380, 1386; 5, 5, 400, 429, 563, 677, 990, 1154; less usually as a *cité*: *Troies cité* (*TC* 1, 100), *Troye the cité* (*LGW* 2404), or merely *cité* in *TC* 1, 59, 129, 149; 2, 1146; 4, 685, 1205, 1479; 5, 906; *LGW* 937. Thrice it is a *place*: *TC* 5, 245, 710, 956. In *TC* 1, 2, 609; 3, 791, 1715; 4, 276, *Troie* identifies the Trojan royal dynasty, in *CT* F 548 it identifies Paris, in *CT* F 306 the siege, in *BD* 1247-48 and *Bo* 4, m. 7, ll. 4-5 (1595-1600) the destruction of the city, and twice the history of the legend of the city: *BD* 326 and *LGW* 1153-54 (cp. *Troian gestes* under *Troian*, above). *Troye contré* (*HF* 146) and *contré* (*LGW* 938, 1279) is the surrounding district of the Troad, also referred to as the *lond* in *HF* 172, *LGW* 1026. A plural form, *thousand Troyes*, is used in *TC* 2, 977 (cp. *Greces twelve* of *TC* 5, 924). It is implied though wrongly that the *Symois* (above) flows through the town (cp. *se* of *TC* 4, 1548-49). Its size is stressed in *CT* G 975.

Troie is also used in several locutions for the adj. *Troian/Troien*: so *blood of Troie* "Trojan lineage" (*TC* 5, 600, and cp. *Troianyssche blood* of *HF* 201); *folk of T.* (*TC* 1, 138, 160; 4, 48, 55, 122; 5, 93, 119, 856 (*folk of T. toun*), 883; *LGW* 1151: *they* (*hem*) *of Troie* (*TC* 1, 135, 136, 148, 150 [var.])

The ramparts (*wal, walles*) of Troy are mentioned in *CT* B 288 and in *TC* 4, 121, 1482; 5, 733, 1145; in *TC* 5, 666, 1112, 1194 the town-walls are wide enough to walk along. Town-gates are likewise noted: *TC* 2, 615, and in *TC* 5, 32, 603, 1138, 1140, 1178, 1192 the gate (sg. and pl.) in question is that by which Criseyde leaves the Greek camp. The gate of *TC* 2, 617-18 is that named for Dardanus, legendary ancestor of the Trojan race, whose name survives in the modern name Dardanelles. The town is marked by high towers and conspicuous buildings from which the Greek camp is visible (*TC* 5, 729).

In antiquity the citadel of Troy was *Pergama* (neut. pl.) or *Pergamum* (neut. sg.); among medieval writers this was supplanted by Ilium, Chaucer's *Ilio(u)n*, above, not mentioned in *TC* though elsewhere: *noble tour of Ylioun* (*LGW* 936), also in *HF* 158, *CT* B 289, *4546 (3356); *castel* (*HF* 163) seems to refer to Ilium, also described as the chief donjon (*dongeoun*) of Troy (*LGW* 937). The pairing *of Troie and of Ilyoun* in *BD* 1248 suggests that Chaucer may have thought of Ilium as an enclave, a town within Troy.

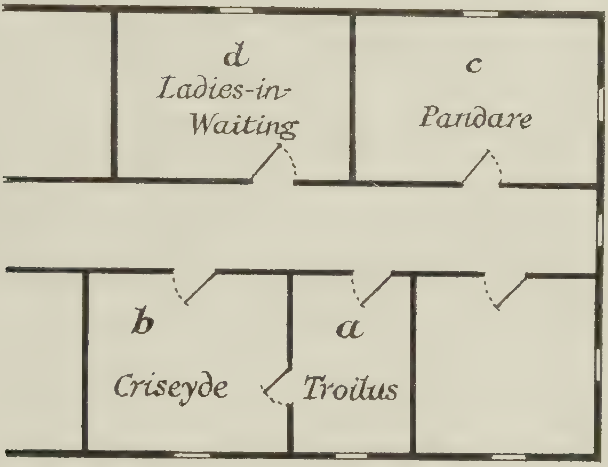
Of the lay-out of the interior of the town little is told, but several scattered architectural monuments are featured, though nothing is said of their relative positions. There are many temples (*TC* 3, 383); one in 3, 540-46 is dedicated to Apollo; special emphasis is given to the temple containing the image of Pallas, the Palladium (*Palladion*) of *TC* 1, 162, 185 (*large*), 267, 317, 323, 363; 5, 566, the portal (*dore*) to which is mentioned in *TC* 1, 180. Another temple is mentioned in *BD* 1068, while in *TC* 5, 564-81 various sites (*places*) are mentioned cursorily. A marble statue of Niobe weeping for her children is mentioned in *TC* 1, 699-700 and is alluded to later in *TC* 1, 759. A House of Parliament is clearly assumed, though only the parliamentary assembly is actually mentioned (*TC* 4, 143, 148 [*place*], 211, 217, 218, 344, 558-59, 664, 1297). The wooden horse, introduced into the town by Sinon, is mentioned in *CT* F 209. Prominent as the setting of much of the action are the residences of Criseyde, Deiphebus, Pandarus, Sarpedon, and Troilus; these Chaucer must have pictured as resembling the dwellings of the wealthy and the great of fourteenth-century London.

Criseyde's residence is a *paleys* (*paleis*) in *TC* 2, 76, 1094, 1252 (*to paleis ward*); 5, 523, 525, 540, 542, 546; a *hous* in 1, 127; 2, 437, 1461; 3, 1581, 4, 823; 5, 528, 541, 575; a *place* in 2, 1013; 3, 218; 4, 1685; 5, 534; it is apostrophized in 5, 540-53, where it is a shrine (5, 553). It is on a *strete* (2, 1015, 1186, 1248 and implicitly so in 3, 1782) with a house across the street (2, 1188, 1189), and is apparently thought of as somewhat outside, or on the outskirts of the town (cp. 2, 1146: *the cité which that stondeth yondre*). At the back of her house is a large *gardyn* (2, 814, 819, 1114, 1117), also called a *yerd* "yard" (2, 820); this back-yard is laid out with shaded and sanded walks (*aleyes*) along which are newly placed benches (2, 820, 822) and is reached from the palace by a set of steps (*steyre*, 2, 813 and implied in 2, 1117), leading down from the ground-floor room (*chaumbre*, 2, 1117). Downstairs is also a *halle* for dining and assembly (2, 1170 ff.; 4, 732), also a *parlour* or living-room (2, 82) presumably smaller than the great hall, with a floor paved with flags, tiles or mosaic (*paved*, 2, 82). Upstairs is a small room or boudoir (*closet*, 2, 599, 1215), Criseyde's bedroom (*chaumbre*, 4, 732-33, 1701, and perhaps 2, 1173), and a living-room with some sort of bay-window (2, 1186, 1192, and cp. 2, 1015), evidently handsomely furnished (2, 1228-29 and cp. 4, 1380). In 5, 531, 534 the place has been closed up and the doors and windows boarded.

Deiphebus' residence is a *hous* (2, 1514, 1540); its existence is implied in 2, 1364 (*a certeyn place*), 1402, 1438, 1480. Like Criseyde's it has a yard (*herber greene*, 2, 1705; *gardyn*, 3, 221) connected with the building by steps (*steire*: 2, 1705; 3, 205, implied in 3, 191). The *grete chaumbre* (2, 1712) would be the great hall, off which is a small room (*chaumbre*: 2, 1646, implied in 2, 1725 [*inward*]).

Pandarus' residence is a *hous* (3, 195, 560, 635). A dining-room is implied in 3, 607; on the same floor with this appear to be sleeping quarters (cp. *yonder*: 3, 663). This is all on the ground floor, if one accepts the existence of the drain (*goter*: 3, 787) between the house and outside mentioned by Pandarus; that Troilus did not enter through it is immaterial. The arrangement of bedrooms is of moment in connection with the intrigue here at issue. The accompanying schematic diagram may well not represent the spacial arrangement pictured by Chaucer—if he had any precise ground plan in mind—but it does not conflict with the action of the persons involved.

For a time Troilus is kept shut up in a little room (*a*) with a window on the street (*stewe*: 3, 601), connected by a secret door (*e*) of some sort (*trappe*: 3, 741; *secré trappe-doore*: 3, 759) opening into Criseyde's room (*b*) (*chaumbre*: 3, 676; *closet*: 3, 687), the door of which, perhaps opening on a corridor, is mentioned in 3, 684, 745, 748. Pandarus' bedroom (*c*) or apartment (*litel closet*: 3, 663; *hous*: 3, 664; *chaumbre*: 3, 788) would appear to be across the corridor (cp. *yonder*: 3, 663; *right overthwart*: 3, 685) and farther down it, i.e., farther out or away from the center of the building (cp. *outer*: 3, 664, almost as if a wing). Likewise, on Pandarus' side of the corridor (cp. 3, 664-65) and somehow across from Criseyde's room (*overthwart*: 3, 684-85) is (*d*) a *myddel chaumbre* (3, 666) where her maids or ladies-in-waiting are put up. Some servants sleep (*f*) just outside her door (3, 745), evidently left ajar during the night and quietly closed by Pandarus after he enters Criseyde's room by way of Troilus' *stewe* through the secret door (3, 748-49).



A Part of Pandarus' Palace

Sarpedon's country-place is said to be a mile from Troilus' palace (5, 403); there Troilus and Pandarus spend a week (5, 434-500).

Troilus' residence is a *paleys* in 1, 324; 2, 933, 1537; 3, 1529, 1534 (*real p.*); 5, 201, 512-13. In 5, 527 it seems to be viewed as a little out of town, as is Criseyde's palace, above. It has a *gardyn* (2, 508; 3, 1738) with a spring (*welle*: 2, 508) presumably forming a pool. Of the interior one hears chiefly of Troilus' bedroom (*chaumbre*: 1, 358, 547; 2, 556, 935; 4, 220, 354; 5, 202, 292) with door, window, and walls mentioned in 4, 232-33, 244, 352; here Troilus spends a good fair bit of his time and commonly in bed. In 5, 514 *chaumbre* refers to a dining-room (cp. 5, 518).

Priam's court, unimportant in the action of the poem, is mentioned in 4, 1392-93.

Little is told of the environs of Troy. Out toward the Greek camp which is visible from Troy (cp. 5, 730) runs a long *valeye* (5, 67, actually mistranslating Boccaccio's *vallo* "rampart"). Some of the surrounding country is thought of as wooded (5, 1144) and accessible from the besieged town (4, 1521 ff.) despite Diomedes' statement that the Trojans *in prisoun ben* (5, 883-84). Somewhere between Troy and the Greek camp is a *feld* or piece of open country (1, 1074; 2, 195) where fighting goes on except in time of truce.

The war and the siege, forming a somewhat dominating backdrop to the poem is referred to as *assege* (1, 464; 2, 107); *assegeden* (1, 60); *sege* (2, 123; 4, 1480), and as *werre* (2, 868(?); 3, 1772; 4, 547; 5, 855). In *CT* F 306 it is *the grete sege of Troie.*

Chaucer's form of the name is OFr.

TROYEN, see TROIAN

V

VERONE, Verona (Lat. *Verona*) on the Adige (Germ. Etsch), prov. of Verona, in antiquity in Gallia Transpadana, is in *Bo* 1, pr. 4, l. 235 (155-60) a *cité* where Boethius defended one Albyn (l. 239), probably Decius Albinus.

Chaucer's form is OFr.; on this name see further *Mediaeval Studies*, VII (1945), 91-92, under "*Berne.*"

VISEVUS, Vesuvius (Lat. *Vesuvius*, *Vesevus*, *Vesaevus*), celebrated volcano in the ancient province of Campania (*Campayne*, above), rising from the eastern border of the Bay of Naples, is in *Bo* 1, m. 4, ll. 8-10 (90-95) called an *unstable mountaigne* with reference to its eruptions; Boethius probably knew directly of those of A.D. 472 and 512. The further description in ll. 10-11: *that writhith out thruw his brokene chemeneyes* (= lateral vents or fumaroles) *smokynge fires* (= characteristic emission of vapor) is accurately descriptive.

Chaucer's *Visevus* looks back to the collateral Lat. *Vesevus*, here used by Boethius.

Essence and *Esse* According to Jean Quidort

AMBROSE J. HEIMAN C.PP.S.

SINCE the publication of his *Correctorium Corruptorii*[1] in 1941, and of his *De Potestate Regia et Papali*[2] in 1942, the name of Jean Quidort has appeared more and more frequently in studies of medieval thought. Historians recognize him as a defender of St. Thomas against the attack of William de la Mare and as an important political thinker. But Quidort, as Grabmann has pointed out[3], was also interested in his own right in many philosophical and philosophico-theological questions, especially in problems of metaphysics and of the psychology of knowledge. It is the purpose of this paper to study one of these problems, the relation of essence and *esse* as developed in the second question of his *Lectura super Libros Sententiarum.*[4]

Quidort's argument, at this point, is placed in the historical setting of the last part of the thirteenth century. By a judicious choice and alignment of opponents, he gradually reduces the problem to a position which, he believes, makes his own solution the only possible one. Indeed, his solution, when he finally presents it, is nothing more than a conclusion from the many criticisms he has given. We will follow him as he leads us along the paths which he considers erring and allow him to point out the difficulties and errors he finds.

Jean opens his discussion with a presentation of the view most radically opposed to his own. Some, he tells us, maintain that while reason distinguishes between *esse* and essence in creatures, they are one and the same reality. This one reality is signified in two distinct modes: *esse* signifying it after the manner of an act; essence, after the manner of a habit. In the same way reason distinguishes between light and the act of illuminating, between wisdom and the act of the wise man, although these distinctions have no counterpart in the world of reality.[5]

There can be little doubt that Jean is here giving a contemporary summary of the position of Siger of Brabant. In his *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam*, Siger tells us that *esse* pertains to the essence of created things. As a result, *res* and *ens* (thing and being) signify but one intention.[6] In explaining this teaching, Siger enumerates three types of names that are convertible when applied to a supposit. Two names are convertible when they signify the same essence in the same way; synonyms are of this type. Other names are convertible although one signifies the essence while the other signifies something added to this essence. These are convertible when the extension of their signification in the supposit is equal, even though the formal aspect expressed is diverse. Thus man and risible are convertible: man is risible. Finally, there are convertible names which signify the same essence and extend equally in their signification to that essence, but in such a way that the essence primarily apprehended is the same in each instance, although apprehended in diverse modes: in one instance, after the manner of an act; in the other, after the manner of a habit. It is thus that the mind apprehends the act of running (*currere*) on the one hand and the running (*cursus*) on the other; the act of living (*vivere*) on the one hand and the living (*animatum*) on the other. Thing (*res*) and being (*ens*) belong in this latter category. They are not synonymous terms, nor do they signify distinct intentions, as do man and risible. Thing and being (*res* and *ens*) signify but one intention, being signifying it after the manner of an act; thing, after the manner of a habit.[7]

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[1] J. P. Müller, *Le Correctorium Corruptorii "Circa" de Jean Quidort de Paris* (Rome, 1941).

[2] J. Leclercq, *Jean de Paris et l'Ecclésiologie du* $XIII^e$ *Siècle* (Paris, 1942).

[3] M. Grabmann, 'Studien zu Johannes Quidort von Paris, O. Pr,' *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (1922), Abh. 3, 43.

[4] The text of the *Lectura* will be quoted according to *Ms* 2165 of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (fol. 85^{rb}-85^{vb}) with corrections from *Ms* 889 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine (fol. 41^{ra}-41^{va}) and *Ms* B III, 13 of the Universitätsbibliothek of Basel ,fol. 85^{rb-vb}).

[5] Fol. 80^{va}: Quidam dicunt quod sunt (*sc.* esse et essentia in rebus creatis) idem realiter, sed differunt secundum rationem solum vel secundum modum significandi, quia essentia id quod significat, significat per modum habitus, esse vero per modum actus. Unde dicunt quod differunt sicut lux et lucere, sapientia et sapere.

[6] *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam* I, 7; ed. Graiff, *Philosophes Médiévaux* I (Louvain, 1948), p. 17: In causatis ipsum esse pertinet ad essentiam causatorum, ita quod res et ens non significant duas intentiones. *Cf.* A. Maurer, '*Esse* and *Essentia* in the Metaphysics of Siger of Brabant,' *Mediaeval Studies* VIII (1946), 68-86; M. Grabmann, 'Neuaufgefundende Quaestionen Sigers von Brabant zu den Werken der Aristoteles,' *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* I (Rome, 1924), 133, ff.

As Father Maurer has pointed out[8], there seems to be no distinction between being (*ens*) and existing (*esse*) in the text of Siger. Whatever can be said of the relation between *ens* and *res* is equally true of the relation between *esse* and essence. It seems, therefore, that it is the mind of Siger that *esse* and essence, while not synonymous, express one and the same *intentio*. They differ only in this that in the first case the mind apprehends its object *per modum actus*; in the second, *per modum habitus*: the position presented by Quidort.[9]

Another opinion distinguishes between corporeal beings and spiritual beings, admitting that there is a real distinction between *esse* and essence in the former, but denying such a distinction in the latter. Thus in the mathematical order there is a real distinction between a magnitude and its *esse*; in the order of nature, between water and its *esse*; but an angel and its *esse* are really identical.[10]

The examples cited by Quidort are drawn from the *De Anima* of Aristotle as translated by William of Moerbeke: *Quoniam autem aliud est magnitudo et magnitudinis esse, et aqua et aquae esse, et sic in multis aliis, non autem in omnibus.*[11] In his first *Quodlibet*[12] Jean cites this text of the *De Anima*, interprets it in the sense presented here in the *Lectura*, and assigns not only the text but also his interpretation to Aristotle. It is therefore possible that in the present instance Jean is also giving his own interpretation of the Aristotelian text. But it seems more probable that he is referring to a contemporary thinker who interpreted Aristotle in the same way and adopted the doctrine of the Stagirite, so interpreted, as his own. Such a position was not novel in the late thirteenth century. In some anonymous *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Metaphysicam* which must have been written toward the end of the thirteenth century, we read that *esse* is related to essence in six different ways, the relation varying according to the being in which *esse* is found; according to the kind of *esse*, that is whether universal or particular; and according to the way in which *esse* is considered, that is whether without or within the intellect. Among these relationships we find the following: in simple substances *esse* and essence, when considered outside the intellect, are not really distinct; in composite substances, however, particular *esse*, considered in the same way, is really distinct from essence.[13] This, or a similar opinion, may well be that to which Quidort refers.

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[7] *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam, loc. cit.*: Ad hoc intelligendum quod tria sunt genera nominum quae convertuntur in suppositis, tamen diversimode. Quaedam sunt nomina quae significant eandem essentiam et eodem modo, sicut nomina synonyma ut Marcus Tullius. Isto modo ens et res nec significant nec convertuntur, quia tunc unum non certificaret reliquum. Secundo, quando unum significat essentiam, aliud autem non significat essentiam, sed additum essentiae, convertuntur tamen in suppositis quia se extendunt ad aequalitatem suppositorum ut homo et risibile, quorum intellectus formales diversi sunt. Tertium est genus nominum in quo quidem sunt quae ad aequalia se extendunt significantia eandem essentiam, ita quod essentia quae primo apprehenditur eadem est, modo tamen diverso apud animam, unum per modum actus aliud per modum habitus, sicut currere et cursus, et animatum et vivere. Modo dico quod res et ens significant eandem essentiam, non tamen sunt duo synonyma nec significant duas intentiones sicut homo et risibile, sed significant eandem intentionem: unum tamen ut est per modum actus ut hoc quod dico ens, aliud per modum habitus et res.

[8] *Op. cit.*, 85-86.

[9] Fol. 80^{va}: Essentia id quod significat, significat per modum habitus, esse vero per modum actus.

[10] *Ibid.*: Alii dicunt quod aliud est judicium de essentia et esse in corporalibus, et aliud in spiritualibus, quia in corporalibus, seu mathematicis sive naturalibus, differunt realiter essentia et esse. Unde in mathematicis aliud est magnitudo et magnitudinis esse; et in naturalibus, aqua et aquae esse. Sed in spiritualibus sunt idem, seu in separatis a materia. Unde idem est angelus et angeli esse.

[11] *De Anima* III, 4, $429^{b}10$; *cf.* St. Thomas Aquinas, *In III de Anima*, 8; ed. Pirotta, p. 231.

[12] *Ms* Paris, B.N. *lat.* 14572, fol. 1^{rb}: Unde in tertio *de Anima* dicit (Philosophus) quod aliud est magnitudo et magnitudinis esse, et aliud aqua et aquae esse, quia in omnibus mathematicis et naturalibus differt esse et essentia, sed non in substantiis separatis. Sed in eis idem est caro et carnis esse, id est, substantia separata est seipsa quia est suum esse.

Jean is content to present these two opinions without comment. They are of such a nature that if his criticisms of the the positions that follow are valid, he will not only be answering the opponents criticized, but will *a fortiori* overthrow the thinking so far presented.

Accordingly, Jean proceeds immediately to the most important of the positions against which he wishes to argue, a position which he characterizes as a *solemnis opinio*. According to this opinion, creaturely *esse* is never really distinct from the essence of the creature. Nevertheless, *esse* does add something to essence: a certain relationship to God, or to the *principium a quo*. This relationship, however, is not something really added to essence; it is only that by reason of which *esse* is said to belong to (*accidit*) the essence.[14]

This is not a mere paraphrase of the opinion of Siger of Brabant. The distinction between *esse* and essence is greater than that which Siger finds between two non-synonymous expressions of one and the same *intentio*. The difficulties that follow from holding that there is only a distinction of reason between *esse* and essence are recognized. If *esse* and essence differ only in reason, essence and *esse* are essentially the same; and when two things are essentially the same, one cannot be understood in conjunction with the opposite of the other. But a created essence can be understood as not existing; essence can be understood in conjunction with *non-esse*.

To avoid this difficulty, a new kind of distinction is introduced: a distinction that is median between the real distinction and the distinction of reason, namely the intentional distinction. It is characteristic of those things which differ intentionally that one can be understood without the other or in conjunction with the opposite of the other, even though they are not really distinct from one another. Thus there is an intentional distinction between man and animal, for animal can be understood without man's being understood, and even with the opposite of man, that is, the irrational: an irrational animal is possible. In the same way the intentional distinction is the magic key which will open the door to my understanding a creaturely essence without at the same time understanding its *esse*, as well as to my understanding of a creaturely essence that does not exist.[15]

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[13] Hiis habitis ad quaestionem dico: Primo, quod in substantiis simplicibus non differt esse et essentia realiter extra animam. Secundo, quod in substantiis compositis differt realiter extra animam capiendo esse particulare extra animam. . . Tertio dico, quod in compositis capiendo esse universale extra animam non differt ab essentia. Quarto, quod in compositis capiendo esse universale in anima non differt realiter ab essentia. Quinto, quod in accidentibus non differt esse ab essentia ratione unius generis. Sexto, quod in omnibus differt esse et essentia secundum modum significandi. *Cf.* M. Grabmann, 'Circa Historiam Distinctionis Essentiae et Existentiae,' *Acta Pont. Academiae Romanae s. Thomae Aq. et Religionis Catholicae* n.s., I (1934), 70.

[14] Fol. 80^{va-b}: Modo autem est una solemnis opinio: quod indifferenter in creaturis idem est essentia et esse, nec differunt realiter sed esse solum super essentiam addit quandam habitudinem seu quemdam respectum ad ipsum Deum, vel ad principium a quo est. Unde, sicut relatio super suum fundamentum nihil reale addit, sicut similitudo nihil reale addit supra albedinem supra quam fundatur similitudo, nisi solum respectum quemdam ratione cujus dicitur quod relatio accidit fundamento, ita ponit quod esse accidit essentiae. Unde secundum istam positionem esse et essentia non differunt realiter.

Undoubtedly we are in the presence of the famous intentional distinction of Henry of Ghent. Jean at no time distinguishes between *esse essentiae* and *esse existentiae* as Henry does. Nevertheless, over and above the fact that he calls this teaching a *solemnis opinio*, Jean's presentation fits the teaching of the *Doctor Solemnis* in all details.

Henry tells us that the creature has a different mode of existing (*modus essendi*) than the creator. The very name *creature* indicates a nature, a thing belonging to one of the predicaments, that of itself does not have actual existing, but only a natural aptitude for its reception. It may receive this *esse* either from a natural agent which from preceding matter produces a form in act which was previously present only potentially, or from a supernatural agent producing the thing from nothing. In this latter case the *esse* was present not in the potency of matter but only in the potency of the efficient cause. Therefore *esse* belongs to a creature, not by reason of its nature, but only because it is the effect of its efficient cause, especially of the first efficient cause.[16]

There are certain things, Henry continues, which by their very essence are the cause of another and thus will always be a cause. Such a being cannot not be and is therefore higher in the order of causality than those that are caused. It gives *esse* to a thing after absolute *non-esse*; this giving is called creation. Of itself, what is caused is not; in relation to its cause, it is. But since what belongs to a thing of itself is prior essentially, though not temporally, to what it receives from another, created *esse* is posterior to created essence by an essential posteriority. Whether a creature has actual *esse* from eternity or not, its *esse* is a received *esse*; created essence does not have actual *esse* unless it receive it from an extrinsic agent. Creaturely *esse* differs, therefore, from essence: *esse* is one aspect (*ratio*) of a thing; essence another. This is true not only of the *esse existentiae* but also of the *esse essentiae*.[17] Although *esse*, whether *esse existentiae* or *esse essentiae* adds nothing real over and above the essence of a creature, the *intentio* of essence is in no way the *intentio* of *esse*.[18]

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[15] Fol. 80^{vb}: Verumtamen, ut evitentur quaedam inconvenientia quae videntur includi in ista positione quia sic essentia jam non posset intelligi cum opposito essendi, quia quae sunt per essentiam idem, unum non potest intelligi cum opposito alterius, et multa talia; dicunt positores istius positionis quod, licet essentia et esse sint idem secundum rem, differunt tamen plus quam secundum rationem, quia differunt intentione. Dicunt enim quod aliqua inveniuntur differe tripliciter: quaedam enim differunt re, sicut illa quorum essentiae sunt diversae, sicut substantia et accidens; quaedam vero ratione, ut forma et actus quia forma dicitur per comparationem ad materiam, actus vero per comparationem ad potentiam vel ad opus; quaedam vero intentione, ut homo et animal, quia hoc genus, illud vero species. Et isto modo, ut dicunt, differunt essentia et esse. Et inde est quod, quia illa quae differunt intentione unum potest intelligi sine altero, immo etiam cum opposito alterius, sicut animal potest intelligi non intellecto homine et etiam cum opposito hominis vel sub opposito quia sub irrationali, ideo dicunt quod essentia potest intelligi non intellecto esse vel sub opposito essendi, scilicet sub non esse.

[16] *Summa* II, 21, 4, 6; ed. Ferrara, 1646, p. 322: Et nota quod istum verum modum essendi aliter habet creatura, aliter creator. Creatura enim nomine suo dicit naturam et rem alicuius praedicamenti quae de se et ratione sua non habet esse in effectu, sed quae solummodo per agens nata est recipere esse tale, et hoc vel per agens naturale ex materia praecedente producendo formam de potentia in actum, vel per agens supernaturale producendo rem de nihilo, quae primo esse non habuit in potentia materiae sed solum in potentia efficientis. Ut sic nulli creato ex natura sua quantumcumque formali conveniat esse in actu, sed solummodo in quantum est effectus suae causae efficientis et maxime primae a qua etiam esse participat suae essentiae. . .

[17] For the meaning of *esse existentiae* and *esse essentiae* in Henry of Ghent, *cf.* J. Paulus, *Henri de Gand* (Paris, 1938), pp. 285 ff.

[18] *Summa* II, 21, 4, 6; *ed. cit.*, pp. 322-3: Postquam autem hoc ita est, tunc cum aliqua ex rebus per essentiam suam fuerit causa esse alterius rei, profecto semper erit causa. Res ergo huiusmodi omnibus causatis est dignior in causalitate, eo quod absolute prohibet rem non esse. Et haec est intentio quae apud sapientes vocatur creatio, quod est dare rei esse post non esse absolute. Causatum enim quantum est in se est ut non sit; quantum vero ad causam suam esse ei ut sit. Quod autem est rei ex seipsa apud intellectum prius est per essentiam, non

The distinction of *intentio* lies in this, that a thing is an essence by reason of its relation to God as its eternal exemplar; an existent, by reason of its relation to God as its efficient cause in time. *Esse* is not something added to the essence of the thing, for the essence in so far as it is an effect of the creator has *esse* formally within itself: God, in causing the essence, gives to it *esse* as its proper act.[19]

Quidort rejects this opinion in its entirety: *Deficit in se, et in suo exemplo, et in sua distinctione.*[20] Henry, he contends, erred at the very beginning of his argument, when he maintained that *esse* adds to essence only a relationship to an efficient principle, and that this is not a real addition. When a new relationship is added to anything, something absolute, the foundation of that relationship, must be added to at least one term of the relation. Now it is true that a relationship is set up between God and a creature by the fact that the creature is the effect of the divine agency. But this relationship begins to be, and it must have a foundation that begins to be, either in the creature or in God. Moreover, this foundation must be something real and absolute. It is impossible that it be found in God, for it is impossible that anything real and absolute be added to God. It can be found only in the creature. Since a creature is related to God precisely by the fact that it receives its *esse* from God, it is *esse* that is the real foundation of the relation. *Esse* is not a relation to God but the real and absolute foundation of the creature's relation to God.[21]

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tempore, eo quod est ei ex alio a se. Igitur esse creatum est post non esse posteritate essentiae. Si autem laxaverit nomen *receptionis*, tunc omne creatum erit incipiens. Per hunc ergo modum esse verum in actu habet omnis creatura ab alio, sive habeat illud ab aeterno, sive non, et sic esse in actu acquiritur essentiae eius quod de se non habet formaliter nisi recipiat ab agente ipsam. Et etiam in omni creatura differunt esse et essentia, et est alia ratio ipsius esse, alia vero ipsius essentiae; non autem solum ipsius esse existentiae, de qua planius est quia illud recipit ipsa de novo et ex tempore. Ex quo patet quod licet, ut praedictum est, esse existentiae rei non addat aliud re super ipsam essentiam, quod tamen sit omnino alia intentio ipsius essentiae et esse existentiae eius. Et non solum alia ratio esse existentiae et ipsius essentiae, sed etiam esse essentiae et ipsius essentiae, licet non sit ita clarum.

[19] *Summa* II, 21, 4, 9; *ed. cit.*, p. 323: Et cum sic, ut dictum est, in omni creatura ut creatura est differunt essentia et esse proprium essentiae ut non possit dici quod essentia sit ipsum esse, ut non solum ratione dicamus in creatura differre essentiam et esse proprium essentiae sed etiam quodammodo contraria intentione, multo fortius dicendum quod in omni creatura sic differunt essentia et esse existentiae eius ut dicatur quod essentia creaturae nullo modo dicenda est esse eius existentia vel esse existentiae eius. Essentia enim, ut dictum est, dicitur res ex respectu ad Deum inquantum ab ipso exemplata est ab aeterno; dicitur autem existens ex respectu ad Deum inquantum ipsa est effectus eius ex tempore. Unde nec dicit esse hoc aliquid rei essentiae additum quia ipsa essentia rei, inquantum est effectus creatoris, in se formaliter habet esse. Deus enim causando naturam essentiae dat ei esse tanquam proprium actum eius in seipsa, sicut proprius actus lucis est lucere qui nihil rei est aliud a luce quam in se agit, etsi non esset extra quod posset illuminare. . . *Cf.* also *Quod.* I, 9; ed. Paris, 1518, fols. 10^{r}-11^{v}; II, 8; fol. 56^{v}; X, 7; fol. 153^{r}-159^{v}; XI, 3; fols. 183^{v}-193^{r}; *Summa* IX, 28, 4; *ed. cit.*, pp. 426-427. For further discussions of the intentional distinction *cf. Summa* II, 28, 4, 6-7; *ed. cit.*, p. 428; II, 27, 1, 24-29; *ed. cit.*, pp. 410-412; *Quod.* V, 6; *ed. cit.*, fol. 238^{r-v}; V, 12; *ed. cit.*, fols. 253^{v}-254^{r}; J. Paulus, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff.

[20] Fol. 80^{vb}.

[21] *Ibid.*: Ista positio deficit . . . in se, cum ponit quod esse supra essentiam addit solum respectum ad principium effectivum, quia impossibile est quod alicui rei adveniat de novo aliquis respectus nisi adveniat sibi vel suo correlativo aliquod absolutum quod sit illius respectus fundamentum; sicut est impossible quod ego de novo efficiar similis alicui nisi aliquod absolutum mihi de novo advenerit vel illi cui similis de novo factus sum, super quod fundetur ratio similitudinis inter me et ipsum. Sed creatura quaecumque, ex hoc quod est effectus Dei, habet habitudinem et respectum ad Deum tanquam ad suum principium effectivum. Quia ergo iste respectus de novo advenit, oportet quod creaturae de novo adveniat aliquod absolutum, vel Deo creanti, quod sit fundamentum istius habitudinis vel respectus. Deo autem creanti nihil absolutum reale potest advenire de novo. Ergo oportet quod illud absolutum adveniat creaturae, vel quod in creatura sit aliquid absolutum quod sit istius respectus fundamentum. Illud autem super quod fundatur ille respectus est esse, quia ex hoc creatura ad Deum refertur quod accipit esse ab eo. Ergo esse est aliquid absolutum in creatura. Etiam deficit praedicta positio quando dicit quod esse dicit respectum.

[22] Fol. 80^{vb}-81^{ra}: Item secundo deficit in exemplo quod animal potest stare cum opposito hominis seu intelligi, quia illa quae sic se habent quod unum potest intelligi non intellecto altero vel cum opposito alterius, talia inter se essentialiter sunt distincta; sicut videmus quod quia materia potest intelligi sub forma et etiam cum opposito formae quia sub privatione, item quia potest

Moreover, one cannot put the relation between *esse* and essence on a par with the relation between genus and specific difference. It is true that essence can be understood without at the same time understanding *esse*; it can even be understood as not existing. But this fact argues to a real distinction rather than to an intentional distinction. Whatever can be understood without another is really distinct from that other. While it is true that animal can be understood as rational or irrational, the animal that can be so understood is not the genus of man. The animal that is man cannot be understood as irrational. In the present instance, however, it is the very same essence that can be understood as existing or as not existing.[22]

Turning to the intentional distinction itself, Quidort is ready to admit that there is such a distinction. It has its application, for instance, when one is speaking of the relation of a whole to its part, a genus to its species; in general, where one thing is included in the understanding of another, as the word itself (*in - tenere*) implies. In such cases, according to Quidort, there is neither a real distinction nor a pure distinction of reason, but one midway between the two. But an intentional distinction so understood is not applicable to the relation between *esse* and essence.[23]

The only other valid use of the intentional distinction is found where one distinguishes by intention. Thus one distinguishes man from animal, man indicating the species; animal, the genus. But even a pure distinction of reason is intentional in this sense; this is not the distinction that Henry seeks.[24]

Therefore there is no sense in which the distinction between *esse* and essence can be called intentional. But Quidort admits that he is not the first to see the difficulties in the position of the *Doctor Solemnis*. Others had tried to correct his teaching by distinguishing *esse* in its relation to the essence and in its relation to the supposit. According to this opinion *esse* is really distinct from essence, but not from the supposit. It is argued, by the proponents of this theory, that as the specific difference limits the genus to a species, so *esse* limits the essence to the supposit; and as rational differs from animal but does not differ from man, so *esse* differs from essence, but not from the supposit.[25]

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intelligi sub privatione et etiam cum opposito privationis quia sub forma, ideo materia est essentialiter distincta ab utroque, a privatione et a forma. Cum ergo essentia possit intelligi sub opposito essendi, oportet ipsam ab esse distinctam esse essentialiter. Nec valet quod adducunt de animali et homine, quod quia differunt intentione ideo animal potest intelligi cum opposito hominis; animal tamen quod est homo nunquam potest intelligi homine non intellecto. Non sic est de essentia et esse. Immo etiam eadem essentia numero potest intelligi et sub esse et sub opposito essendi. Une possum intelligere Sortem esse, et possum intelligere Sortem non esse.

[23] Fol. 81^{ra}: Item deficit positio tertio in distinctione, quia bene verum est quod distinctio bona est in se, sed non est ad propositum. Verum enim est quod quaedam differunt solum secundum rationem, ut illa quae sic se habent ut quidquid continetur in uno contineatur in alio, sicut Marcus Tullius, homo, animal rationale mortale. Alia differunt secundum rem, sicut illa in quorum uno nihil continetur quod contineatur in alio, sicut homo et lapis. Alia autem intentione, ita quod intentio non sit eadem dictio sed duae, scilicet praepositio cum suo casuali, id est 'in', 'tenere' et 'teneri', quod unum contineatur ab altero sicut pars et totum, genus et species, quae non differunt totaliter secundum rem, nec solum secundum rationem, sed in hoc quod est continere et contineri; quia, si consideretur genus quantum ad id quod actualiter in se includit, et species similiter quantum ad id quod includit actualiter, species continet genus et adhuc aliquid amplius, quoniam differentiam specificam. E contrario autem est si consideretur genus quantum ad id quod habitualiter continet, quia sic continet omnes species sub se. Sed tunc illud membrum intentione differre non esset ad propositum eorum, quia sic non dicunt ipsi esse et essentia differre.

[24] *Ibid.*: Si autem accipiatur intentione differre prout intentio est una dictio, sic adhuc verum est quod quaedam differunt intentione, sicut homo et animal, quia hoc est genus et illud species. Sed adhuc sic non esset ad propositum, quia etiam illa quae ponunt differre secundum rationem etiam differunt intentione, quia hoc est definitio, animal rationale mortale, et illud est definitum, scilicet homo. Unde adhuc illa distinctio non multum facit pro eis.

[25] Fol. 81^{ra}-81^{rb}: Item aliqui alii voluerunt corrigere istam positionem. Unde dixerunt quod esse potest comparari ad ipsam essentiam vel quidditatem absolute, vel potest comparari ad suppositum. Si ad essentiam, sic dicunt quod differt ab essentia quia est praeter rationem absolutam ipsius essentiae. Si ad suppositum, sic non differt sed est idem, ut dicunt, quia sicut rationale

In locating this position we must seek for a thinker who is willing to follow Henry of Ghent in some respects but is, at the same time, his critic. Can we see here a reference to Richard of Middleton? In speaking of the relation between essence and *esse* in the angels, Richard writes that to a great extent he agrees with those who say that actual *esse* adds nothing absolute beyond the essence of the angel, but only a real relation to Him Who gives *esse*. This seems to be the position of Henry. Their argument, Richard admits, is cogent, for it rests upon the distinction between substance and accident. Now a substance naturally exists in itself; an accident naturally exists in another, but not as a part: an accident cannot exist of itself except by miracle. If, therefore, actual *esse* were something absolute and other than the essence of the angel, it would be an accident of the essence, for it would not naturally exist in itself but in the essence. This, however, is impossible, for *esse* is more actual than essence, its subject, whereas no accident can be more actual than its subject.[26]

Moreover, Aristotle taught that an accident makes a substance to be this or that, but it does not make it to be simply. If then *esse* were an accident of the angelic essence, the *esse* proper to it would not make the angel simply to be. *Esse*, therefore, is not an accident; beyond the essence of the angel *esse* adds only a relation to God in so far as He gives that *esse*. *Esse* is not an absolute; it is only a relation. Essence, however, is an absolute. Since an absolute cannot be equated with what is only a relation, the *esse* of a creature cannot be said to be the essence. Now a relation, although not something absolute, is nevertheless something. Therefore we must grant that there is a real composition of *esse* and essence in the angel and in every creature.[27]

Both Richard and Henry maintain that beyond essence *esse* adds only a relation to the efficient cause of *esse*. Richard, however, rejects Henry's conclusion that the distinction between *esse* and essence is only intentional; for Richard, it is a real distinction. But in what does this real distinction consist? At another place, Richard tells us that what is signified by essence is an absolute; *esse*, however, signifies the essence plus a certain relation to the same essence. *Esse* is the substance in so far as it subsists in itself. It is true that *esse* signifies the essence, but only in so far as essence is a part of what *esse* signifies, for *esse* is a composite of essence and a relation. It follows that it is incorrect to say that the *esse* of a creature is its essence, for no composite can be predicated of one of its parts.[28] Therefore *esse* is the subsistent whole,

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contrahit animal ad hominem et universaliter differentia specifica genus ad speciem, ita dicunt quod essentia ad suppositum contrahitur per esse. Et ideo dicunt quod, licet esse differat ab essentia, non tamen a supposito, sicut licet rationale differat ab animali non tamen differt ab homine.

[26] *In II Sent.*, 3, 1; ed. Brescia, 1591, pp. 49-50: Alii dicunt, quibus magis consentio, quod esse actuale nihil absolutum dicit super essentiam ipsius angeli, sed tantummodo realem relationem ad datorem ipsius esse. Qui declarant sic quia talis est distinctio inter accidens et substantiam quod substantia nata est existere in se, accidens autem dicitur quod natum est existere in alio non sicut pars, nec potest existere per se nisi miraculose. Si ergo esse actuale esset aliqua res absoluta ultra essentiam ipsius angeli, cum non sit natum existere in se sed in essentia esset quoddam accidens ipsius essentiae; quod est inconveniens quia cum esse sit quid actualius quam essentia, accidens plus haberet de actualitate quam subiectum, quod inconveniens est. *Cf.* E. Hocedez. *Richard de Middleton* (Louvain and Paris, 1925), pp. 398-401.

[27] *In II Sent.*, 3, 1; *ed. cit.*, p. 50: Praeterea, cum secundum Philosophum, I *de Generatione*, substantia non habeat esse simpliciter per aliquod accidens, sed esse tale, iam essentia angeli per suum esse non haberet esse simpliciter eo esse quo simpliciter competit creaturae. Restat ergo quod ultra essentiam ipsius angeli esse non addit nisi relationem ad Deum inquantum est dator ipsius esse. Et ideo, quia essentia dicit absolute quid, esse dicit in relatione ad datorem ipsius esse, ideo haec praedicatio non recipitur: esse creaturae est ipsa essentia, sicut nec ista: currere est cursus, eo quod illud quod cursus dicit absolute currere significat in relatione ad currentem. Quia tamen relatio creaturae ad datorem esse res aliqua est, quamvis non absoluta, ideo sive ponatur quod esse creaturae dicat aliquam rem absolutam ultra essentiam ipsius creaturae, sive ponatur quod tantum addat super essentiam relationem realem ad datorem ipsius esse, concedendum est quod in angelo et in omni creata substantia est aliqua realis compositio ex essentia et esse.

[28] *Quod.* I, 8; ed. Venice, 1509, fol. 4^{v}: Quarto declaro quod non obstante hoc quod

essence plus a relation to God, or as Quidort puts it, the supposit. There is a real distinction between *esse* and essence, but not between *esse* and the supposit.

Quidort is even less pleased with this teaching than with that of Henry, for, he argues, if *esse* were related to the supposit as the specific difference is related to the species, then just as man cannot be irrational so also the supposit could not not be. This conclusion is manifestly false. Moreover, since *esse* is the act of the supposit, the supposit supposes rather than constitutes *esse*.[29]

All of these attempts to explain the relation between *esse* and essence as less than a real distinction have failed. *Esse* is not essence; it is added to essence. Positively, Quidort offers three arguments for his position. First of all, God is the efficient cause of creatures; He makes them to be. But if *esse* is not really distinct from essence, creation is impossible, for what belongs to the essence of a thing cannot come to it from an extrinsic agent. Man is not made to be man, but he is made to be.[30]

Moreover, what belongs to a thing by its essence belongs to it of necessity. Therefore even though we were to grant that God could create a being whose *esse* is not really distinct from its essence, we would have to maintain that that creature is a necessary product of the divine efficiency. The identification of *esse* and essence in a creature is a denial of the freedom of God's creative activity.[31]

Finally, what is essential to a being cannot be separated from it. If, then, *esse* were not really distinct from essence, no creature could cease to be. The real distinction is but a necessary consequence of the creaturely status of the things that God has made.[32]

On the basis of this real distinction, Quidort reaches some interesting conclusions concerning *esse*. *Esse* has a formal principle, a formal cause; this formal cause of *esse*, however, is not the substantial form of the composite. Form gives *esse* to the composite, but that *esse* is not *esse* as such, but rather this or that *esse*. The substantial form may be considered either as form or as formal cause. It is the form of matter, for it informs matter; it is not, however, the formal cause of matter, for it does not make matter to be matter. Of the composite it is the formal cause, and it is to the composite that it gives *esse*: it makes a man to be a man, a donkey to be a donkey, etc. But the form cannot be said to be the form nor the formal cause of *esse*; it does not inform *esse*,

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esse substantiae creatae non dicat aliquid absolutum super essentiam substantiae cuius est esse, quod tamen haec non sit recipienda: essentia substantiae creatae est suum esse. Quare essentia nominat quod nominat modo absolutissimo; esse autem substantiale actualis existentiae nominat ipsam essentiam et quandam relationem cum ea. . . Dicit ergo esse actualis existentiae ipsam substantiam ut est substentata in se ipsa vel ut est substentans se ipsam. Quod ergo dicit essentia absolute, dicit esse actuale ipsius cum quadam relatione ad seipsam ut ad suppositum. Et ita cum dico essentiae (*lege*: essentia) substantiae est suum esse, praedicatur compositum ex essentia et illa relatione, sive sit rei sive rationis, de ipsa essentia absolute dicta. Et sic quodammodo praedicatur compositum de altera parte. Talis ergo praedicatio non est recipienda.

[29] Fol. 81^{rb}: Adhuc illud est minus bene dictum quam primum, quia si esse se haberet ad suppositum sicut differentia specifica ad speciem, tunc sicut species, scilicet homo, non potest esse non rationalis, sic suppositum non posset non esse; quod manifeste falsum est. Item quia esse est actus suppositi, supponit ipsum esse, non constituit.

[30] *Ibid.*: Et ideo dico quod esse est accidens creaturae per illum modum per quem illud quod advenit alicui dicitur esse accidens. Et differt realiter ab essentia creaturae, quia si non differret et esset essentialiter idem, tunc nunquam creatura aliqua produceretur a Deo, quia illud quod inest rei essentialiter convenit ei nullo auctore. Unde homo est homo nullo auctore, ita quod semper homo fuit homo. Etsi homo non sit, homo est homo.

[31] *Ibid.*: Unde etiam, ut dicunt, nullo auctore sigillum est sigillum. Sed sigillum est sigillum de necessitate. Et sic Deus in esse nihil produceret, et dato quod produceret, non produceret per voluntatem, sed per necessitatem.

[32] *Ibid.*: Item quod convenit alicui essentialiter non potest ab eo separari. Unde secundum quod dicitur in libro *Posteriorum* triangulo non existente adhuc triangulus habet tres angulos. Si ergo esse esset idem realiter cum ipsa essentia creaturae, nunquam creatura posset amittere esse, sicut creatura non potest amittere quin sit creatura; quod manifeste apparet falsum esse.

nor does it make *esse* to be *esse*. The formal principle of *esse* is entity; the efficient principle, God alone:

> Convenienter dicitur quod forma dat esse. Dico quod hoc pro tanto dicitur quia dat hoc esse, ut hominem et hujusmodi. Unde advertendum quod forma dicitur alicujus forma, alicujus vero formalis causa, alicujus vero neutrum. Respectu enim materiae dicitur forma quia ipsam informat; non tamen causa formalis quia non dat materiae quod sit materia, sed quod sit homo. Unde dicit Avicenna scilicet quod forma non est nisi materiae. Dicitur autem causa formalis respectu compositi cui dat esse ut esse hominem vel esse asinum et hujusmodi. Respectu vero esse, nec est forma nec causa formalis, sed entitas est formale principium essendi; Deus vero effectivum, ut dictum est.[33]

In his first *Quodlibet*, Quidort reaches an even more startling conclusion: God can produce *esse* without essence:

> Deus potest producere aliquid quod non est determinatae naturae tam ex parte materiae quam ex parte esse, quia materia, cum non sit determinata ad genus nec speciem nisi per formam, si detur ei esse per amorem, quod credo Deum posse facere, absque forma per quam praedeterminetur ad quidditatem hominis vel asini, per formam, scilicet, hujus vel illius, erit materia illa nec in genere nec in specie, quia nihil per esse reponitur in genere vel specie sed per formam; et sic materia erit ens, sed non aliquod ens. Et hoc dico possibile si essentia differt ab esse realiter, sicut credo. Similiter dico de esse quod est, secundum se, indeterminatum ad genus et speciem licet sit actus existentium in genere. Unde reducitur ad genus et ad speciem rei cujus est. Deus igitur potest creare illud esse quod est aliud ab essentia et potest sibi conferre esse per se vel entitatem, et sic erit separatum ab essentia; sed non secundum quod esse vel actus, sed secundum id quod est, potest ab essentia separari virtute divina.[34]

We note that Quidort bases his argument upon the real distinction between *esse* and essence, and the doctrine that entity, which he here identifies with *esse per se*, is the formal cause of the *esse* of a creature. Since *esse* is really distinct from essence, God could create *esse* without essence. The *esse* so created would be the act of existing-things-in-general (*actus existentium in genere*). God could effect this by creating *esse* in separation from essence and conferring upon it entity or *esse per se*. The *esse* so created would not be *esse* as act, but as quiddity (*secundum id quod est*), although Quidort does call it the act of existing-things-in-general.

Quidort seems to be saying that there is a quidditative aspect to creaturely *esse*. *Esse* as act is, apparently, entity or *esse per se*, the formal or actual principle of that *esse* which is correlative to essence; quidditative *esse* or *esse secundum id quod est* is the material principle. The composite of these two elements is the *esse* that is distinguished from essence. God is its efficient cause. He can effect it either in union with or in separation from essence. In the first case the result is the act of an individual being; in the latter, the act of existing-things-in-general..

Such is Jean Quidort's teaching concerning the *esse* of creatures. Against the attacks of William de la Mare, he had been an ardent defender of St. Thomas. But here, in philosophy's basic quest, he departs far from the Angelic Doctor. To be sure, he insists with St. Thomas upon the real distinction between *esse* and essence in created beings, but how far removed is his quidditative *esse* from that act of existing so magnificently described by Aquinas; from the actuality of every act; from the perfection of every perfection![35]

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[33] Fol. 81^{vb}.

[34] *Quod.* I, 7; *Ms* Paris, B.N. *lat.* 14572, fol. 3^{rb}.

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[35] *De Potentia* VII, 2, ad 9: Hoc quod dico *esse* est inter omnia perfectissimum: quod ex hoc patet quia actus est semper perfectior potentia. Quaelibet autem forma signata non intelligitur in actu nisi per hoc quod esse ponitur. Nam humanitas vel igneitas potest considerari ut in potentia materiae existens, vel ut in virtute agentis, aut etiam in intellectu: sed hoc quod dico *esse* est actualitas omnium actuum, et propter hoc est perfectio omnium perfectionum.

Concerning the Accessibility of Arabic Influences to the Earliest Provençal Troubadours.*

A. J. DENOMY C.S.B.

I

IN the south of France, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, are found altars, circular and rectangular, with moulded, raised borders which give the appearance of basins. One such is found at Capestang, executed in the reign of Charles the Simple, i.e. at the extreme end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, two in the Church of Notre Dame at Quarante consecrated in 982, one at the Cathedral of Rodez done during the bishopric of Deusdedit (961-1004) and at the Cathedral of Gerona consecrated in 1038. Others are of the eleventh century and are located at St. Sernin at Toulouse and at St. Pierre le Vieux at Cluny. These altars are related in material, form and in type of ornamentation.[1] Paul Deschamps has shown that the marble from which they are constructed was quarried in the Department of Herault, possibly at Arles-sur-Tech and Béat, both Cluniac estates, or more likely at Saint-Pons-de-Thomière, another Cluniac centre which provided the white grey-veined material. He is inclined to locate the workshop from which these altars emerged within the Cluniac monastery itself.[2]

What is of interest in these altars is the ornamentation more or less common to them. Between the edge and hollow runs a band on which are sculptured semi-circular lobes opening in towards the centre of the table, framing the basin-like centre. On the bands and between them and the basin about the lobes are motifs that are similar in character: horseshoe arcs, delicate flowerwork and lozenges. In the opinion of Deschamps these witness a style of art that shows remarkable relationship to Spanish Moorish sculpture.[3] There are, for example, numerous analogies between these motifs and the decoration of leaves on capitals and archstones of various monuments of Muslim art in Spain of the same period.[4] Puig y Cadalfalch points out no less striking analogies between these altar decorations and those of the Beatus manuscripts, especially that of Ashburnham done in 926 at the monastery of Saint-Michel d'Escalada.[5] The inference is that the same workshop was responsible for the production of these altars and that sculptors made use of themes of Arabic origin transmitted to them by a Mozarabic manuscript for their ornamentation.[6] The inference is too that these altars, scattered over a region comprised within Toulouse, Montpellier and Gerona, were the product of Cluniac artists and artisans or were directed by them. We know the name of one of these artists; it is Bernard Gilduin. His name appears on the altar table at St. Sernin at Toulouse consecrated in 1096 by Urban II. And that is not a Muslim name.[7]

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[1] Paul Deschamps, 'Tables d'autel de marbre exécutées dans le Midi de la France au X^e^ et au XI^e^ siècle,' *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), 137-68. Cf. also, 'L'autel romane de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse et les sculptures du cloître de Moissac,' *Bulletin archéologique*, (1925), 239 ff.

[2] *Art. cit.*, 161. Raymond Rey locates the quarry at Béat; *La Sculpture romane languedocienne* (Paris, 1936), p. 24.

[3] *Art. cit.*, 148.

[4] J. Puig y Cadalfalch, 'Origine musulmane de motifs de décoration figurant sur les rebords de tables d'autel du XI^e^ siècle,' *Bulletin de la société nat. des Antiquitaires de France*, (1928), 150.

[5] *Art cit.*, 149-52. For the Beatus manuscripts and their influence on the sculpture of the South of France, cf. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e^ siècle en France* (Paris, 1928), pp. 4-17; Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 58-78. La sculpture languedocienne, avec le tympan et les chapiteaux de Moissac, allait naître de l'Apocalypse de Beatus, c'est-à-dire de la miniature mozarabe; Georges Gaillard, *Les Débuts de la sculpture romane espagnole* (Paris, 1938), p. xxvi.

[6] Raymond Rey links the technique employed in the formation of these altars to some of the oldest sculptures preserved in Saint-Sernin at Toulouse (consecrated 1096) and in the cloister of Moissac (before 1100). It is his opinion that the same marble-workers were responsible for the altar and the seven panels preserved in the deambulatory at St. Sernin. Cf. *L'Art romane et ses origines* (Paris, 1945), pp. 369-71 and *op. cit.*, p. 26.

In miniature this is a picture of what was transpiring in art and architecture in the south of France before and at the time of the earliest troubadours: the infiltration of Spanish Moorish influence. It was a process that was to continue and to reach its zenith during the twelfth century and to spread from the west and south into the north of France. The effect of that infiltration was not great but it is unmistakable: a number of themes drawn from miniatures, ivories and coffrets and translated onto statues, capitals and tympana; a few picturesque architectural motifs brought from Muslim Spain to ornament the relatively simpler and more severe details of churches and monasteries: the horseshoe and trefoiled arch, polylobed arcs, cornices with rolled undersides, alternate and polychromed key arches, framed portals and ornamented tympana.[8] Lambert has shown the contribution made by the ribbed cupola, ultimately derived from the Great Mosque at Cordova and seen in churches in Spain, towards the rise of the pointed arch in the Romanesque architecture of Southern France.[9]

Within the limits of time allowed for this paper, the instances of definite Muslim influence on the art and architecture of Southern France must be few and selective. They will be confined to the late eleventh and to the early decades of the twelfth century because it is within that period that lies the formation of the idea of Courtly Love and the poetic activity of the earliest troubadours: Guillaume IX, Cercamon, Marcabru, Bernard de Ventadour and so on. Dating French and Spanish monuments of this period is a hazardous undertaking even for the expert and I am well aware of the lack of unanimity that exists between the archeologists who have been called—somewhat ironically—the proponents of French orthodoxy and those historians of art who have attempted to overthrow their established chronology. Hence, in illustrating briefly the fact that there are monuments in Southern France that betray Arabic influence before and at the time of the earliest troubadours, I shall select only those churches and monasteries the dates of which are a matter of general agreement or whose dates have been assigned by competent authority and as such generally accepted.

At Cluny, in the triforium of the surviving transept of the abbatial church (begun in 1088, consecrated in 1095 and completed in 1112), each of the circular arches is edged with a series of touching semi-circles which form a scallop about the arch itself. Such semi-circular lobes edging arch or window are a Muslim motif prominent in their great Mosques.[10] The arches of the triforium at Charité-sur-Loire (consecrated in 1107) are decorated on the same principle except that they are polylobed, that is the little semi-circles are no longer sculptured in the stone about the arch but are component parts of the arch itself; the arches are made of these touching semi-circles rather than decorated by them.[11] At Moissac, a Cluniac monastery, the portal of the church is polylobed and the sculptured figures on each side of the porch are set under trefoiled arches.[12]

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[7] Paul Deschamps, *art. cit.*, 152. Cf. also J. Puig y Cadafalch, *La Géographie et les origines du premier art roman* (Paris, 1935), pp. 378-81.

[8] Henri Terrasse enumerates and groups conveniently the Hispano-Moorish motifs which appear in the art and architecture of southern France; *L'Art hispano-mauresque dès origines au XIII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1932), pp. 438-49.

[9] E. Lambert, 'Les Premiers voûtes nervées françaises et les origines de la croisée d'ogives,' *Revue archéologique*, (1933), 235-44.

[10] Emile Mâle, 'L'Espagne arabe et l'art roman,' ch. III of *Art et artistes du moyen âge* (Paris, 1928), pp. 41-4, reprinted *Revue des deux mondes* 78 (1923).

[11] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 48.

[12] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 85.

The great door of Cluny, as reconstructed from fragments (ca. 1115) was semicircular in shape and enclosed within a rectangular frame. It was set after the fashion of an Arab *arraba* with a line of arcading about it, joined to it by a frieze of sculptured roundels.[13] As in Muslim monuments, especially at Cordova, the horizontal band of the frame formed an exact tangent to the door itself.[14]

At Vézelay, the south side and nave vaults were begun in 1089. Their cross arches are emphasized by alternating blocks of brown and white local stone. These give a particolored decoration the model of which is to be sought in Muslim buildings. The oriental effect is heightened by the use of tie rods.[15]

In the cloister of Moissac is an inscription that shows that it was in construction in 1100 and that the pier sculptures were executed in that year. On the abacus of a pillar and framing its ornamentation is an inscription in soufic characters, awkwardly carved by an artist ignorant of their meaning.[16] Their presence argues an artist who had been in contact with the Muslim world. That contact is heightened by the capitals with their sharply etched lace-like net work and palm leaves that recall Andalusian ivories.[17] Similar decoration of capitals inspired by Moorish design are found at St. Guilhem-le-Desert whose choir dates from 1076.[18]

The old Romanesque basilica of Saint Front at Périgueux was consecrated in 1047, completed in 1077 and restored after a fire in 1120. Before its restoration, in the steeple below the cornices were peculiarly formed modillions some of which are still preserved in the local Museum.[19] They are brackets or corbels that received the secondary thrust of pillars descending from the cornices. In profile they have the appearance of superimposed and rolled leaves; from the front they look like horizontal flute-like cylindrical scrolls. They are perhaps one of the most striking features of Muslim architecture common in Arabic and Mozarabic buildings.[20] At St. Sernin at Toulouse, these modillions are decorated with animal and human figures.[21] Such modillions are prominent in the apse of Notre Dame du Port at Clermont where they support the cornices of the apse and chapel.[22] This church, characterized by trefoiled arches in the tribunes of the nave and by a series of little cupolas in the form of eight-petalled flowers between the modillions and the cornices that recall those in the chapel of the *mihrab* at Cordova,[23] was still in the process of building in 1185.[24] Emile Mâle is of the opinion, based on the findings of excavations, that the present church is but a copy of the old cathedral before which Urban II preached the Crusades and that this imitation of Muslim art and architecture characterized the original building of the eleventh century.[25]

Most of these themes and motifs of Moorish origin appear in the cathedral of Le Puy. The relationship between Le Puy and Muslim Spain was a close and continuous one beginning with the mid-tenth century. In recent years a heap of Arabian coins was discovered there among which was a French coin struck in the tenth century and pierced through as though to be hung as an ornament in the necklace of a Muslim woman.[26] Emile Mâle points to a statement made by a Dominican to an unnamed Archbishop of Lyons and recorded by Vincent of Beauvais to the effect that the Saracens were wont to come from the West to lay their offerings at the feet of Our Lady of Puy that she might preserve them from thunderbolts and from storms.[27]

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[13] Joan Evans, *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 125.

[14] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 46.

[15] Joan Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Cf. Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 81.

[16] Cf. André Michel, *Histoire de l'art* I^2 (Paris, 1905), p. 617.

[17] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 85.

[18] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 87. Cf. Henri Terrasse, *L'Art hispano-mauresque*, p. 448.

[19] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 75. Cf. Marcel Aubert, 'L'Eglise Saint-Front de Périgueux,' *LXXXX^e Congrès archéologique de France*, (1929), 22 ff.

[20] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 55. Cf. H. Terrasse, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4.

[21] Henri Terrasse, *op. cit.*, p. 443, note 4.

[22] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 56.

[23] Emile Mâle, 'La Mosquée de Cordoue,' Ch. II, *Art et artistes*, p. 33, reprinted from *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1912,

[24] Cf. Arthur Kingsley Porter, 'Compostella, Bari and Romanesque Architecture,' *Art Studies* I (1923), 20-1.

[25] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes*, p. 58.

[26] Cf. Emile Mâle, *ibid.*, pp. 63-4.

At Le Puy are a group of buildings that evidence this close relationship: the Cathedral with its polychrome façade, horseshoe arches, modillions with rolled undersides, its portals of sculptured wooden doors bordered with an inscription in soufic characters, its transept in white and black and its cloister with keystone arches in alternate white and black stone; the Temple of Diana, originally the chapel of the old hospital, with its polylobed arches; the chapel of Saint-Michel d'Aiguilhe with its trefoiled arches.[28] It is true that the steeple and the façade of the Cathedral, the cloister except for the southern galley, the portal and the steeple of the chapel are of the mid- and late twelfth century. In his monumental study, Ahmad Fikry is inclined to view the artistic details of this homogenous group not as a superficially superimposed assemblage of motifs borrowed from Spain and distributed here and there, but as the considered result of a mature plan and spirit. For him that plan and spirit were initiated by Peter II, bishop of Le Puy (1050-73), on his return from Compostella in 1063. The man who put that plan into practice was an architect, possibly a fellow pilgrim of the bishop, a master of the art of his own native province and open to suggestions and sensitive to lessons to be derived from distant models.[29]

These are a few instances of certain Muslim influence on the art and architecture of Southern France before and at the time of the earliest troubadours. Emile Mâle has said of these motifs and themes: *ce ne sont, on le voit, que quelques ornements.*[30] Even these few details are unmistakable evidence of the force and fecundity of Moorish influence and of the intimate and fruitful contact between Muslim Spain and Christian France in the realm of art and architecture at the end of the eleventh and at the beginning of the twelfth century.

These contacts were made by Crusader, by Cluny and by the Pilgrimage of St. James of Compostella. Organized crusades from France into Spain began as early as 1018 and until 1120, roughly the period that concerns us, some twenty such expeditions were undertaken by French chivalry. During that time thousands of armed men crossed the Pyrenees to protect the precarious interests of Northern Spain and to effect the expulsion of the Moors. It was with the aid of French knights and their men-at-arms that the Reconquest attained its first successes and that Toledo was recaptured in 1085. As Spanish Islam began to yield and its frontiers to recede, Andalusia and the greater part of Castille became largely Christian. By the late eleventh century, a part of France was put in definite contact with the north of Spain, the domain of Hispano-Moorish art.[31]

From the last quarter of the eleventh century, it was Cluny and its order which was the soul of these Crusades and assured them of continuity and organization.[32] The work of the Cluniac monks was of paramount importance in the reorganization of the Church in reconquered territory. From Cluny and Cluniac monasteries, during the abbacies of Odilon and Hugh, at the invitation of Ferdinand I (1035-65) and his successor Alfonso VI, monks came to rebuild and establish monasteries, to reform a clergy that had fallen low in sanctity, discipline and letters, to found dependent priories of their own that grew rapidly in power and influence.[33] Through the churches and abbeys they constructed they contributed to the propagation of Romanesque art and architecture and enriched them with motifs borrowed from Spanish Christian and Muslim art and architecture. They were the channels through which such motifs were brought back to be adapted to their own projects in their own land.[34]

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[27] *Speculum morale,* chapter entitled *De sacrilegio locali,* pointed out by Mâle, *ibid.,* pp. 64-5.

[28] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes,* pp. 63. Cf. Ahmad Fikry, *L'Art roman du Puy et les influences islamiques* (Paris, 1934), where these monuments and their debt to Moorish influence are studied in minute detail.

[29] Ahmad Fikry, *op. cit.,* pp. 281-3.

[30] Emile Mâle, *Art et artistes,* p. 88.

[31] For a survey of these crusades and their varying fortunes, cf. P. Boissonnade, *De Nouveau sur le Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1923), pp. 3-68. Ramón Menéndez Pidal takes exception to the exaggerated claims made by Boissonnade and depreciates the importance of these crusades in freeing Spain from the Arabs and in emancipating Spain from pagan oppression, cf. *España del Cid,* tr. Harold Sunderland, *The Cid and His Spain* (London, 1934), pp. 458-61. A reexamination of the question is made by Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles* (Paris, 1949), ch. III, 'Les Croisades d'Espagne. La France et la réconquête espagnole,' pp. 125-93. Cf. especially, pp. 139-65.

[32] Cf. Boissonnade, *op. cit.,* p. 11; Defourneaux, *op. cit.,* p. 139 ff.

Simultaneously with the Crusades and as early, if not earlier, there was yet another movement into Northern Spain and back again. Every year thousands of pilgrims made their way along the southern roads to reach their goal, St. James of Compostella. The zenith of the popularity of this pilgrimage was the early years of the twelfth century which saw the elevation of Compostella to the dignity of a metropolitan see rivalling Toledo, and the culmination of the work of Diego Gelmirez its archbishop, seconded by Cluny, to make St. James universally recognized as a centre of pilgrimage rivalling Rome, Jerusalem and Ephesus.[35] Even before its Golden Age, for a century and a half, Compostella had exerted its attraction to pilgrims. As early as the mid-tenth century, the first pilgrims had crossed the Pyrenees into Galicia. As the Moors were pushed back, the popularity of the Pilgrimage grew under the agency and instrumentality of Cluny. Charters and chronicles preserve the names of famous men, lay and ecclesiastic, who journeyed there in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[36] By the time of Ferdinand I (1033-65) the Pilgrimage was well established.

Walking along the single road, the *camino francés*, that leads from Jaca and Puenta la Reina to end at Compostella, the Christian pilgrim and traveller encountered the Mozarabs and their churches and monasteries.[37] They would see there evidence of Arabic art and architecture. One has only to place the map of that road over a map of Northern Spain marked with localities of Mozarabic interest to be aware of it.[38] The Mozarabs were Spanish Christians who after the conquest of Spain by the Mohammedans, lived in intimate contact with their conquerors, began to assimilate their manner of life, their language, their customs and culture, a process which continued in varying degree until the Reconquest and the expulsion of the Arabs. Their art and architecture adapted certain Moorish features to their traditional art and architecture.[39] The results are marked by certain features that have come to be accepted as elements of their style: the modillion with 'rolled' underside, semi-circular and trefoiled arches, polylobed arcs, just the features that have been enumerated in Southern France. Muslim influence too pervaded the appurtenances of worship: crucifixes, candelabras, ivories and manuscripts.[40]

These were some of the memories added to those of Toledo and Cordova that the pilgrim and traveller, the knight and monk, the noble and the artisan, the poet and artist brought back to France on their return. Pilgrims and travellers do not journey but one way; they return to their homes and bring back with them the memories of novel ideas they have heard and novel things they have seen. The work of Mâle, Kingsley Porter has shown that these memories of Moorish and Mozarabic art and architecture were not distributed haphazardly but spread through the south of France along the four great pilgrimage routes that traversed it and which have been described by the *Guide des pélerins*, the first tourist guide-book known to history.[41] In the West and South of France, motifs inspired by Muslim art and architecture are encountered along three great roads: from Le Puy through Conques to Moissac; from Vézelay to Limoges and Périgeux; from Orleans to Bordeaux through Tours, Poitiers and Saintes. These three roads met at Ostabat and crossed the Pyrenees by the Pass of Roncevaux. In the East, there was but one road, that from Arles to Toulouse which crossed the mountains at Somport. From along these roads these elements of Moorish art and architecture spread quickly through Limousin, through Auvergne and into the North of France especially under the agency of Cluny.[42]

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[33] For the work of Cluny in reconquered Spain, cf. Justo Perez de Urbel, *Los Monjes españoles en la edad media* II (Madrid, 1934), pp. 365-82, and Defourneaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-47. Cf. also, J. H. Pignot, *Histoire de l'ordre de Cluny (909-1159)* II (Paris, 1868), pp. 108-45.

[34] Cf. Joan Evans, *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny* pp. 150-1. For a list of Cluniac houses in Spain of this period, *ibid.*, pp. 46-7. For a list of Cluniac houses a-building in France at the time of Abbot Hugh, cf. Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period*, p. 16.

[35] Cf. Defourneaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-79.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-7.

[37] On the Mozarabs and their history, cf. Francesco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España* (Madrid, 1903). In Andalusia, the Mozarabs were allowed freedom of religion on condition of their recognition of Muslim authority and the payment of a small annual poll-tax, *op. cit.*, chs. III and IV.

[38] Cf. the map made by M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 396-7. Cf. also J. Puig y Cadafalch, *Le Premier art roman*, pp. 35-6.

[39] Cf. Bernard Bevin, *History of Spanish Architecture* (London, 1938), pp. 35-6 and Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4.

[40] Cf. Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-53, 355-64, 371-6.

It is along these four roads that lead through Southern France to join the *camino francés* that leads to Compostella that are found certain large churches that have come to be known as the Pilgrimage type, similar as they are to each other in size, conception and construction: St. Martin of Tours, St. Martial of Limoges, both of which have disappeared, St. Foy of Conques and St. Sernin of Toulouse. These churches have in common a number of architectural traits, functional in character for they were destined as stopping places on the route to Compostella and as pilgrimage spots in their own right in virtue of their possession of precious relics. In Compostella itself is the great Basilica of St. James which presents analagous architectural charcteristics and which reproduces these pilgrimage churches almost detail for detail. Whereas churches of this type were relatively numerous in France, St. James is unique among the churches on the Spanish part of the road. The connection between St. James of Compostella and these pilgrimage churches has been a matter of sharp dispute among archeologists. The traditional teaching has been that St. Martin of Tours,[43] St. Sernin of Toulouse are prior to St. James and served it as models, and that Toulouse was the generating center of Romanesque sculpture. The researches and studies of Kingsley Porter and Manuel Gómez-Moreno, on the other hand, lead to quite different conclusions: St. James is not a weak imitation of French models erected on Spanish soil; it is a new and original creation, far in advance of its age, a new development of a type derived from France and perhaps from northern Auvergne.[44] Their conclusion is that St. James was the model from which, directly or indirectly, was derived the majority of the great Romanesque churches of the twelfth century.[45]

The difference in opinion is largely a matter of chronology and interpretation of documents.[46] The difficulty of an absolute solution rests on the fact that St.

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[41] Ed. Jeanne Vielliard, (Macon, 1938), pp. 2-5.

[42] Arthur Kingsley Porter, *The Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), 10 vols.; Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), especially pp. 292-303. Cf. also *Art et artistes*, pp. 63-86.

[43] Emile Mâle, *L'Art religeux du XII^e siècle en France*, pp. 299-300.

[44] 'Compostella, Bari and Romanesque Architecture,' *Art Studies*, I (1923), 19-21; Gómez-Moreno, *El Arte románico español* (Madrid, 1934), pp. 112-30. Cf. especially pp. 137-9.

[45] Compostella was the model from which, directly or indirectly, was derived the majority of thte great Romanesque churches of the XIIth century, *Romanesque Sculpture* I, p. 194; Although so widely separated geographically from its model, St. Sernin reproduces the architecture of Santiago detail for detail with the most amazing exactitude, *ibid.*, p. 172. In a review of Mâle's *Art religieux*, Kingsley Porter retiterated his position that 'the type of church which became distinctive of the pilgrimage centers was created in Spain at Santiago, 'Spain or Toulouse? and Other Questions,' *Art Bulletin*, VII (1924), 12.

[46] Paul Deschamps upholds tthe orthodox position against Kingsley Porter, 'Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le Nord de l'Espagne,' *Bulletin monumentale*, LXXXII (1923), 318 ff. Georges Gaillard attacked Kingsley Porter's and Gómez-Moreno's position in 'Commencements de l'art roman en Espagne,' *Bulletin hispanique*, XXXVII (1935), 294 ff. His conclusion is that 'il faudra bien reconnaître, en fin de

Martial of Limoges, St. Foy of Conques, St. Sernin of Toulouse are almost contemporaneous with St. James of Compostella, all built between 1080-1130.[46a] During the fifty years that elapsed between the undertaking and the completion of these monuments, there was ample time for an interchange of influences in both directions. That reciprocal influence in art and architecture between the South of France and Muslim Spain was effected during the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century through two agencies: the pilgrims and the pilgrimage on the one hand, and the Cluniac monks who were mainly instrumental in organizing and popularizing it on the other. As Gaillard has said: *Sans les pélerinages l'art roman ne serait pas sans doute ce qu'il est et n'aurait pas, en tout cas, l'extension qu'il a.*[47]

II.

Some years ago, 1945 to be exact, a theory was advanced that would explain the origin of the troubadour conception of *fin' Amors*, the characteristic of Courtly Love.[48] This was a singular conception of love completely foreign to the religious, moral and cultural atmosphere in which it first appeared, a type of sexual love that remained wholly a love of desire to be fanned, inflamed and intensified by every physical solace short of intercourse, but which was, nevertheless, the font and origin of natural worth and virtue. Such a concept was a specialized one, alien to human nature, to the thought and letters of Western Europe prior to its appearance in the lyrics of the first troubadours. It was pointed out, at the time, that were a theory of human love similar to that of the troubadours to be found, were such a conception prior to theirs and accessible to them, then it was a fair assumption and inference that some sort of relationship must exist between the teaching of the troubadours and the prior doctrine.

Now there does exist in Avicenna's mystical writings and especially in his *Treatise on Love* a doctrine of human love that coincides in every particular with the *fin' Amors* of the troubadours.[49] This tract forms a part of *Al-Icharat wal tanbihat*, the last in date of his writings, his philosophical will and testament as it were, the systematic and explicit exposition of his theory of the spiritual life. There, as in the lyrics of the troubadours, it is taught that pure love consists in the union of heart and mind of lovers rather than of their bodies, that desire for intercourse arises from the animal nature of man and is to be eschewed as gross and impure. Like theirs, the troubadours pure love allows tender signs of mutual affection, the use of the senses of sight and touch, as effecting an ever closer and more intimate union of heart and mind; like theirs, pure love is the source of nobility, progress in virtue and refinement; like theirs, pure love is amoral in the sense that it is divorced from religious and legal grounds; like theirs, the morality of love lies in its furtherance or detraction of man in worth and nobility of character; like theirs, the pursuit of pure love is incumbent on every man who is wise, noble and learned.

This doctrine of pure love, so similar to that of the troubadours, was available to them soon after 1037, the date of Avicenna's death. Thus a teaching of pure love that was novel in the history of Arabian mysticism is prior in chronology to the lyrics of the earliest troubadours that embody a conception of love novel in Western letters. Whether it was accessible to the troubadours, whether it

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compte, que l'architecture des églises du pélerinage a son origine en France,' *ibid.*, 298. This is too the thesis of his later work, *Les Débuts de la sculpture roman espagnole* (Paris, 1938), especially pp. xxix-xxxii and 156-234.

[46a] Cf. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle*, p. 303.

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

[48] '*Fin' Amors*: the Pure Love of the Troubadours, Its Amorality and Possible Source,' *Mediaeval Studies*, VII (1945), 139-207.

[49] Translated by Emil Fackenheim, 'A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina', *Mediaeval Studies*, VII (1945), 208-28.

did reach them directly or indirectly, is quite another question, and it is just on the question of accessability that hinges for a great many the acceptance or non-acceptance of that theory of origins. Those who are loath to accept it demand evidence of direct contact between the troubadours and Arabian philosophy and mysticism, with Avicenna and his treatises. Some demand a manuscript tradition, a tradition that is not forthcoming.[50] The whole of Avicenna's work was unknown in the West until Dominicus Gundissalinus working with John of Seville under the patronage of Raymond I, Archbishop of Toledo (1126-51), introduced his works in translation to the Western world.[51] Even among the philosophical works then translated, there is no mention of his *Treatise on Love* and there is no trace of Latin manuscripts of it. It lies in the realm of possibility but hardly of probability that Latin documents of the nature to satisfy will ever be unearthed.

It is perhaps not unfair to demand that positive proof be adduced before such a theory of dependence be accepted. On the other hand, the absence of tangible evidence of transmission should not invalidate the evident dependence of the characteristic of Courtly Love on Muslim mystical thought and teaching. It does devolve, however, on those who hold the theory of the Arabic origins of Courtly Love to pierce the Iron Curtain of the Pyrenees that hangs as an apparently impenetrable barrier in matters literary before manuscript evidence precludes any doubt of Arabic influence. They must bridge the chasm, so to speak, that lies between Muslim Spain and the South of France of the earliest troubadours with planks formed of evidence of palpable influence of Arabian thought and ideas upon the lyrics of the troubadours.

One of the most evident of these planks is the notion of *Jovens* to which the troubadours ascribed a technical meaning quite foreign to the literal and etymological meaning. They represented *Jovens* first as an active principle engendering out of *Amors*, the font and origin of virtue and worth, the sum total of virtues comprised under *proeza*. *Jovens* was equated to purity in love, as conceived by the troubadours, and with liberality. It was destroyed by false love or lust and by avarice and lack of largesse. Secondly, they conceived of *Jovens* as an association or brotherhood of those who were endowed with or who pursued the quality of *Jovens*, those who practiced pure love, liberality and who eschewed false, impure love and niggardliness.

It is obvious that the Latin etymons cannot supply the meanings, abstract and concrete, of *Jovens* as used by the troubadours.[52] This is to be found in Arabic in the meaning of *futuwwa* as used by the Muslim mystics, the Sufi, and by Avicenna exactly in the chapter of his *Treatise on Love* dealing with his conception of the nature of pure love.[53] From the tenth century to the twelfth there existed among the Arabs an ethical ideal they called *futuwwa*, the basic meaning of which was youth *(fata)*. It was a Sufi ideal which had its genesis in the pre-Islamic *fata* of Old Arabia. Sufism assimilated the virtues of the latter—excessive liberality, unreserved surety for anyone bound to him by family or legal tie, virile bravery—to its own basic virtue of altruism. Thereby it created an ideal of its own whose constituent elements were a lofty sense of honor, unbreakable fidelity, excessive hospitality and purity of life. Moreover, Sufism transformed the Fityan clubs of the old cultural centers of Arabia into Futuwwa corporations which made the ideal of *futuwwa* their own.

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[50] Cf. for example Theodore Silverstein, 'Andreas, Plato and the Arabs. Remarks on some Recent Accounts of Courtly Love,' *Modern Philology*, XLVII (1949), 119-21; G. E. von Grunebaum, 'Avicenna's "Risâla fî'l-'Isq" and Courtly Love,' *Journad of Near Eastern Studies*, IX (1952), 237-8.

[51] Cf. M.-T. d'Alverny, 'L'Introduction d'Avicenne en Occident,' *La Revue du Caire* XXVII (1951) *Millenaire d'Avicenne*, 130-9.

[52] Alex. J. Denomy, '*Jovens:* the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours, its Meaning and Source,' *Mediaeval Studies*, XI (1949), 1-22.

[53] Tr. Fackenheim, *Mediaeval Studies* VII, 211 and 218; Cf. 'Jovens: the Notion of Youth among the Troubadours,' p. 14.

The two concepts, the Islamic *futuwwa* and the troubadour *Jovens*, in both the abstract and concrete sense, are practically identical in every detail, so much so that it is possible to substitute the Arabian *futuwwa* for the Provençal *Jovens* and arrive at the identical meaning the troubadours intended to convey. Among the troubadours, *Jovens* is a specialized concept in the sense that it has nothing to do with the idea conveyed etymologically. That concept of *Jovens* was extant previously to them in the *futuwwa* ideal of the Arabs. It could have come to them only from Muslim sources.

Courtly love is wholly unconcerned with Christian morality and in that sense it is neither moral or immoral; it is amoral, that is completely divorced from the Christian concept of the morality of sexual love. No Christian teaching could ever give rise to the troubadour conception of sexual love; paganism, while recognizing the delights of sensual desire and indulgence, did not recognize the dogma that carnal desires, fanned by sensual delights, ennobled man. The conception that such love ennobles is to be found in Arabian philosophy and in the mystical writings of Avicenna.[54]

Before Avicenna, Muslim mysticism had distinguished sharply between the animal and rational souls of man. Love of external beauty, the love of man for woman for example, had remained an activity of the lower animal soul, an obstacle and impediment to the soul's ascent to the divine, spiritual beauty. It was to be suppressed and mortified. Avicenna was the first among Muslim mystics to assign to the animal soul of man a contributory share, a role of partnership in this ascent, whereby sexual love served as an aid in approaching spiritual beauty. Desire for union with external beauty, with the beloved, therefore, is more than a yearning for voluptuous pleasure; it becomes a means of furthering the rational soul along its journey to the Supreme Good. The conditions demanded in this alliance of the lower and rational souls are the submission of the former to the latter on the one hand, and the domination of the rational soul over the animal soul on the other.

For Avicenna, then, the morality of human love rests entirely on the free exercise of the rational soul whereby man is furthered along towards union with the absolute Good. That love is pure, a source of nobility and progress in virtue, which brings man nearer to the source of all virtue. That love is impure and a vice which harms the rational soul and impairs its exercise because of the domination over it of the animal soul and its desires. Among the Arabs, corporal, carnal pleasure in this life is taught by religious law and revealed by Mohammed. Therefore, the pleasures that arise from kissing and embracing, from the use of the senses of sight and touch are quite legitimate on religious and legal grounds, the more so since they are instruments that tend to effect an ever closer union of heart and soul in which pure love consists. Those actions, therefore, are not blameworthy unless they lead to actions and feelings that belong to the animal soul alone.

For Avicenna and the Muslim mystic, as for the troubadour, the morality of sexual love rests not on religious and legal grounds but just on whether it tends to ennoble man or to degrade him, whether it tends to make him increase in merit and worth or to reduce him to the level of the animal. For Avicenna and the Muslim mystic as for the troubadours, that love is pure and true, the source of nobility and progress in virtue which is based on the freedom of the rational soul of man from solely carnal, ephemeral delights. That love is impure and false which is grounded on the subjection of man's heart and mind to sensual, fleeting indulgence. For the troubadours there was to be found in Avicenna and Muslim mysticism a norm of morality that they made for their own, a norm unavailable and unknown elsewhere.

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[54] *'Fin' Amors:* the Pure Love of the Troubadours,' 195-215. Cf. Alex J. Denomy, *The Heresy of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1947), pp. 29-32. Grunebaum, *art. cit.*, 237-8, rejects the theory of Avicennian influence on the formation of Courtly Love. It might be pointed out that that theory supposes not an identity of psychological doctrine but rather a priority in Avicenna of the essential tenet of Courtly Love not found elsewhere—the ennobling force of sexual love.

For the Christian, the morality of sexual love rests on his status as a supernatural creature with a supernatural end. Whatever therefore in that love tends to avert him from that end which is eternal beatitude in the contemplation of God is immoral; whatever in that love tends to further him towards that end is moral and good. For the courtly lover, the morality of sexual love rests on his status as a rational creature with a natural end. Whatever tends to avert him from that end which is progress towards natural worth and virtue is immoral; whatever tends to further him towards that end is moral and good. The chasm that lies between Courtly Love and the Christian morality of sexual love is immediately apparent. No Christian teaching could ever give rise to such a conception of sexual love with all its implicit sensual desires and delights as the source of natural good and virtue. Not even perverted and bad Christians could fail to recognize its sinfulness even though they practiced it. How, then, could men as troubadours conceive of love as the source of good which as Christians they knew to be sinful and immoral?[55]

The only reasonable basis for the acceptance of Courtly Love with all its implications while remaining Christians is the doctrine of the so-called 'double-truth',[56] itself a product of the conflict between philosophy and theology among the Arabian philosophers. The doctrine of the double truth is simply the expression of the factual divorce of Revelation from reason. It holds that reason is independent of faith, that philosophical truth is quite other than religious truth, and that there is no contradiction between them provided they be kept separate. Man can be regarded on the one hand as a rational, natural creature subject only to the laws of nature and the conclusions of reason; on the other hand, he is a supernatural child of God by grace with a supernatural end and subject to divine authority. Therefore the philosopher can and does speak otherwise than as a Christian; he accepts as necessary the results of philosophic speculation but as a Christian he believes as true what Revelation teaches. That doctrine is heretical and its adherents, the Latin Averroists, were condemned at Paris in 1277 on the grounds that they held 'those things may be true according to philosophy but not according to faith just as if there were two contradictory truths'. It is significant that the *De Amore libri tres* of Andreas Capellanus, the text-book of Courtly Love, was condemned at the same time and on exactly the same ground.[57]

We know whence the Latin Averroists derived their characteristic doctrine. It was the result of the introduction into the Latin world of the works of Aristotle as commented upon by Averroes about the year 1230. But the *De Amore* which teaches the same separatism in the sphere of the morality of human love was written some forty or fifty years before the advent of these commentaries and the troubadours were writing their lyrics which maintained the same norm of morality as did Andreas a century or more before. Identity of effect argues identity of cause. The troubadours and Andreas Capellanus must have been acquainted with the attitude of mind engendered among the Arabian philosophers when confronted with the problem of how to think as philosophers and how to believe as followers of Mahomet. The teaching of Averroes is but the definitive form of an attitude common to Arabian philosophers in regard to theology that had existed from the very beginning of Islam: the cleavage between its theology and philosophy. It has been implicit in the attitude of certain philosophers, predecessors of Averroes.[58] In much the same fashion as Averroes, his predecessors had looked upon Aristotle and Plato as philosophy itself, productive of absolute truth to be accepted as necessary in the face of the revelations they held to be true. Thus if the teaching of these predecessors, among whom was Avicenna, was to reach the Christian Latin world of the time of the troubadours and later on of Andreas, the same effects on their way of thinking would be as evident as Averroes was upon the later Latin world. There is no evidence save in the attitude of the troubadours towards Courtly Love and the *De Amore* of Andreas. There the effects of such an attitude are as visible as they were later on in Latin Averroism. Only thus could the troubadours have conceived on rational grounds and in the face of the tenets of their faith of a doctrine that sexual love is the font of virtue and the beatitude of this life. Only thus could they maintain a heresy that taught that a thing might be necessary according to faith, that sexual love with its licit, approved carnal delights might be the origin of good and worth according to the necessary conclusions of natural reason, but sinful and evil according to the laws of God and His Church.

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[55] Cf. *The Heresy of Courtly Love*, pp. 32 ff.

[56] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 39-47.

[57] Alex J. Denomy, 'The *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus and the Condemnation of 1277,' *Mediaeval Studies*, X (1948), 107-49.

[58] Cf. The *Heresy of Courtly Love*, pp. 47-9. Cf. also M. M. Anawati, 'Un cas typique d' ésotérisme avicennien,' *La Revue du Caire*,

III.

On the formal side as opposed to the contents of their poetry, Ribera had pointed out in 1912 that Guillaume IX's post-Crusade poems were very similar in structure to popular Arabian poetry developed in Spain at the beginning of the tenth century.[59] A. R. Nykl[60] and O. J. Tuulio[61] have brought technical proof to bear in the face of the opposition of Rodrigues Lapa[62] and the less violent of Appel[63] and Jeanroy[64] that Guillaume and Marcabru, who had both been to Spain, could have and actually did imitate the melody and rhyme of the Andalusian *zagal* and *muwaššaha*. Ramón Menéndez Pidal[65] has shown fairly conclusively that the coincidence of the metrical forms of the popular Arabian types and the lyrics of the first troubadours is not a fortuitous one but a result of the deliberate adaptation of Andalusian models. One can say in safety that even if the similarity of the two be not established in a way absolutely convincing to all that there is at the very least a parentage there that cannot be explained by classical and mediaeval Latin verse form and that can be demonstrated satisfactorily as having its origin in prior Arabian verse.[66]

Those who are loath to recognize these influences and to accept the theory of Arabic origins of Courtly Love view as too general to be satisfying the various channels by which Avicenna's doctrine and associated Arabic traditions might have reached the earliest troubadours: pilgrimage roads and crusade routes, communications established by the Cluniacs, Christianized Arabs etc.,

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XXVII (1951), *Millenaire d' Avicenne*, 68-94.

[59] Julián Ribera y Tarragó, 'El Cancionero de Aben Guzman,' *Discurso leido en la real Academia española*, 1912, reprinted in *Disertaciones y opusculos* (Madrid, 1928), pp. 3 ff., especially pp. 68 ff. Cf. also *La Musica de la Cantigas* (Madrid, 1922), pp. 71 ff. A. R. Nykl has pointed out that Ribera gave new impulse to the attention called by von Hammer-Purgstall, Fauriel, Amari and von Schack to the strophic similarities between the muwashshaha and zadjal and troubadour poetry, *Speculum*, XXVI (1951), 184.

[60] A. R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring* (Paris, 1931), pp. lxxix-ci and *Hispano-Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944), pp. 382-93.

[61] O. J. Tuulio, *Ibn Quzmân, poète hispano-arabe bilingue* (Studia Orientalia IX^2, Helsinki, 1941), pp. VIII ff.

[62] Rodrigues Lapa, *Das Origens de la poesia lyrica em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1929), pp. 33-40, and *Liçoês de literatura portuguesa; época medieval* (Lisbon, 1934), pp. 28-34.

[63] Carl Appel, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, LII (1932), 770-91. Cf. Pierre le Gentil, 'A propos de la "strophe zéjelesque,"' *Revue des langues romanes*, LXX (1949), 119-34, especially 133-4.

[64] Alfred Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours* I (Paris, 1934), pp. 73-5, II, p. 368.

[65] 'Poesia árabe y poesia europea,' *Bulletin hispanique* XL (1938), 337-91.

[66] Cf. E. Lévi-Provençal for a short digest of the present situation of the question, 'Poésie arabe d'Espagne et poésie d'Europe médiévale,' a conference given March 15, 1948, before the Institut français de Madrid and reprinted in *Islam d'Occident* (Paris, 1948), pp. 283-318, corrected and completed by A. R. Nykl in his review, *Speculum*, XXVI (1951), 182-4. Cf. also Robert Briffault, *Les Troubadours et le sentiment romanesque* (Paris, 1945), pp. 27 ff.

so well enumerated and described by Heyd, Nykl and Asín Palacios.[67] But it was just by these same routes that Arabian sculpture and art travelled to the South of France to influence there the art and architecture of the late eleventh and early twelfth century. Emile Bertaux had concluded: "Pour la sculpture romane, il n'y a pas d'Pyrenées."[68] The road open to architects, to artists and to sculptors was not closed to poets, to men of letters. The channels by which artistic forms and motifs reached southern France to be etched and molded and incorporated in monasteries, churches and abbeys were not closed to the literary and philosophical influences embodied in the content and form of the lyrics of the troubadours.

Historians of art and architecture are concerned about the channels through which Arabian art and architecture reached the south of France. Their concern does not invalidate its existence in the monuments they study. They are in agreement on the existence of specific Islamic motifs and themes in Southern France of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries if not on their extent. For them it is a question of just how little or how great Arabian influence was. There are specific instances of Arabian influence in the form and content of the lyrics of the troubadours. The historians of literature should be concerned how they got there but our concern should not invalidate the existence of these influences. How they got there is of secondary and relative importance. What is of primary importance is that these influences are written in the verse of the troubadours just as surely as the Islamic motifs and themes are written in stone in the monuments of southern France at the very time and before the activity of the troubadours. To rephrase Gaillard: "Without Arabian influence, Courtly Love and the troubadour lyric would not be what they are; in any case, they would not have the bent that they have."

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[67] W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 181-8; A. R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring*, pp. xl-lxxvi; Miguel Asín Palacios, *La Escatalogía musulmana en la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 299-308.

[68] *La Sculpture chrétienne en Espagne dès origines au XIV^e^ siècle* in André Michel, *Histoire de l'art* II¹ (Paris, 1906), p. 265. Cf. also J. Puig y Cadafalch, *Le Premier art roman*, p. 37:: Tout ceci prouve que les frontières n'existaient pas pour les livres, et, certainement pas davantage, pour les thèmes iconographiques ou pour les formes architecturales.

The Similarity Between Certain Questions of Peter of Auvergne's *Commentary on the Metaphysics* and the Anonymous *Commentary on the Physics* Attributed to Siger of Brabant

WILLIAM DUNPHY

IN investigating Peter of Auvergne's doctrine of causality as found in his *Quaestiones in Metaphysicam,*[1] several of the Questions were found to be similar in both doctrine and literary structure to certain Questions of the anonymous *Commentary on the Physics* attributed to Siger of Brabant.[2] This latter work has been the subject of part of the historical controversy occasioned by the discovery of *Ms* Munich *Cl* 9559.[3] It is not our intention to enter that controversy. However, a study of these doctrinal and literary similarities might be of assistance to those historians seeking to determine definitively the authorship of the anonymous *Commentary on the Physics* which is contained in *Ms* Munich *Cl* 9559.

One important similarity is to be found in a doctrine of the twofold division of efficient causes. The Aristotelian notion of an efficient cause as a principle whence the motion of its effect,[4] failed to account for any production of the being of that effect in the eyes of those philosophers holding a doctrine of creation. Thus, philosophers as Avicenna and St. Thomas Aquinas distinguished between efficient causes which act through motion and those which act without motion, producing the very being of their effects.[5] Peter of Auvergne, while not alone in proposing a twofold division of efficient causes, yet appears to be the first to call explicit attention to the duality. Thus, Peter crystalized the division in a pair of compact formulae, modeled after the Aristotelian formula for a moving cause, namely, an efficient cause which is a principle whence the motion and an efficient cause which is a principle whence the being of its effects (*unde principium motus* and *unde principium esse*).

However, these supposedly unique formulae appear in the anonymous *Commentary on the Physics*, in a context similar to the one in which Peter formulates the division. In each case the question asked is substantially the same, namely, whether there are efficient causes among those beings which are separated from matter and motion.[6] A related question concerning a twofold end corresponding to the twofold efficient cause, while treated separately by Peter of Auvergne, is incorporated into the Question on efficient causes by the anonymous author.

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[1] Peter of Auvergne, referred to by Tolomeo of Lucca as *fidelissimus discipulus Sancti Thomae,* taught in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris ca. 1273-1290, and later in the Faculty of Theology from 1296-1302. Named Bishop of Clermont in 1302, he died in 1304. His *Commentary on the Metaphysics,* like the rest of his numerous Aristotelian commentaries, was written while teaching in the Faculty of Arts. We possess seven manuscripts of the work, which is still unedited except for a few Questions included in doctoral dissertations at the University of Toronto.

[2] *Siger de Brabant, Questions sur la Physique d'Aristote,* ed. Philippe Delhaye, (Louvain, 1941).

[3] See Martin Grabmann, 'Neu aufgefundene *Quaestiones* Sigers von Brabant zu den Werken des Aristoteles,' *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle* I (Romae, 1924), pp. 103-47. For the controversy surrounding the attribution to Siger of the *Commentary on the Physics,* see Anneliese Maier, 'Nouvelles Quaestiones de Siger de Brabant,' *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* (1946), 497-513; J. J. Duin, 'Les Commentaires de Siger de Brabant sur la Physique d'Aristote,' '*Revue Phil. de Louv.*, 1948, 463-80; Anneliese Maier, 'Les Commentaires sur la Physique attribués à Siger,' *Revue Phil. de Louv.*, 1949, 334-50.

[4] Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics,* V, 2, (1013a 30-32).

[5] See Avicenna, *Metaphysics* VI, 1; ed. Venice, 1508, fol. 91^{rb}; St. Thomas, *In* VI *Meta.*, lect 3, n. 1207; ed. Cathala-Spiazzi, (Turin, 1950).

[6] In Book III, Question 3 of his *Commentary on the Metaphysics,* Peter asks, *Utrum in immobilibus sit causa activa;* Book II, Question 12 of the *Commentary on the Physics* asks, *Utrum in separatis a materia sit efficiens; ed. cit.,* p. 99.

The first two objections in each Question are similar. The first of these stresses the Aristotelian notion of efficient causality, namely that of an originative source of motion. Since there is no motion among immobile and immaterial beings, there is no efficient causality there either:

PETER OF AUVERGNE	COMMENTARY ON THE PHYSICS
(ob. 1) In quibus non invenitur motus, nec unde principium motus. Sed in immobilibus non invenitur motus, ut dicit etiam nomen 'immobilibus'. Ergo in eis non invenitur unde principium motus. Sed unde principium motus est causa activa. Quare, etc.[7]	(ob. 1) . . . efficiens est principium motus; sed in separatis a materia non est motus; quare etc.[8]

The second objections in each Question point out the reciprocal relationships between active and passive principles. Where there is no passive principle, correspondingly there is no active principle. Since a passive principle entails mobility and matter, and, therefore, is not to be found among immobile and immaterial beings, there is likewise no active or efficient principle among them:

(ob. 2) Item, activum dicitur ad passivum relative, et agens ad patiens, ut patet *Quinto Metaphysicae*. In quibus ergo non reperitur principium passivum, nec activum. Sed in immobilibus non reperitur principium passivum, quia tale de se est mobile et subjectum motus. Quare nec in eis erit principium activum.[9]	(ob. 2) Item, efficiens relative dicitur ad materiam, sicut potentia activa ad passivam; sed in separatis non est materia; quare etc.[10]

There is no third objection in Peter's Question corresponding to that of the *Commentary on the Physics*. Since Peter treats this matter in a subsequent Question, we shall compare their doctrines following the comparison of the present Questions.

The arguments *in oppositum* or *contra* are not alike, however. While Peter gives two arguments for the presence of efficient causes among immobile beings based on the nature of demonstration,[11] our anonymous author uses an argument which reappears in the body of his Question, namely, that an efficient cause gives being (*esse*). Since some immobile and immaterial beings receive their being (*esse*) from another, they must have an efficient cause.[12]

In both works, the answer to the original query is prefaced by a twofold division of efficient causes, with Avicenna cited as its source:

Intelligendum, sicut Avicenna dicit, principium efficiens vel causa est	Et dicendum secundum Avicennam, quod nomen efficientis duobus modis

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[7] The texts of Peter that appear in this article are transcribed from *Ms* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 16158 (*P*), and corrected from *Ms* Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana *Ottobonianus* 1145 (*O*). The reader will have to accept this choice on faith, but it is based on a study and evaluation of all seven extant manuscripts as part of my doctoral dissertation. The above text is to be found in *P*, fol. 182^{va}; *O*, fol. 10^{va}.

[8] *Ed. cit.*, p. 99.

[9] *P*, fol. 182^{va}; *O*, fol. 10^{va}.

[10] *Ed. cit.*, p. 99.

[11] *P*, fol. 182^{va}; *O*, fol. 10^{va}.

[12] *Ed. cit.*, p. 99.

illud per quod acquiritur esse alii discreto ab ipso, ita ut agens, secundum intentionem agentis, non sit recipiens illius esse. In quantum autem est illud per quod acquiritur esse alii, ipsum convenit cum forma, cujus proprium est dare esse. In quantum vero efficiens aliud est ab eo cui est causa esse, differt efficiens a forma. Forma enim secundum essentiam non est aliud ab eo cujus est forma. Item efficiens acquirit esse non cuicumque, sed discreto ab ipso. Nam idem sibi non est causa in aliquo genere causalitatis. Aliquid autem est principium acquirendi esse alii per motum, sicut contingit in naturalibus, et universaliter in transmutationibus. Aliquid etiam principium est acquirendi esse alii per simplicem eductionem et emanationem, sicut contingit in immobilibus et immaterialibus. Efficiens vero primo modo dictum, quod agit mediante motu, dicitur unde principium motus, sed secundo modo dicitur unde principium esse. Primum efficiens usitatur in naturalibus, secundum autem in mathematicis et divinis.[13]

usitatur. Uno modo dicitur principium transmutationis et motus per se, et hoc modo usitatur in naturalibus, et isto modo non est nisi principium motus et non rei, nisi in quantum est principium motus ad rem, ut domificator est factionis domus, non tamen ipsius domus nisi secundum accidens; propter quod tale efficiens est praeter effectum, scilicet rem factam, et e converso, et non simul sunt et non sunt. Alio modo dicitur efficiens unde principium esse, extrinsecum et non <intrinsecum> existens: hoc autem dicit quia forma dat esse intrinsecum existens sicut dicimus passionem habere esse praeter subjectum et aer habet esse illuminatum a sole; et tale est dans esse. Et hoc modo usitatur in divinis: quaedam enim sunt in eis quae suum esse non sunt, sed recipiunt ipsum ab alio, et ipsum sine aliqua transmutatione dat eis esse.[14]

Peter of Auvregne then answers the question in great detail, distinguishing between those beings separate from matter and motion in concept only, i.e., the mathematicals, and those beings separate from matter and motion both in concept and being (*esse*), i.e., the separate substances. Efficient causes *unde principium esse* are found in both, while in a sense, efficient causes *unde principium motus* are found among the separate substances in that they have a power of moving mobile things.[15]

The anonymous author, however, after establishing the twofold division of efficient causes, simply states the answer to the question, namely, that the efficient cause which gives being (*esse*) is found among immaterial beings. He follows this statement with an explanation of Aristotle's apparent denial of efficient causality among mobile beings. The efficient cause *unde principium motus*, while not prior in nature, is yet better known by us, and is primarily signified by the name 'efficient cause.' Thus, in denying efficient causality among immaterial beings, Aristotle was refering only to the *unde principium motus*. On this same point, Peter of Auvergne is content to remark that Aristotle intended that there be no motion among the immobiles since there was no efficient cause in the sense of an *unde principium motus*, but only as an *unde principium esse*. However, in the following question, which asks whether there is an end or final cause for immobile beings, Peter makes a similar observation on the way in which we know each type of efficient cause. Since the cause of motion is more manifest to us than the cause of being, we first call 'agent' the originative source of motion rather than the originative source of being. Note that both Peter and the anonymous author quote Averroes on this point:

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[13] *P*, fol. 182^{va-b}; *O*, fol. 10va. See Avicenna, *Meta.* VI, 1; *ed. cit.*, fol. 91^{rb}.

[14] *Ed. cit.*, p. 100.

[15] *P*, fol. 182^{vb}; *O*, fol. 10va.

> Intelligendum est ulterius, quod causa agens dicatur duobus modis praedictis.Modus ille, secundum quem dicitur agens ut unde principium motus, magis manifestus est nobis; et hoc ideo quia causa motus magis est manifesta quam causa esse. Unde per prius dicitur agens de agente ut est principium motus quam de agente ut est principium esse. Unde et Commentator super *Tertio Caeli et Mundi*, dicit quod in separatis a materia non invenitur agens nisi secundum transsumptionem. Unde et nomen primo impositum est principio activo motus.[16]

> Sed quia efficiens unde principium motus est nobis notius, licet non sit prius, tamen illud primo significatur per nomen, unde et Aristoteles semper definiebat efficiens ipsum quia est unde principium motus, quia illud notius est. . . . Propter quod dicit Commentator *Super Librum De Caelo et Mundo*, quod in separatis a materia non est efficiens, nisi secundum transsumptionem: loquimur enim de efficiente secundum quod ei primo imponitur nomen, et hoc est unde principium motus.[17]

Peter of Auvergne feels that the objections denying efficient causality among immobile beings have been sufficiently answered in his determination of the Question, and remarks only that they are valid as applied to that efficient cause which is an *unde principium motus*, especially with respect to mathematicals. The *Commentary on the Physics*, however, devotes separate answers to the objections, but with the same end result, namely, that while there is no efficient cause *unde principium motus* among immaterial beings, there is an efficient cause *unde principium esse.*

The third objection found in the above Question of the *Commentary on the Physics* states that among those beings in which there is no end, there is also no efficient cause, since every agent acts for an end. But Aristotle says that the good, and, therefore, an end, is not to be found among immobiles.[18] The twofold division of efficient causes answers this objection. Since, the anonymous author writes, agent and end are proportioned, there is a twofold division of ends corresponding to the division of efficient causes, namely, an end which is the terminus of a change or motion, e.g., a form, and an end which is the terminus of a giving of being, e.g., an operation which is an end of the faculty operating. The same division of ends is found in Peter's answer to the Question, whether there is an end for immobile beings:

> Intelligendum quod finis proportionatur principio activo vel causae agenti. . . . quare secundum quod agens dicitur, sic et finis. Agens autem dupliciter dicitur; quoddam enim est activum esse , et quoddam activum motus. Et ideo similiter dicendum est de fine, quod quidam est finis qui est terminus in esse, et quidam est terminus motus. Et finis primo modo proportionatur agenti quod est unde principium esse.[19]

> (ad 3) Et cum arguitur quod in eis non est ponere finem, dicendum quod immo: sicut enim duplex est efficiens sic duplex est finis, scilicet finis transmutationis et finis esse, ita quod efficiens transmutationis habet finem qui est finis motus ut formam, efficiens autem dans esse habet finem alium, ut operationem aliquam ut intelligere. . . .[20]

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[16] Book III, Question 4; *P*, fol. 183^{ra-b}; *O*, fol. 10^{vb}. Cf. Averroes, *In I De Caelo*, t.c. 20; ed. Venice, 1574, fol. 14I-K.

[17] *Ed. cit.*, p. 100.

[18] *Ibid.* Cf. Aristotle, *Meta.* III, 2, (996*a* 17-28).

[19] Book III, Question 4; *P*, fol. 183^{ra}; *O*, fol. 10^{vb}.

[20] *Ed. cit.*, p. 100.

Another instance of both doctrinal and literary similarity appears between Book I, Question 24 of the *Commentary on the Physics*,[21] and Book VII, Question 19 of the *Commentary on the Metaphysics*.[22] The anonymous author inquires *Utrum contingat aliquid fieri ex nihilo.* There are three objections presenting a negative answer to the query. The first of these is based on the connotation of the preposition *ex*. Since it points to a material cause or subject, if something were to come-to-be from nothing, then nothing would be the subject or material cause of something, which, the objection adds, is impossible.

The second objection states that to come-to-be is to-be-changed. Since every change requires a subject of change, nothing cannot come-to-be or be changed. A third objection also points out the necessity of a subject for everything that comes-to-be.

There are also three objections contained in the Question *Utrum ex non ente simpliciter possit aliquid fieri*, asked by Peter of Auvergne. The first and third of these are substantially the same as, respectively, the third and first objections mentioned above. The second objections in each Question, however, are different. Here are the texts of the two similar arguments:

PETER OF AUVERGNE	COMMENTARY ON THE PHYSICS
(ob. 1) Illud ex quo fit aliquid per accidens reducitur ad aliquid ex quo fit aliud per se, quia omne per accidens reducitur ad per se. Sed ex opposito fit aliquid per accidens. Non enim per se nigrum fit ex non nigro, quia tunc ipsum maneret in eo. Illud enim ex quo fit aliquid per se est pars ejus quod fit, et manet in eo. Cum ergo ens sit oppositum non enti, ex non ente fit ens solum per accidens. Quare cum omne per accidens reducitur ad per se, oportet ponere aliud a non ente ex quo fiat ipsum ens per se. Istud autem aliud a non ente non est nisi ens. Quare ex ente fit aliquid per se et non ex non ente.	(ob. 3) Item, contrarium per se non fit ex contrario; quia illud ex quo fit aliquid debet manere in utroque termino transmutationis, ut dicit Aristoteles; sed contrarium non manet in utroque extremo; quare secundum accidens fit aliquid ex contrario. Sed omne secundum accidens reducitur ad per se. Quare in isto subjecto est ponere aliquid ex quo per se fit. Sed hoc non est nisi subjectum. Quare omne quod fit, fit ex subjecto. Quare etc.
(ob. 3) Item, illud ex quo fit aliquid est materia illi, quia haec praepositio 'ex' importat habitudinem causae materialis. Si ergo ex non ente fit aliquid ens, non ens esset materia entis. Hoc autem falsum est. Ergo et primum.[23]	(ob. 1) . . . ista propositio denotat habitudinem causae materialis; si igitur aliquid fit ex nihilo, nihil erit subjectum alicujus, quod est impossibile.[24]

The argument in opposition to these objections is the same in each work. Everything which comes-to-be, comes-to-be from not being that which it comes-to-be, otherwise there would be no need of it coming to be that. If, therefore, something comes-to-be absolutely, it must have come-to-be from absolute non-being:

Oppositum arguitur: unumquodque fit ex eo quod non est illud quod fit, quia si sit, tunc idem esset et non	Contra: omne quod fit, fit ex non ente eo quod fit: aliter enim esset antequam generaretur. Si igitur aliquid

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[21] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

[22] *P*, fols. 235^{vb}-236^{vb}; *O*, fol. 37^{rb-vb}.

[23] *Ibid.*, *P*, fol. 236ra; *O*, fol. 37^{rb}.

[24] *Ed. cit.*, p. 53. Should *propositio* read *praepositio*?

esset, fieret et non fieret. Si igitur fit aliquid ens simpliciter, tunc fiet ex eo quod est non ens simpliciter. Quare ex non ente simplicter contingit aliquid fieri.[25]

fit ens simpliciter, necesse est quod fiat ex non ente simpliciter. Cum igitur ens simpliciter causetur a Primo, ex nihilo fit.[26]

The organization of the body of each Question follows similar lines, with, however, Peter of Auvergne giving a fuller treatment of each point. The answers to the Questions develop from two accepted propositions. The first proposition is that every being whatsoever proceeds from one First Cause. The second is that the First Agent is of infinite power in acting:

Intelligendum quod necessarium est dicere secundum intentionem etiam philosophorum, quod aliquid fiat ex non ente simpliciter. Et hoc quidem manifestum est, si supponamus duo, quae videntur determinata ex praecedentibus. Quorum primum est quod omnia qualitercumque entia procedunt ab uno principio primo. . . . Secundum autem est quod supponendum est, videlicet quod primum sit infinitae virtutis non tantum in movendo . . . sed in agendo et in vigore.[27]

Et dicendum quod necessarium est aliquid fieri ex nihilo. Et hoc patet supponendo duo: unum est quod omnia qualitercumque entia ab una prima causa procedunt, aliud est quod primum agens est infinitae virtutis in vigore.[28]

Starting from the first proposition, let there be given some being which comes-to-be. Now, it comes-to-be either from being or non-being. If from non-being, then something comes-to-be from non-being, which is what we sought to prove. If, however, that being which comes-to-be is said to come-to-be from being, the question is still open. This latter being, since it is other than the First Being, and thus proceeds from it, comes-to-be either from being or non-being. Since it is not fitting to proceed to infinity in a causal series, as Aristotle proves in the second book of his *Metaphysics*,[29] we cannot pursue our inquiry through an infinity of beings other than the First, proceeding from other beings. We must arrive at a being which comes-to-be from absolute non-being:

. . . Accipiamus ergo aliquid quod fit. Illud vel fit ex aliquo non ente statim, vel ex ente: si ex non ente, propositum habetur; si autem ex ente, puta ex materia, manifestum est illam materiam non esse primum principium. Materia enim non facit aliquid, sed solum ex ipsa fit aliquid. Et si non est principium primum, manifestum est quod est aliud aliquid ab eo. Si igitur omnia alia a Primo procedunt ab ipso, tunc materia procedit in esse a Primo. Quare aut fit ex ente aut ex non ente: si ex non ente, habetur propositum; si autem ex ente, illud erit contentum a Primo et causatur

Tunc ex primo concludetur propositum, quia, accipiamus aliquod ens productum a Primo: aut ergo ex ente, aut non ente. Si ex ente, tunc, cum illud sit aliud a Primo, erit productum a Primo: aut ergo ex ente, aut ex non ente; et sic semper vel erit procedere in infinitum, quod est inconveniens in causis, ut probatum est *Secundo Metaphysicae* , vel erit stare in aliquo quod producitur a Primo ex non ente simpliciter.[30]

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[25] *P*, fol. 236^{ra}; *O*, fol. 37^{rb}.
[26] *Ed. cit.*, p. 53.
[27] *P*, fol. 236^{ra}; *O*, fol. 37^{va}.
[28] *Ed. cit.*, p. 53.
[29] Aristotle, *Meta*. II, 2. (994*a* 11-19).
[30] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

ab eo. Aut ergo ex ente aut ex non ente. Si ex ente, fiet eadem quaestio quae prius, et sic vel procedetur in infinitum in causis materialibus, quod improbatum est *Secundo* hujus, vel erit ponere quod contingit aliquid fieri ex non ente simpliciter.[31]

The same conclusion may be reached starting from the second of the two accepted propositions, namely, that the First Agent is of infinite power in acting. Now, the greater the power of some agent to act, the more remote is the potency from which it can produce its effect. For example, consider some hot object warming up something that is cold. The hotter that object is, the colder the thing can be which it heats. Accordingly, the more some agent has the power to act, the greater can be the indisposition and opposition of that which it effects. If, therefore, there is some agent of infinite power, it could produce its effect from that which is infinitely distant from itself, namely, absolute non-being:

Item, hoc declaratur ex secundo supposito. Quanto enim aliquod agens est majoris virtutis in agendo, tanto ex remotiori potentia potest effectum suum producere. Si enim calidum calefacit frigidum, quanto magis calidum fuerit, tanto magis frigidum potest calefacere, ita ut secundum additionem virtutis generativae caliditatis potest fieri additio ad virtutem remotivam frigidi. Quanto enim agens fuerit majoris potentiae in agendo, tanto patiens indispositum et contrarium poterit alterare ad suam naturam. Si ergo sit aliquod agens quod est infinitae virtutis, cujus proportio ad omnem aliam virtutem nulla est, tunc poterit producere effectum suum ex eo quod in infinitum distat ab eo, ex quo aliud agens producit effectum suum. Quod autem sic in infinitum distat, non est nisi simpliciter non ens. Quare manifestum est quod ex non ente simpliciter poterit primum agens aliquod ens simpliciter producere.[32]

Ex secundo patet idem sic, quia quanto aliquod agens est majoris virtutis, tanto educit effectum suum de remotiore potentia, ut patet de calido: quanto enim maius est, tanto magis frigidum potest calefacere, ita quod secundum additionem ad virtutem erit additio ad remotionem potentiae. Si ergo primum agens sit infinitae virtutis, potest producere effectum suum ex eo quod in infinitum distat ab eo; sed hoc est non ens; quare Primum potest facere aliquid ex nihilo.[33]

Both authors are careful here to point out that such a production of being from non-being by the First Agent is not a motion or change, for both motion and change require a pre-existent subject. This production is rather a giving of being, involving no change or motion, and thus no pre-existent subject, and was called 'creation' by some philosophers. Note that the twofold division of efficient causes is again mentioned in the *Commentary on the Physics*, with Avicenna cited as its source:

Sed est intelligendum quod ista

Verumtamen talis factio motus non

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[31] P. fol. 236^{rb}; *O*, fol. 37va.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ed. cit.*, p. 54.

factio non est transmutatio seu mutatio, quia in omni motu et mutatione oportet aliquid se habere aliter nunc quam prius. Hoc enim dicimus mutari. Sed in tali factione non est aliquid ens quod aliter se habet nunc quam prius, quia nec factum nec faciens nec illud ex quo. Quare ista factio non est motus vel mutatio.

Et hoc declaratur ex alio. In omni motu oportet esse subjectum aliquod. Est enim motus actus entis in potentia secundum quod hujusmodi. Huic autem factioni, qua aliquid fit ex non ente simpliciter, non praeexistit subjectum aliquod, et hujusmodi factio non est transmutatio, sed est absolute productio totius substantiae entis a primo principio cujuslibet entis. Et talem productionem quidam philosophorum creationem nominabant.[34]

est, quia hic non est aliquod subjectum. Iterum, hic non est aliquid quod aliter se habeat nunc et prius: mutari autem est aliter se habere nunc et prius; quare talis factio non est motus sed solum est datio esse sine aliqua transmutatione. Et sicut est distinguere de datione esse secundum Avicennam, sic etiam de factione: quia quoddam est efficiens dans esse sine aliqua transmutatione, et tale efficiens usitatur in divinis, ut ipse dicit; aliud est efficiens dans esse per motum et transmutationem, et tale usitatur in naturalibus; similiter autem est duplex factio: quaedam per transmutationem, quaedam sine. Communis autem opinio omnium philosophantium fuit quod nihil contingit fieri ex nihilo per transmutationem. Alio tamen modo contingit, ut dictum est, et talis factio a quibusdam dicitur creatio, ut secundum Avicennam.[35]

The *Commentary on the Physics* then proceeds to answer the objections, beginning with a discussion of the various ways in which the preposition *ex* is understood, thereby answering the first objection which had linked *ex* with material causality. It swiftly disposes of the second and third objections by recalling that the coming-to-be of something from nothing is not a motion or change. Peter of Auvergne, on the other hand, prefaces his answers to the objections with a discussion of the various meanings of the preposition *ex*, after which he treats the objections at great length. For present purposes, we shall compare only Peter's discussion of the preposition *ex*, together with his answer to the objection which posed that particular difficulty, and the similar answer given to that objection by the anonymous author:

Tertio est intelligendum quod haec praepositio 'ex' ut patet ex *Quinto* hujus, aliquando dicit habitudinem causae materialis puta si dicamus quod 'ex aere fit statua', aliquando habitudinem causae efficientis sicut si diceremus quod 'lis fit ex convitio,' aliquando vero habitudinem contrarii puta quod 'ex nigro fit album,' aliquando etiam habitudinem secundum ordinem ut cum dicimus quod 'ex mane fit meridies.' Cum autem dicitur 'ex non ente aliquid fieri,' ly 'ex' importat ibi ordinem tantum ut sit sensus 'ex non ente fit ens,' idest, aliquid post non esse habet esse vel fit ens. . . . [36]

Ad rationem, cum dicitur primo quod 'ex' denotat habitudinem causae materialis, dicendum quod 'ex aliquo' multipliciter dicitur, ut patet ex *Secundo* et *Quinto Metaphysicae*. Quaedam enim dicuntur fieri ex aliquo sicut ex materia, ut lateres ex luto, quaedam sicut ex efficiente, ut lis ex convitio, et multis aliis modis: quaedam enim dicuntur fieri ex aliquo quia primo aliud, ut dicimus quod meridies fit ex mane. Et sic sumitur 'ex aliquo' hic, quia aliquid fit ex nihilo, non quia ex materia sed quia primo non ens est ens, sine aliqua mutatione.[37]

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[34] *P*, fol. 236^{rb-va}; *O*, fol. 37^{va}.

[35] *Ed. cit.*, p. 54.

[36] *P*, fol. 236^{va}; *O*, fol. 37^{va}.

[37] *Ed. cit.*, p. 54.

Ad aliud cum arguitur illud ex quo fit aliquid est materia illa, dico, sicut prius dicebatur, 'ex' multis modis dicitur. Et ideo dicendum quod major vera est accipiendo ly 'ex' in una sui acceptione, prout dicit habitudinem causae materialis. Non autem secundum hanc acceptionem est verum dicere 'ex non ente fieri ens.' Solum enim ex non ente fit ens quia post ipsum, ut prius visum est. Et ideo ratio non est ad propositum.[38]

A further example of similarity between the *Commentary on the Physics* and the *Commentary on the Metaphysics* is found where each proves the existence of a first principle.[39] The unmistakable influence on both by the *quinque viae* of St. Thomas Aquinas is readily apparent.[40] Each uses the substance of the two objections found in the Thomistic article, with their order, however, reversed by Peter. While St. Thomas uses the scriptural text of *Exodus* iii, 14: *Ego sum qui sum*, for his argument *contra*, Peter of Auvergne utilizes the fourth and fifth, and the anonymous author the fourth only of the *viae* of St. Thomas. Proofs similar to the first three "ways" of the Thomistic text, namely, the proofs from motion, efficient causes, the possible and the necessary, make up the body of each Question. It should be noted, however, that their statements of the proofs and their answers to the objections are treated independently by each author.

There are many other similarities in doctrine which appear in different contexts in the two works under comparison. For example, each work contains an argument of Simplicius[41] to show that each of the heavenly bodies has its own efficient principle of motion besides the Prime Mover who causes this motion as a final cause:

PETER OF AUVERGNE	COMMENTARY ON THE PHYSICS
Dico quod praeter motorem separatum qui movet in ratione finis, est ponere alium motorem qui movet in ratione agentis, quoniam primum movens, qui movet in ratione appetibilis et intelligibilis, non movet nisi in quantum amatum et cognitum. Quare oportet aliquid aliud esse amans et intelligans, et per consequens movens, quod quidem moveat in ratione amantis et desiderantis. Hoc autem dicimus esse motorem alium a motore separato. Quare necesse est ponere istos duos motores. Et hanc rationem tangit Simplicius super primum *De Caelo*.[42]	Dico quod primus motor duplex est. Quidem enim est qui movet in ratione amati et desiderati, et sic dicimus quod primum movens movet caelum, sicut apparet ex *Duodecimo Metaphysicae*. Et quia amatum et desideratum non movet nisi quia est aliquid movens in ratione amantis et desiderantis, ideo necesse est esse aliud movens quod movet quia amans et desiderans, et hoc dicit Simplicius.[43]

Both authors distinguish between accidentally and essentially ordered causal series and describe them in somewhat similar terms:

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[38] *P.* fol. 236^{rb}: *O*, fol. 37^{vb}.

[39] *Commentary on the Metaphysics* XII, 6; *P*, fol. 258^{vb}, (*P* stops abruptly in the midst of this Question); *O*, fol. 48^{vb}. *Commentary on the Physics* VIII, 4; *ed. cit.*, pp. 193-195.

[40] See St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiae* I, 2, 3.

[41] See Simplicius, *In I De Caelo*, no. 88; ed. Venice, 1544, pp. 58-9.

[42] *Comm. on the Meta.* XII, 11; *O*, fol. 50^{vb}.

PETER OF AUVERGNE

Causas essentialiter ordinatas intelligo illas in quibus semper causa posterior virtutem movendi accipit a causa priori, ut homo virtutem generandi accipit a sole, sol autem virtutem movendi accipit a quodam alio movente ipsum. Unde causae agentes essentialiter ordinatae ad generationem hujus hominis sunt homo et sol, et si quidem sit aliud movens ipsum. . .

Causae autem accidentaliter ordinatae sunt quarum secunda virtutem qua operatur non accipit a prima, sed accidit causae posteriori quod ipsam praecessit alia. . .[44]

COMMENTARY ON THE PHYSICS

. . . Et voco generantia ordinata essentialiter illa in quibus posterius virtutem generandi accipit a priori, sicut se habent intelligentia, sol et homo; homo enim generat hominem et sol, et utrumque virtutem generandi accipit ex intelligentia, homo etiam ex sole, ita quod inter ista est ordo essentialis prioris ad posterius.

Generantia autem accidentaliter ordinata sunt Socrates, Plato et sic de aliis: accidit enim quod Socrates prior sit Platone vel e converso; . . .[45]

In conclusion, it is our hope that this presentation of some of the doctrinal and literary similarities between the anonymous *Commentary on the Physics* and Peter of Auvergne's *Commentary on the Metaphysics*, limited as it was to the doctrine of causality, may yet shed some light on the identity of the anonymous author for those historians qualified to make that decision.

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[43] *Comm. on the Physics* VIII, 24; *ed. cit.*, p. 228.

[44] *Comm. on the Meta.* II, 18; *P*, fols. 174^{vb}-175^{ra}; *O*, fol. 6^{vb}.

[45] *Comm. on the Physics* VIII, 21; *ed. cit.*, p. 225.

Bibliographia Gotica

A Bibliography of Writings on the Gothic Language

First Supplement

Corrections and Additions to the Middle of 1953

FERNAND MOSSÉ

FOREWORD

WHEN this bibliography was published in *Mediaeval Studies* XII (1950), it was my intention to keep it up to date by means of supplements issued, if possible, every four or five years. This first supplement affords, moreover, an opportunity to fill in omissions and correct errors which are bound to creep into a work of this sort.

In view of future supplements, I shall be very grateful to all those who will send me copies of their publications or reprints of their articles bearing on the subject. Only a minimum of cooperation can make a bibliography such as this possible, the more so since, in the present state of international relations, books and periodicals, in particular those published in Eastern Europe, are not always easily accessible.

In the course of a thorough review published in *AfdA,* Professor Karl Kurt Klein, to whom I am indebted for many useful observations and corrections, expressed the regret that this bibliography did not include more than it actually does. May I point out that, as the sub-title clearly states, this was meant to be a bibliography of writings on the Gothic *language* and nothing else. It had never been my purpose to make it a bibliography of everything written about the Goths. Works dealing with archeology, history or literature have been entered only in so far as they seem to me to throw light on linguistic problems, or because they are of general interest and authoritative and cannot be ignored by linguists.

This supplement could not have been possible, had I not enjoyed the generous help of a number of scholars. Among these special thanks are due to the following: Professor W. H. Bennett (Univ. of Notre Dame), Professor J. H. Brouwer (Groningen), Professor G. Eis (Munich), Professor K. K. Klein (Innsbruck), Professor F. P. Magoun, Jr. (Harvard), Professor K. Malone (Johns Hopkins), Dr. E. Polomé (Brussels), Dr. F. G. Ryder (Norwich, Vermont), and Professor Vachek (Bratislava).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add:

BzN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies.
MSB	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. München.
RBPh	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire.
RiP	Research in Progress (published yearly in *PMLA*).

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137.5. SCHMIDT, K. D., *Die Bekehrung der Ostgermanen zum Christentum (Der ostgermanische Arianismus).* Göttingen, 1939, IX + 442p.
(Die Bekehrung der Germanen zum Christentum, I)

137.6. GERHARDT, Dietrich, 'Goten, Slaven oder Syrer im alten Cherson?' *BzN* IV (1953) 78-88.

E. THE NAME OF THE GOTHS

138.1. MÜLLENHOFF, K., '*Gothini* in verderbte Namen bei Tacitus.' *ZfdA* IX (1853) 243-244.

140. *Add:* Rev.: *LB* 1894, 249.

143.1. BRATE, Erik, 'Hünen,' *ZfdW* XII (1910) 108-115.
[Pp. 111-113 on the name of the Goths]

144.1. WRENN, C. L., 'The Word *Goth,*' *Proceedings Leeds Philos. Soc.*, II, Pt 3 (1929).

VI. WULFILA

A. BIOGRAPHY

1) Life and activities

168.1. SPUNDA, Franz, *Wulfila.* Wien, 1936, 391p.

[A novel]

170.1. HASHAGEN, Justus, Wulfila.' *Gelbe Hefte*, XVIII (1941-42), 11ff.

170.2. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Die Dissertatio Maximini als Quelle der Wulfilabiographie,' *ZfdA* LXXXIII (1952) 239-271.

170.3. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Der Auxentiusbrief als Quelle der Wulfilabiographie,' *ZfdA* LXXXIV (1952) 99-152.

170.4. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Ist der Wulfilabiograph Auxentius von Durostorum identisch mit dem mailändischen Arianerbischof Auxentius Mercurinus?' *PBB* LXXV (1953) 165-191.

[Supports this identification]

2) Date of his death

(Cf. also Nos. 170.2 and 170.3)

176. *Add:* definitely 382.

3) Wulfila's seal

180. *Read:* GARDTHAUSEN

4) His name

183.1. KLEIN, Karl Kurt, 'Der name Wulfilas,' *ZvS* LXX (1952) 154-176.

[After a thorough examination concludes that *Wulfila* is the genuine Gothic form of the name]

B. DOGMATIC POSITION

(Cf. also No. 137.4)

193. After *epistula,* add *de Fide Vita et Obitu Wulfilae* im Zusammenhang der *Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium* hrsg.

193.1. SALTET, Louis, 'Un texte nouveau. La Dissertatio Maximini contra Ambrosium,' *Bull. de Litt. Ecclésiastique publié par l'Inst. Catholique de Toulouse* II (1900) 118-129.

198.1. PFEILSCHIFTER G., 'Kein neues Werk des Wulfila,' *Festschrift zu Knöpflers 60. Geburtstag,* 192-224.

(Veröffentl. a. d. Kirchenhist. Seminar München, III R. Nr. I, 1907)

[Refutes No. 196 and denies attribution to Wulfila of St. Saba's Life which he ascribes to the orthodox bishop Bretanion of Tomi]

204.1. CAPELLE, D. B., 'La lettre d'Auxence sur Ulfila,' *Revue Bénédictine* XXXIV (1922) 224-233.

[Errors due to Maximin and not to Auxence]

VII. COLLECTIVE EDITIONS

212. *Add:* 3rd ed. vol. I, XLVII+491p.; vol.II, XII+180p., 1950.
Rev., *add VCA* XVII (1908) 479-482; *Frankf. Ztg.* 23 June 1909.

VIII. THE GOTHIC BIBLE: THE CODEX ARGENTEUS

A. HISTORY

216. *To* at the time *add*: according to the unpublished 3rd part of L. B. BUSSER, *Utkast till Beskrivning om Upsala* (Part I 1773, part II 1769)

D. SEPARATE EDITIONS

257.1. SIEVERS, Ed., *Deutsche Sagversdichtungen des IX-XI Jhs*, nebst einem Anhang : *Die gotische Bergpredigt.* Heidelberg, 1924, VI+174p.

[Pp. 164-173 Text of *Mt* v, 8; v, 15-vi, 32; vii, 12-vii, 27 according to Schallanalyse]

IX. THE GOTHIC BIBLE : THE PALIMPSESTS

B. THE CODICES AMBROSIANI

1) Editions

264.1. MAI, Angelo, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectis e Vaticanis codicibus edita* III, 2, Rome, 1828, pp. 191-207.

[Edition of the fragments of Arian Luke commentary, cf. No. 185]

X. GREEK ORIGINAL

A. RECONSTRUCTION

292.1. FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., 'The Gothic Version and the Fourth Century Byzantine Text,' *JTS* XXXIX (1938) 42-44.

292.2. TARELLI, C. C., 'The Gothic Version and the Greek Text,' *JTS* XL (1939) 387-389.

B. LATIN INFLUENCE ON WULFILA'S TRANSLATION

293.1. SCHADE, 'Zu Ulfilas gotische Bibelübersetzung,' *WMB* III (1875) 159-160.

[Did Wulfila use a Latin version?]

XI. THE SKEIREINS

A. EDITIONS

316. *Add*: 1263-1281

[Important; new readings]

316.1. BEER, A., 'Skeireins dílo Wulfilovo?' 23. Ročni zpráva v Ceskych Budejovicích (1907) 1-11

[Was the *Skeireins* written by Wulfila?]

XII. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS

B. SPECIAL STUDIES

I) The Pietroassa Ring

338.1. GRAF, H. J. ' "Gutanio wi hailag" oder "Gutaniom hailag"? ' *GRM* XXXI, 1943, 128-129.

[Refutation of No. 337]

XIII. OTHER REMNANTS

3. THE SALZBURG-VIENNA MANUSCRIPT

(Cf. also No. 622)

Fa. ASSUMED GOTHIC TEXTS

376.1. KLUGE, Fr., 'Ein neues gotisches Sprachdenkmal?' *Bunte Blätter,* Freiburg, 1908, pp. 160-164.

(=Beilage zur *Allgemeinen Zeitung vom* 16. Januar 1897)

[Popular article on the Reichenau glosses which may contain Gothic words]

G. APPENDIX: MODERN COMPOSITIONS

377. *Read*: witubnjis

XIV. TEXTUAL EMENDATIONS AND REMARKS

B. JOHN

391.1. ix, 6. TARELLI, C. C., *JTS* XXXVIII (1937) 238-242. FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., *JTS* XXXIX (1938) 42-44.

E. THE EPISTLES

433.1 FRIEDRICHSEN, G. W. S., 'The Gothic Text of *Rom.* xiv *14* (τι κοινὸν εἶναι) in Cod. Guelferbytanus, Weissenburg 64,' *JTS* XXXVIII (1937) 245-7.

466.1. *2 Cor* xi, *25*. HØST, G., *NTS,* XV (1949) 411-412.

457. *Read*: 234-235 *and add*:

[On the marginal gloss *sugnis*]

458. *Read*: 234.

XV. CRIMEAN GOTHIC

A. BUSBECQ'S LETTERS: EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

477.1. HNUSSEN, A. A., *Het leven van Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq*. Leiden, 1949.

B. REPORTS AND STUDIES

483.1. PHILIPPSON, ERNST, 'Eine missverstandene Nachricht über die Krimgoten,' *PMLA* LVIII (1943) 564-565.

483.2. DIRICHS, J., 'Die einzigen gotischen Verse,' *Neoph* XXXV (1951) 145-151.

[Argues that the four lines recorded by Busbecq are indeed Gothic and not Turkish as had been assumed hitherto; offers a translation after a discussion of the textual problems]

XVI. GRAMMAR: GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE

B. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

1) General

504.1. MÜLLENHOFF, Karl, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. 5 vol., new ed. by M. ROEDIGER, Berlin, 1890-1920

508. *Add* to the rev.: *VCA* XIV (1905) 446-448.

514.1. BRINKMANN, Hennig, *Sprachwandel und Sprachbewegung in ahd. Zeit*. Jena, 1931, VII+236p.

(Jenaer Germanistische Forschungen, hrsg. von A. Leitzmann, 18)

517. *Add*: 2nd edition enlarged, 1946.

2) Special Studies

528.1. WREDE, Ferd., 'Westgermanisch und Ingwäonisch,' *ZfdMa* XIX (1924)

[Influence of Gothic on High German]

529.1. SPRINGER, Otto, "German and West Germanic," *GR* XVI (1941) 3-20.

[Criticism of Wrede's theory, No. 528. 1]

529.2. SCHWARZ, Ernst, *Goten, Nordgermanen, Angelsachsen, Studien zur Ausgliederung der germanischen Sprachen.* Berne-Munich, 1951, 277p., 16 fig.

(Bibliotheca Germanica, 2)

Rev.: *Niederd. Mitt.* VII (1951) 69-70 (E. Rooth); *AfdA* LXVI (1952) 45-52 (H. Kuhn); *RBPh* XXXI (1953) 112-121 (E. Polomé); *JEGPh* LII (1953) 242-249 (E. A. Philippson).

529.3. MAURER, Fr., *Nordgermanen und Alemannen. Studien zur germanischen u. frühdeutschen Sprachgeschichte, Stammes- und Volkskunde.* 3. Aufl., Bern, 1952, 187p.

(Bibliotheca Germanica 3)

(First ed.: 1942)

Rev.: *AfnF* LVII (1943) 119 ff. (E. Rooth); *Niederdeutsche Mitteil.* II (1946) 163-172 (C. A. Althin), cf. Maurer's reply, *ibid.* IV (1948) 82-85 with Althin's final remarks, *ibid.* 85-86; *DLZ* 1943, 253-263 (J. Werner); *AfdA* LXIII (1944) 4-13 (H. Kuhn); *ZfrPh* 1950, 216-218 (W. Ranke).

529.4 ROMPELMAN, T. A. 'Form und Funktion des Präteritums in Germanischen,' *Neoph* XXXVII (1953) 67-83.

XVII. GRAMMARS, HANDBOOKS

545. *Read: Formlære . . . Læsestykker*

548. *Replace by the following*:

BRAUNE, Wilh., *Gotische Grammatik mit einigen Lesestücken und Wortverzeichnis.* Halle, 1880, VI+117p.

(Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, I)

[Numerous editions; 2nd, 1882, VI+129p.; 3rd, 1887, VIII+135p.; 4th, 1895, VIII+140p.; 5th, 1900, VIII+162p.; 6th, 1905, VIII+168p.; 7th, 1909, VIII+179.; 9th, 1920, VII+188p.; 10th, 1928, XII+199p.; 11th, 1939; 12th, 1947; 13th, 1952; 14th, 1953, VIII+192p.

2nd to 4th: only slight changes
5th and 6th: add Greek text after Bernhardt
7th on: Greek text after Streitberg
8th and 9th: slight corrections
10th on: revised by K. Helm, with IE equivalents in phonology and morphology
11th to 14th: only slight corrections

556. *Add* to the rev.: *VCA* XIX (1910) 170-174.

559. *Add* to the rev.: *VCA* XVII (1908) 192-195.

563.1. GALABOV, K., *Gotska Gramatika, Gotische Grammatik*, Sophia, 1939, 280p.

(Universitetska Biblioteka, No. 205)

[Orthodox Gothic Grammar in Bulgarian with reading selections with Greek text and a German translation to the same]

564. *Add* to the rev.: *RBPh* XXIV (1945) 270-271; *Rev. Fac. Let. Lisboa* X (1944) 336-338.

565. *Add* to the rev.: *Paideia* IV (1949) 118-120; *BSL* XLV (131) (1949), 175; *Word* VI (1950) 249-250; *RBPh* XXVIII (1950) 807; *Gymnasium* LVII (1950) 246; *DLZ* LXXI (1950) 110-115; *Lang* XXVII (1951) 414-417.

566.1. MITTNER, L., *Cenni di storia e metodologia linguistica. Il gotico.* Lezioni di filologia germanica svolte nell'anno 1949-50. Milano-Venezia. n.d. [1950], 258p.

APPENDIX

READERS AND PRIMERS

567. *Read*: The first to use in transliteration *q*, *ψ* (for þ) and a single symbol for *hw*.

579. *Add*: 2nd ed., 1953, 165p.

580. *Add* to the rev.: *Word* III (1947) 136-144; VI (1950) 187-189.

580.1. SZADROWSKY, M., *Gotische Texte.* Bern n.d. [1946], 63p.

(Altdeutsche Uebungstexte, Bd. I)

580.2. von KIENLE, Richard, *Gotische Texte mit einem Glossar.* Heidelberg, 1948, 128p.

(Sprachwissenschaftliche Studienbücher)

XVIII. COLLECTIVE ARTICLES ON GRAMMATICAL POINTS

601.1. PETZ, Gedeon, 'A gót nyelveszeti irodalom,' *Nyelvstudományi Közlemények*, 1898, 114-122.

[Rev. of Nos. 555, 556[1] and 1237]

613.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Certain Gothic Cruxes,' *JEGPh*, XLIX (1950) 78-87.

613.2. STURTEVANT, A.M. 'Comments on Certain Gothic Irregularities,' *GR* XXVII (1952) 50-55.

XIX. ALPHABET, SCRIPT AND PRONUNCIATION

A. ALPHABET AND SCRIPT

618.1. FRY, Edmund, *Pantographia*. London, 1799.

[P. 100 'Gothic 2'; p. 102 'Maeso Gothic' preceded by the Wulfilian *Oratio Dominica*—the last font is evidently an adaptation of alphabet No. 34 of P. S. FOURNIER, Manuel, II, 205; the second is in a style not unlike that of Junius's letters]

621.1 GRIMM, W.C., *Ueber deutsche Runen.* Göttingen, 1821

[Ch. III: Gothische Schrift des Ulfilas, pp. 38-52]

622. *Add*: With Nachtrag by J. Grimm: I. Das *ἐπίσημον* y. 2. Namen der gothischen Buchstaben.

651.1. MAGOUN, F. P. Jr., 'On Writing and Printing Gothic, II,' *Spec.* XXII (1947) 621-625.

652.1. AKINIAN, P. N., 'Der Ursprung des gotischen Alphabets. Ist der Erfinder Wulfila, Chorbischof der Goten, oder Maschtotz, Chorbischof der Armenier? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Frage.' *Handes Amsorya* LXII (1948) 321-341, 449-496.

[In Armenian, with summary in German 441-443, 631-632]

652.2. AKINIAN, P. N., 'Das Fortleben des gotischen Alphabets in Runenschriften "Futhark" entziffert als ein armenischer Spruch.' *Handes Amsorya* LXII (1948) 497-508.

[In Armenian, with summary in German 633-638]

652.3. GUTENBRUNNER, Siegfried, 'Ueber den Ursprung des gotischen Alphabets,' *PBB* LXXII (1950) 500-508.

[Argues that Wulfila's alphabet may have been derived from preceding attempts at some Gothic alphabet derived from Latin-Greek on Runic-Greek models. This would explain why, at a further remove, the runic characters had no longer anything heathen in them for Wulfila]

652.4. BOÜÜAERT, Joseph, 'Oorsprong en vorming van het gotisch alphabet,' *RBPh* XXVIII (1950) 423-437.

[Considers the Gothic alphabet to have been made on the model of the Greek cursive]

B. PRONUNCIATION

Below: I) General studies *add*: Cf. No. 502.

2) Special studies

661.1 WIGET, W., 'Altgermanische Lautuntersuchungen,' *Acta et Commentationes Dorpatensis*, 1921, 11, 3.

[on *ai* and *au*]

664.1. RUZICKA, Jozef, 'Die Vokalquantität im Gotischen,' *Recueil linguistique de Bratislava* I (1948) 151 ff.

[*ai*, *au* in *saian*, *stauida* represent short vowels, the neutralization of the quantity correlation taking place in Gothic before a heterosyllabic vowel]

666.1. PENZEL, Herbert, 'Orthography and Phonemes in Wulfila's Gothic,' *JEGPh* XLIX (1950) 217-230.

[Internal consistency of orthography points to uniform values for *ai* and *au*]

XX. PHONOLOGY

A. GENERAL

1) Collective and general studies

677.1. JOOS, M., 'Statistical Studies in Gothic Phonology,' *Univ. of Wisconsin Summaries of Doctoral Diss.* VI (1942) 305-307.

701.1. SCHERER, W., *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache.* Berlin, 1868.

[Pp. 113-121 discusses the phonetic value of *ai* and *au* in inflexional syllables]

B. VOCALISM

735.1. BENNETT, W. H., 'The Earliest Germanic Umlauts and the Gothic Migrations,' *Lang* XXVIII (1952) 339-342.

C. CONSONANTISM

1) Detailed Treatment.

741.1. CULMANN, F. W., *Versuch einer Erklärung der gothischen Wörter welche mit q anlauten nebst Beleuchtung gewisser Grundsätze der neuen Sprachforschung.* Leipzig, 1871, 64p.

750.1. HENCH, A., 'Gotisch *guþ*,' *PBB* XXI (1896) 562-568.

[The abbreviation *gþa* should be expanded *guda*]

763.1. JANKO, J., 'Vom Lautwert des gotischen *h*'. *Prager Deutsche Studien*, VIII (1908) 59-70.

[Was still a spirant]

781.1. SOMMER, Ferdinand, 'Zum Zahlwort,' *MSB* 1950, 7, 100p.

785.1. HØST, Gerd, *Zum Vernerschen Gesetz im Gotischen*, *NTS* XV (1949) 410-411.

785.2. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Gothic *ld* <PG. **ld* or **lð*?' *GR* XXVIII (1953) 55-56.

[PG. **lð* did not yield Gothic *ld* directly but through the intermediate stage **ld*]

2) The Verschärfung

795. *Read:* van COETSEM

795.1. POLOMÉ, E., 'Laryngaaltheorie en Germaanse Verschärfung,' *Handelingen der Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis,* IV (1950) 61-75.

[Discusses van Coetsem's article]

795.2. LEHMANN, Winfred, P., *Proto-Indo-European Phonology*. Austin, 1952, XV+129p.

[Chap. 4, pp. 36-46, 'Lengthened /w/ and /y/ in the Gmc. Dialects', is an attempt to show that it is a reflex of a following laryngeal]

Rev.: *RBPh* XXXI (1953) 537-544 (E. Polomé)

XXI. MORPHOLOGY

A. GENERAL STUDIES

799.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'Notes on Certain Gothic Forms,' *GR* XXIV (1949) 136-142.

B. THE NOUN

1) Substantives

c) *Vocalic stems*

813.1. ROSS, Alan S. C., 'A Gothic-Oscan Parallel,' *Archivum Linguisticum* II (1950) 140-143.

[Masculine *o*-stems which have been "attracted" into the *i*-declension]

e) *Consonantal Stems*

821.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Wiljan* for *wilja* τὸ θέλημα.' *GR* XXVII (1952) 50.

[Tries to account for this scribal inaccuracy]

2) The Cases

f) *Plural—Genitive*

845.1. BAZELL, C. E., 'IE Final Unaccented *ē* in Germanic,' *JEGP* XXXVI (1937) 1-9.

[Explains its appearance in the Gothic genitive plural as due to the motive of distinguishing between masc. and fem. on the analogy of the prehistoric instrumental singular]

846.1. MUST, Gustav, 'The Gothic Genitive Plural in -*e*,' *Lang* XXVIII (1952) 219-221.

[Assumes that the spelling -*ē* interpreted as an -*ī* must have spread from the *i*-stems where it was historically justified]

846.2. BAZELL, C. E., 'Morphological Must-nots,' *Ingiliz Filolojisi Dergisi* III (1952) 112-113.

[Criticism of the preceeding assumption]

4. Adjectives

a) *General*

861.1. DAL, Ingerid, 'Zur Flexion der adjektivischen *i*-Stämme im Gotischen; *NTS* XV (1949) 392-394.

6. Numerals

881.1. PISANI, V., 'Got. *sibuntehund*, etc.' *AGI* XXXIV (1942) 15-16.

7) Pronouns

a) *Personal Pronouns*

895.1. PISANI, V., 'Il dativo del pronome personale,' *AGI* XXXIV (1942) 14-15.

b) Other Pronouns

900.1. BECH, Gunnar, 'Ueber die gotischen indefiniten pronomina *hwas* und *sums*,' *APhs* XXI (1952) 66-72.

C. THE VERBS

3) Weak Verbs

921.1. GOETTSCH, Charles, 'Ablaut-relations in Gothic, Old High German and Middle High German,' *MPh* V (1908) 569-616, VI (1908) 229-256.

921.2. PISANI, V., 'Sul verbo debole in gotico,' *AGI* XXXIV (1942) 16-20.

921.3. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The *jan*-suffix in the Infinitive Form *wil-jan*,' *GR* XXVII (1952) 51.

5) Preterite-Present Verbs

944.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Ogs*, Subjunctive Form in Imperative Function,' *GR* XXVII (1952) 52.

[Discusses Hirt's views]

6) Inflection

947.1. GUCHMANN, M. M. Projischoždenije stroja gotskogo glagola. Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, 154p.

(Akadem. nauk SSSR)

[Origin of verbal structure in Gothic]

XXII. WORD FORMATION

B. DERIVATION

2) Special Studies

994. *Read: -assus.*

1014.1. KRAHE, Hans, 'Ueber *st*-Bildungen in den germanischen und indogermanischen Sprachen, '*PBB* LXXI (1949) 225-250.

[On Goth. *þramstei*, etc.]

1015.1. MEZGER, Fritz, 'Got. *fraujinassus*, ae. *fréot*, aks. *svobodi*,' *ZvS* LXIX (1951) 204-206.

1015.2. MEZGER, Fritz, 'Got. *þwastiþa*, '*ZvS* LXX (1951) 153.

[Derived from a *u-stem* adjective of the *hardus* type with a mixture of *i/ja*-forms]

1015.3. STURTEVANT, A. M., 'The Adverb *anaks* "suddenly",' *GR* XXVII (1952) 52-53.

[Formation and semantic development]

1015.4. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Fram fruma* "from the beginning",' *GR* XXVIII (1953) 59-61.

[Assumes with Braune, as against Streitberg, the existence of a substantive **frum*(*s*)]

1015.5. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*sin-eig-s*: *sin-ist-a* "old": "oldest",' *GR* XXVIII (1953) 61-62.

[Preserves the original IE conditions, as in Lat. *sene-x*: *sen-ior*, versus the normal Gmc. pattern of the type *handu-g-s*: *handu-g-ōz-a**: **handu-g-ōst-s*]

1015.6. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*Ana-, du-stodjan* "to begin",' *GR* XXVIII (1953) 58-59.

[Assumes that in -*stodjan* the -*ja*-suffix had probably an iterative or frequentative force]

C. COMPOSITION

1027.1. RYDER, Frank, G., *Verb-Adverb Compounds in Gothic and Old High German*, 1949, 344p.

(University of Michigan)

[Available on micro-film, cf. *MfAb* X, 3 (1950) 134-135]

1027.2. RYDER, Frank, G., 'Syntax of Gothic Compound Verbs,' *JEGPh* L (1951) 200-217.

1027.3. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*unþa-þliuhan* "to flee away from, escape",' *GR* XXVII (1952) 53-55.

[Contrasts the stressed prefix *unþa*- with the unstressed *und*- from the semantic point of view]

XXIII. SYNTAX

B. THE ELEMENTS

1) The Substantive

d) *Absolute Constructions*

1059. *Add* to the rev.; *LF* XXXII (1905) 314-315.

1061. *Add:*

[='Absolutni nominativ v gotštině' *CMF* I (1911) 24-46]

e) *Cases after Prepositions*

1065.1. BEER, A., 'Mourkova práce habilitační. Příspěvek k dějinám českí germanístiky,' *VCA* XXIII (1914) 92-101.

[On works of Mourek]

2) Adjective

b) *Comparative*

1077.1. WAGNER Reinh., *Die Syntax des Superlativs im Gotischen, Altniederdeutschen, Althochdeutschen, Frühmhd., im Beowulf u. in der älteren Edda.* Berlin, 1910, 117p.

(Palaestra 91)

3) The Pronouns

1080.1. BEER, A., 'K otázce o slovese bez pronominálního podmětu v jazyce gotském,' *24. Roční zpráva reálky v Ceskych Budějovicích* (1908) 1-6.

[On the verb without pronoun-subject]

1084.1. KOLDITZ, Gottfried, 'Syntaktische Untersuchungen der Indefinita *sum, ein einig* im Germanischen,' *PBB* LXXIV (1952) 225-268.

5) The Verb

c) *Reflexive Verbs*

1090.1. GUCHMAN, M. M., 'O projischoždeniji vozvratnych konstrukcij (na materiale gotskogo),' *Jazyk i myšlenije* (Moskva) XI (1948) 104-132.

[Origins of reflexive constructions according to Gothic material]

1090.2. HERMODSSON, Lars, *Reflexive und intransitive Verba im älteren Westgermanischen.* Uppsala, 1952.

[Zum Gotischen, pp. 83-108]

d) *Aspect*

Add below: Cf. No. 1303.

1097. *Read:* 1915-1921.

f) *Moods: The Optative*

1114.1. BEER, A., 'Prispěvekk dějinám otázky o vlivu věty hlavní na způsob věty vedlejší v jazycích germánských. I. V jazyce gotském,' *VCA* XIX (1910) 38-52.

[Influence of the main clause on the mood used in the subordinate]

j) *The Participles*

1129.1. BEHAGHEL, Otto, ‘*Sa qimands-sa qimanda,* ‘*PBB* XL (1915) 522-524.
[Discusses Sommer's point of view and considers that rhythm accounts for the choice of either form]

k) *Rection*

Add below: Cf. No. 1090.1.

D. THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

1) General Studies

1153.1. BENVENISTE, Emile, ‘La conjonction *ei* dans la syntaxe gotique,’ *BSL* XLVII. 1 (1951) 52-56.
[Maintains that *ei* is always a conjunction]

3) Subordination

1172. *Read*: *CMF* II (1912)

XXIV. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

1199.1. EHRISMANN G., [Review of No. 305] *ZfdPh* XXXVIII (1906) 382-395.

1199.2. BEER, A., ‘Wulfila překladatil,’ *VCA* XVII (1908) 47-51.
[Wulfila as a translator]

1208. *Add* to the rev.: *JTS* XXVIII (1926) 90-97.

1218. *Add* to the rev.; *Medium Aevum* XII (1943) 84-91 (C. L. Wrenn); *JTS* XLI (1940) 303-305 (Souter).

1220.1. MASTRELLI, C. A., ‘Sulla traduzione dei verbi composti con εἰς nei Vangeli,’ *Annali della scuola normale Superiore di Pisa*, Serie II, XVIII (1949) 205-209.

XXVI. ETYMOLOGY

C. RECENT ETYMOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS SINCE 1938

1253.1. MEZGER F., ‘Nachgehen und Wissen; got.*lais*: *leiþan*?’ *GR* XIV (1939) 215-218.
[Cites phonological and semantic parallels in favor of such a connection]

1256.1. MEZGER, F., ‘Two etymologies: 2. Gothic *frastim*,’ *Lang* XIX (1943) 262-263.

1258.1. MEZGER, F., ‘Gothic *gabaurjoþus*,’ *Lang* XXI (1945) 97-98.

1262.01. SZEMERENYI, O., ‘Latin Gerundive and Other *nd*-Formations.’ *Trans.Phil.Soc.* 1950 169-179.
[Against connecting Goth. *aþn* ‘year’ with Lat. *annus*]

1262.1. KRETSCHMER, Paul, ‘Der Name des Elefanten’, *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 1951, 307-325.
[Goth. *ulbandus und* Hitt. *ulubandaš*]

1262.2. BOUMAN, A. C., ‘Een drietal Etymologieën,’ *Neoph* XXXV (1951) 238-241.
[Proposes a new etymology of *aibr*: δωρόν *Mt* v, 23]

1262.3. BRÜCH, J., ‘Got.*kaupatjan* “ohrfeigen”,’ *ZfdA* LXXXIII (1951) 103-107.

1262.4. BRÜCH, J., ‘Die Herkunft des Wortes *kaufen*,’ *ZfdA LXXXIII* (1951) 92-103.

XVII. VOCABULARY

A. GENERAL

1264.1. LAIRD, H. C. C., ‘The Heathen Religion of the Goths: Inferences drawn from the Vocabulary of their Bible,’ *Cornell Univ. Abstract of Theses*, 1939, 48-52.

C. SEMANTICS

1. Semantic word groups

1274. *Read* ἔθνος

1275.1. BAETKE, W., *Das Heilige im Germanischen.* Tübingen, 1942.

[Pp. 80-90 Goth.*weihs,* pp. 135-137 Goth.**hailags*]

1293.1. STURTEVANT, A. M., '*þata diwano* τὸ θνητόν "mortal",' *GR* XXVIII (1953) 56-57.

[Assumes that in Wulfila's time **diwan* was an archaic verb that lent a poetical coloring to the participial formations denoting the spiritual conception of 'death' and 'immortality'].

3. Synonyms

1304.1. JOHANNISSON, T., 'Got. *andhruskan* och *andsitan.* Ett misskänt synonympar,' *Studier i nordisk Filologi* XXXIX (1949) 1-19.

D. PROPER NAMES

2. Gothic Proper Names

1324.1. FIEBIGER, Otto and SCHMIDT, Ludwig, *Inschriften Sammlung zur Geschichte der Ostgermanen.* Vienna, 1917, XVIII+174p. and 19 fig.; Vienna, 1944, 28p.

(Akad.d.Wiss.in Wien,Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, LX, 3 und LXXII, 2).

Rev.: *BphW* XXXIX (1919) 123-129; *WKPh* XXXVI (1919) 385-388; *Germania* (Korresp.-Blatt) III (1919) 63ff.; see also No. 1325.1. below.

1325.1. Von PREMERSTEIN, Anton, 'Zu den Inschriften der Ostgermanen,' *ZfdA* LX (1923) 71-80.

[Additions to No. 1324.1; see also No. 1406 and 1407]

1327.1. HUSS, Richard, 'Der Familienname Huss in Luxemburg und Siebenbürgen und das Geschlecht der Huosi', *Jahrbuch der Luxemburg. Sprachgesellschaft,* 1933, 133-160.

[Of Gothic origin]

1329.1. VASMER, M., 'Ein vandalischer Name der Goten,' *StN* XV (1942-1943) 132-134.

[Compares **Ιρούλος** , the nickname given by the Vandals to the Goths with ON.*troll*].

E. LOAN-WORDS

1. Foreign Loan-words in Gothic

b) Greek

1339.1. BEER, A., '*Háiþno-haípno,*' *VCA* XVII (1908) 43-47.

[On loan-words in Gothic]

1345. *Read: daupjan.*

d) Other Sources

1362.1. KRETSCHMER, P., 'Die frühesten sprachlichen Spuren von Germanen,' *ZvS* LXIX (1948) 1-25.

[Assumes that the Mediterranean name of the 'oil', Goth *alew,* was brought by Illyrian merchants to Scandinavia in 3-2 cent. B.C.]

1362.2. HOOPS, J., *Geschichte des Oelbaums.* Heidelberg, 1944.

(Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist.Kl., 1942-43, 3)

[Includes a full discussion of Gothic *alew*]

Rev.: *ASNS* CLXXXV 1948, 104-107 (Horn).

2. Gothic Loan-words in other Languages

a) *German*

1371.1. FRINGS, Theodor, *Germania Romana.* Halle, 1932, 259p.

(Teuthonista, Beiheft 4 = Mitteldeutsche Studien, Heft 2)

[1. Angelsächsisch, Althochdeutsch, Gotisch, pp. 3-42]

Rev.: *BSL* XXXIV, 3 (1933) 113-115; *Teuthonista* IX (1933) 172ff.; *ZONF X* (1934) 314-316; *ZfFK* XLIII (1935) 101ff.; *Museum* XLII (1935) col. 179-181; *AfdA* LIV (1935) 9-14.

1371.2. STROH, Fritz, 'Der Aufbau des Deutschen,' *Germanen und Indogermanen, Festschrift für Hermann Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936.

[Vol. II, pp. 385-389: 'Gotisch und Deutsch']

b) *Romance*

General

1378. *Add*: Bd.II: *Die Ostgoten . . . Die altgermanischen Bestandteile des Ostromanischen. Altgermanisches im Alpenromanischen.* Berlin & Leipzig, 1935, XIV+329p., 8 maps.

French

1382.1. MOURAIN de SOURDEVAL, Charles, *Etudes gothiques.* Tours, 1839, 79p .

(II: Des origines gothiques de la langue française; III: Onomatographie)

[Confuses Gothic with Germanic]

Rumanian

Add below: Cf. No. 1378.

c) *Balto-slavic*

1401.01. EKBLOM, R., 'Ortnamns vittnesbörd om svenskarnas tidiga förbindelser med slaver och balter,' *UUÅ* 1942, 9, 149-178.

[Assumes that Lith.*Gudas* was not borrowed from Gothic, but much later on, in Viking times, from some Swedish dialect]

1401.1. SMAL-STOCKI, Roman, *Slavs and Teutons. The oldest Germanic-Slavic Relations.* Milwaukee, 1950, 108p.

[Chapt. V: Gothic loan-words in Slavic, pp. 49-73]

1401.2. VAILLANT, André, 'Slave et germanique: *svobodĭ* "libre", *gospodĭ* "seigneur",' *RevEtSlaves* XXVIII (1951) 138-140.

1401.3. VAILLANT, André, 'Slave *gvozdŭ* "forêt", *gvozdii* "clou",' *RevEtSlaves* XXVIII (1951) 140-142.

f) *Indian Languages*

Add below: See also 1325.1, pp. 72-73.

XXVIII. APPENDIX

Readers containing Gothic excerpts

1432.1. PIPER, Paul, *Die älteste deutsche Literatur.* Berlin & Stuttgart, 1885 (Kürschners Deutsche National Literatur, Vol. I)

[Ulfila, 22-39]

XXIX. WORKS IN PROGRESS OR NOT YET PUBLISHED

(Alphabetical order of authors)

BEELER, Madison, S., 'Gothic and the other Germanic Languages'.

[The traditional tripartite classification of the Germanic languages has been subjected to much criticism in recent years in the writings of Frings, Schwarz, Maurer, Bach *et al.* Many no longer accept a "West-Germanic" unity. The character of the interrelationship of Gothic to its sister dialects is here reexamined and the results presented of a detailed survey of its vocabulary]

BENNETT, William, H., Edition of *Skeireins* based on new readings of MS.

BENNETT, Willliam, H., *Gothic Grammar.*

BENNETT, William, H., '*High-Contrast Photography of a Gothic Palimpsest: Skeireins*, Leaves III, IV, VIII'.

FLÖST, Gerd, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den gotischen Sprachdenkmälern.*

SCHERER, Philip, 'The Problem of Aspect in Gothic'.

SCHERER, Philip, 'Gothic Equivalents of Church Slavic non-past,' (Paper presented, Chicago Meeting of Ling. Society, 1950)
[Cf. *Lang* XXVII, No. 1 suppl., p. 16]

INDEX OF AUTHORS

P.323 *Read* GARDTHAUSEN. *S.v.* HELM, *add* 548. *S.v.* HEYNE, *add* 208. *Read* KISCH, Alex., 293, 367; KISCH, Gustav, 1358, 1377.

P.323 *S.v.* MOSSÉ, *read* 1101. *Add* VOGT, Fr., 193; WILHELM, Fr., 575.

P.324 *Read* STIERHIELM. *S.v.* VOGT, *add* 193. *S.v.* WREDE *add* 208.

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Four Old French Versions of the Fifteen Signs Before the Judgment.

WILLIAM W. HEIST

THE four texts here edited from photostatic copies of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale have not, so far as I can discover, been previously printed, though they were noted as long ago as 1879, when Georg Nölle cited them in his dissertation on the legend of the Fifteen Signs.[1] Nölle does not seem to have seen these texts, though he had some information, not entirely accurate, about them. I have previously given a brief description and classification of the four versions in my study of the legend.[2]

Since I have not myself seen the entire manuscripts containing these texts, but only reproductions of the pages on which the texts occur, I am unable to say much about the manuscripts beyond what is available in catalogue descriptions. But since each of the texts is clearly marked with an *incipit* and an *explicit*, I can confirm the catalogue information that each of them was plainly regarded as a separate and independent piece, though one of them, from *Ms fr.* 1181, is followed by another poem in the same meter and dealing with material also associated with death, the resurrection and the judgment.

This text, indeed, belongs to a version that has appeared in print in association with that following poem and with other related material, though only in fragmentary form outside of very early books and chapbooks. It is essentially the same as that in a chapbook published at Troyes in 1728 and long sold under the title of *La Grande Danse macabre . . . Avec le Débat du corps et de l'âme . . . la Vie du mauvais Antechrist, Les Quinze-signes du Jugement.* Charles Nisard describes this chapbook and prints the text of the Fifteen Signs, but with major ellipses.[3]

It is important to remember, in reading Nisard's account of this chapbook and texts that he associates with it, that he does not distinguish clearly between the material and the form in which it appears. He indicates that the matter of *La Grande Danse macabre, etc.* is largely the same as that printed by Antoine Vérard in 1492 in *L'Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir;*[4] and this seems to be true so far as the collection in one volume of various moral and eschatological materials is concerned. At least, the titles of the various parts are approximately the same. But Vérard's book is in prose, as is the book entitled *Signes precedens le grant jugement de notre redempteur Jesu Christ,*[5] which is in fact reprinted from Vérard and begins with part of Vérard's section entitled *La Vie du mauvais Antichrist.* The woodcuts of this later book are also copied from Vérard's illustrations, some of them being reversed from left to right through failure of the artist to make the necessary reversal on his block when copying from the print.

Other accounts of early or popular printed collections of eschatological matter, but insufficiently detailed to indicate whether or not any of them are identical with the Troyes chapbook or with Vérard, have been given by other writers.[6]

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[1] 'Die Legende von den fünfzehn Zeichen vor dem jüngsten Gericht,' *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, VI, 412-476.

[2] *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday* (East Lansing, 1952), pp. 142-143, 172-173, 176-177.

[3] *Histoire des livres populaires* II (2nd ed., Paris, 1864), pp. 327-328. I give Nisard's text, for comparison, in an appendix.

[4] The Bibliothèque Nationale has two copies; I have consulted that numbered D 852. Vérard's book, with some variation in the matter included, was reprinted several times during the decade.

[5] (Paris, *ca.* 1500); this is catalogued as D 4722 of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[6] Gustav Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des Jüngsten Gerichtes.* (Studien zur englischen Philologie, XXXI, Halle, 1908, p.

A more thorough and detailed description, however, exists in Massmann's *Literatur der Todtentänze*,[7] which, although it is primarily concerned with *La Grant Danse macabre* and its development, does list a number of printed collections which include the Fifteen Signs, from one of which Massmann quotes enough to show that we have the poem of *Ms* Bibl. Nat. *fr.* 1181 printed at least as early as 1528. Another printing, this one of Lyon, 1499, is described on its title page, which Massmann reprints, as *Le tout composé en ryme françoise et accompagné de figures*, and is therefore probably the same. The absence of complete printed or other systematic catalogues for anonymous printed works has made it impossible for me to find most of these books in the libraries of Paris, if indeed they exist there—Massmann indicates that many of them do not, or did not when he made his compilation, but must be looked for in various libraries of Germany, Austria and England, a number of them private libraries, most of which are doubtless no longer in existence. But the printing of the rhymed version in 1499 and the existence of the present manuscript version, which is of about the same time, seems to point to the redaction of Vérard's collection into French verse sometime in the last decade of the fifteenth century. The rhymed version perhaps displaced the prose upon which it was based and continued to enjoy some popularity into the eighteenth century, probably with some decline in the social scale of its readers.

The chapbook version printed by Nisard, and better represented in *Ms fr.* 1181,[8] belongs to the Voragine type, though this fact is somewhat obscured in Nisard's text by his omissions. It is a rather free rendering of the version in the *Legenda aurea*, the freedom appearing to be only such as was necessitated by the plan of assigning one eight-line stanza to each sign.

Of the other three texts printed here, those from *Mss fr.* 19397 and *fr.* 17177 are close renditions of well-known Latin forms of the legend. That from *Ms fr.* 19397 is, indeed, clearly a direct translation from the *Legenda aurea* and bears many indications of the actual phrasing of the Latin original. The poem from *Ms fr.* 17177 is not quite so close in its phraseology to its Latin original, which occurs in the *Collectanea sive flores* formerly attributed to Bede. But it is about as close to the Pseudo-Bedan original as is easily compatible with translation into French octosyllabic couplets, and it is not unlikely that it, too, was rendered directly from a Latin text. A slight expansion, in the form of a comment on the Judgment, has been added at the end, but this does not seem to be especially characteristic of any description of the Judgment commonly appended to the legend of the Fifteen Signs in other versions and was no doubt added by the poet from the general stock of Christian tradition.

The remaining text, that from *Ms fr.* 15212, likewise remains close to a well-known type of the legend, that which has usually been called simply the Old French type. This form of the legend is typified by an Anglo-Norman poem that follows the twelfth-century mystery play *Adam* in the Tours manuscript and has several times been printed by editors of the play either as a part of it (as by Luzarche and Pallustre) or as an appendix to it (as by Grass). The present text appears at first sight to be a reasonably close paraphrase in prose of this poem. Slight deviations of our text from the type are the reversal of Signs 7 and 8; the addition in Sign 8 (=Sign 7 of the typical form) of a battle of the trees that grow upside down, an addition no doubt patterned after the battle of the stones in Sign 13; and the omission of any mention of men hiding under the mountains in Sign 13. All these deviations from the main

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278, n. 1; Jacques Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* VI (Paris, 1860-1865), p. 779; E. Wadstein, 'Die eschatologische Ideengruppe,' *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XXXVIII (1895), 583 and note.

[7] (Leipzig, 1840), pp. 91-109.

[8] Or so I believe, on the basis of the rhymes and other such internal evidence.

type are simple and unsuggestive of any line of descent beyond the Norman poem.

But one detail in Sign 11 does suggest an original that would seem to have been a common ancestor of the Anglo-Norman poem with its descendants on the one hand and of the present text on the other. In the Norman poem, on the eleventh day the winds shake the earth, the newly dead are blown about (a detail sometimes omitted, as in our present text), and the rainbow descends and drives the devils, who have broken out of hell and invaded the earth as a part of the sign of the tenth day, back into hell. Among the many fantastic and not very easily explicable signs of the Old French type of the legend, this behavior of the rainbow does not attract particular notice; and one is at first inclined to attribute it, along with other details, to the fertile and undisciplined imagination of the Norman poet. But, as I have been able to show in my study of the legend, most of these details must instead be explained as due to misunderstanding and to the use of unexpected sources rather than to deliberate invention.[9] Hence, when in the present text we find not the *arc-en-ciel* but *li archangles* descending from heaven and driving the devils back into hell, it seems likely that one of the minor puzzles of the Norman poem and its descendants is to be explained as a simple textual corruption.

There is more evidence than mere intrinsic plausibility that *archangles* is the older and better reading in this passage. It is, of course, possible that the author of our prose piece has himself made the correction from "rainbow" to "archangel," in conformity perhaps with *Rev.* xii: 7-9. But even if he has done so, and if this text does not in fact go back to an earlier source than the Norman poem, it seems certain that he was restoring a reading that was actually the true one, from which the poem had deviated. For the tradition of the battle between the angels and the devils is an old one, and it appears not only in the canonical book of Revelation but in a work that I believe I have demonstrated, in the earlier study mentioned above, stands at the head of the legend of the Fifteen Signs. This is the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Thomas*, which we possess in various Latin forms, in three Old English homilies, and in a tenth-century Irish poem that has generally been treated as a part of the *Saltair na Rann*, though it is actually a separate work connected with the *Saltair* only by the accident of following the longer poem in the chief manuscript reperesenting it. The Old French type of the Fifteen Signs very clearly reflects, in its signs for the tenth and eleventh days, the events of the sixth sign of the *Apocalypse of Thomas*, as presented, for example, in the seventh of the Old English collection known as the Blickling Homilies, where it is described as follows:

> Before the third hour, from the four ends of the earth all the world will be filled with accursed spirits, who will endeavor to take great spoil of men's souls, as Antichrist previously did. And when he comes, he will threaten to send the souls of those who will not obey him into eternal punishment. Then at last he will himself be driven into everlasting woe. St. Michael will come with a heavenly host of holy spirits and will slay all those accursed folk and drive them into the abyss of hell for disobeying God and for their wickedness.

These events are distributed over two days in the version in *Saltair na Rann*, which is a peculiarly important text, since it seems to be the chief direct source of the legend of the Fifteen Signs. On the Sunday before Doomsday the devils break out of hell and fill the world; and on Monday, the traditional Day of Doom in Ireland, hosts of angels descend to do battle with them and drive them back into hell. The Old French type of the Fifteen Signs therefore agrees with *Saltair na Rann* in the number and order of days on which these events take place, though it differs in not making them a part of the events of Doomsday itself and the preceding day.

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[9] *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday*, pp. 53 and 91-95; see also Index, *s. v.* Old French type.

Ms fr. 1181 of the Bibliothèque Nationale is said to date from the end of the fifteenth century and hence is about contemporary with Antoine Vérard's *Art de bien vivre et de bien mourir.* About a third of folio 135, on which the following text begins, is torn away, as is about half of the preceding page. Another religious poem, described as *Complainte de l'âme damnée,*[10] in octosyllabic couplets, precedes *Les Quinze Signes du jugement final*, which is followed by *La Danse macabre aux hommes.* All are written in the same cursive hand. Practically all but the first two lines of the second stanza are missing as the result of the tear, and a good deal of the third and fourth stanzas. I have made a few conjectural restorations in the most obvious places but have not tried to see how far I could go in that direction. For the general sense of the mutilated stanzas, see Nisard's chapbook text, which I reprint as an appendix.

II

LES QUINZE SIGNES DU JUGEMENT FINAL

Au temps que Dieu jugier vouldra,
Comme tesmoigne le scripture,
Quinze signes demonstrera,
Telz qu'on les peut veoir en paincture.
Premier, la mer oultre mesure
S'eslieuera sur tous les mons;
Comme vng mur hault et en droicture
Se tiendra, comme nous lisons.

Apres, pour le signe second,
La mer se lairra tresbucher [fol. 135^{r}]
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . omoner
. . . . ourra.
. . . . amer
. . . . . . [gr]ans poissons
. . . . . . dessus la mer
. . . . . gecteront en grans sons
. [per]cer les secrez parfons
. . . [enten]dera seullement
. ter doncques nous deuons
. . . . . . destroit jugement.

[Le quar]t signe moult perilleux
[D'une est] range guise sera:
. . . . . feu grant et merueilleux
. . . . . et toute eauue ardera
. . . . . . mme tout deuorera
. . . . . . poissons mettra a mort

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[10] Léopold de Lisle, *Inventaire général et méthodique des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque Nationale* I (Paris, 1876), p. 111.

. . . . . . tout seul n'en eschappera
[E]n ce jour ne doubte il a tort.

[D]u quint signe moult me merueille:
Herbes et arbres sueront [fol. 136^{r}]
Gouttes de rosee vermeilles
Comme sang; puis se assambleront
Les oiseaulx et tous jusneront,
Sans jamais boire ne mangier,
Car l'ire de Dieu doubteront;
Pecheurs seront en grant dangier.

Le sixiesme iert d'estrange guise
Et rempli de griefue douleur:
Arbres, chasteaulx, maisons, eglise,
Tous trebucheront a ce jour.
Adonc du firmament maiour
Chierra foudre, tempeste, orage.
Glorieuse Vierge d'honnour,
Que fera lors l'humain lignaige?

Le septiesme de tel nature
Sera *que* soubz le firmament
Ne aura pierre tant soit dure
Qui ne se fende clerement.
Puis hurteront tant fierement
Que toutes grans guerres feront;
Nul ne scet q*ue* Dieu seullement
La grant noyse q*u'e*lles feront.

Le signe huitiesme pour voir,
La terre tant fort tramblera [fol. 136^{v}]
Que nient viua*n*t n'ara pouoir
D'estre sur piez, mes conuiendra
Tout homme et beste qui sera
Lors du hault au bas trebucher;
Adonc vng chascun serchera
Lieu en terre pour soy cacher.

Au neufuiesme s'eslieueront
Les vens en sy grant quantite
Que les mons et vaulx tumbero*n*t:
Tout mettront a equalite.
Et pour vous dire verite
La terre sera toute vnie;
Des mons la superfluite
Sera en pouldre conuertie.

Au dixiesme ystront les gens hors
Qui s'estoient misses en terre
Et seront de leurs sens dehors,
Sans parler et sans riens enq*ue*rre.
Esbahys seront pour la guerre
Qui brief mettra tout a declin.
Et on fait mettre peine d'acquerre
La gloire qui dure sans fin.

L'onziesme jour, les os des gens
Qui du siecle sont trespassez [fol. 137^{r}]
Seront tous sur les monume*n*s,
Qui seront ouuers et cassez.
Yles seront tous amassez,
Sans qu'ilz puissent resusciter,
Pour les biens et les maulx passez
Deuant le grant Juge compter.

Le douziesme jour, les planettes
Et les estoilles ou ciel posees
Chierront, et apperont comettes,
Merueilleuses et enflammes.
Toutes bestes lors assamblees
Seront, sans mengier et sans boire;
Telz crys feront et telz huees
Que de samblable n'est memoire.

Le treziesme fait adoubter;
Car tout ce qui sera viuant
Mourra ce jour sans respiter,
Homme, ne femme, ne enfant,
Adfin que tout, petit et grant,
Ressuscite communement
Et briefment soient comparant
Deuant Dieu a son jugement.

Le quatorziesme merueilleux
Et dur p*ar*dessus tous sera; [fol. 137^{v}]
Car a ce jour tant perilleux
Le ciel et la terre ardera:
Feu flambant tout consommera
Les elemens, et bas et hault;
Chascune chose doubtera
La sentence Dieu qu'il ne fault.

Le quinziesme jour, tout po*u*r vray,
Terre et ciel renouuelleront.
Puis jncontinant, sans delay,
Les mors, qui suscitez seront,
De toutes pars s'assembleront
Pour venir oir la sentence
Du Juge q*ue* tant doubteront:
Pas ne doit rire qui y pe*n*se.

Quant deuant Dieu bons *et* mauuais
Seront au jugement venuz,
Les bons auro*n*t po*u*r leurs bie*n* faiz
Joye sans fin ou ciel la sus.
Les mauuais yront ou palus
D'enfer en torment pardurable.
Or prions dont au bon Jhesus
Que ce jour nous soit proffitable.
Amen.

III

Ms fr. 19397 is also of the fifteenth century. *Les Quinze Signes du Jugement,* carefully written in a cursive hand, occupies all of folios 106^{v}-108^{v}.

LES QUINZE SIGNES DU JUGEMENT

[S]aint Jerosme raconte comme il a trouue es liures des Hebrieux quinze signes qui precederont le jour du grant jugement de Dieu. Mais il n'a pas mis se ilz viendront continuellement l'un apres l'autre, ou s'il y aura aucune inte*r*positio*n*.

Le premier signe sera que la mer se eslieuera quarante couldees sur la hautteur des montaignes, estant co*mm*e vng mur.

Le second signe, elle descendra si bas que a grant paine la verra on.

Le tiers, les balaines et autres grans poissons apperront sur la mer et donneront mugissemens qui yront jusques au ciel, lesquelz Dieu seullement entendra.

Le quart, ardra la mer et l'eaue.

Le cinquiesme, les arbres et les herbes donneront rousee vermeille co*mm*e sang. Et comme dient aucuns, a ce jour se asse*m*bleront tous les oiseaulx aux champs, ch*a*cun en son espece et ordre, et ne beuront ne mengeront pour la grant paour qu'ilz [fol. 107^{r}] auront du jugement a venir.

Le sixiesme signe, cherront tous les ediffices et se lieueront fouldres de feu de la region de souleil couchant contre le firmament, et impetueusement courront jusques au souleil leuant.

Le septiesme, les pierres se rompront les vnes contre les autres en quatre pieces, et ch*a*cune piece rompra l'autre; et nul ne entendra leur son fors seullement Dieu.

Le huitiesme, il sera general tremblement de terre par tout le monde, si grant que nul homme ne nulle beste ne se saura droit tenir mais seront tous prosternez et couchez a terre.

Le neufuiesme, la terre sera toute equalle, et les roches et montaignes sero*n*t reduites en pouldre.

Le dixiesme, les hommes ystront hors des cauernes et yront comme forcenes et ne pourront parler l'un a l'autre.

Le vnziesme, se eslieueront les oss des mors sur les sepulcres et tous les sepulcres depuis orient jusques en occident [fol. 107^{v}] se ouureront affiin que ilz puissent vvider dehors.

Le douziesme, cherront les estoilles. Ce jour icy, ainsi que on dit, viendront toutes les bestes aux champs mugissancz, sans boire et sancz menger.

Le treiziesme, mourront tous les hommes qui lorcz viuront, affin qu'ilz soie*n*t ressuscites auecques les autres mors.

Le quatorziesme signe, ardront le ciel et aussi la terre.

Le quinziesme et dernier signe, s*er*a fait vng nouueau ciel et nouuelle terre et ressusciterons tous en corps et en ame; et les bons yront en paradis en corps glorieulx et en ame aussi, ou est joye san fin. Et les mauuais reprouuez et mauldiz pecheurs yront auecques les ennemys qui les entraineront ou parfond puiz d'enfer, ou ilz seront a tous iours en tourmens, en criz, en hullemens, en tremblement de dens tres horribles; et la y aura tourmens selon la qualite et quantite des pechez. Et est assauoir que les coulpa- [fol. 108^{r}] bles d'un mesme peche ensemble seront tourmentez et luz: comme vng ourgueilleux auecques vng ourgueilleux, vng luxurieux auecques vng luxurieux, et ainsi des autres; et les paines et to*ur*mens des meschans dampnez renouuelleront de jour en jour. Dieu, par sa grace, nous vveille preseruer et garder de celle horrible pugnicion, et nous doint si bien viure en ce mortel exil q*ue* nous puissions a ce tres esp[o]antable io*ur* du jugement comparoir deuant sa glorieuse face en estat de grace, affin que nous puissions estre colloquez a sa dextre en la joye

pardurable. Que nous vveille octroyez celui qui regne en eternite pardurable. Amen.

Obsecro maiores, mediocres, atq*ue* mi*n*ores
Vt michi parcatis si deffectum videatis.

Detur pro pena scriptoris Aue Ma*ri*a.
C.g.

IV.

Ms fr. 17177 is a large parchment manuscript of the thirteenth century, and the pages I have seen are written in a very neat book hand. The poem on the Fifteen Signs begins in the second column of fol. 281ʳ, being preceded by a stanzaic poem containing popular proverbial matter, *Les Proverbes au vilaine*, and followed by a short poem in praise of women, evidently added by another hand to fill up the second column of 281ᵛ. On fol. 282ʳ, originally following the Fifteen Signs and written in the same hand, is what appears to be a table of contents to the *Moralités des philosophes* of Alart de Cambrai, which occurs on fols. 182-221 of the manuscript.[11]

CI CO*M*MENCENT LES .XV. SI*N*GNES: EN ROUMANS.

Sains Geroymes si nous descrit
Si co*m*me il le trueue en escrit
Des Hebrius, qui le nos assingne,
Q*ue* en .xv. iours .xv. singnes
Avenront merueilleusement
Deuant le jour dou iugement.
Le premier iour, s'esleuera
La mers, qui si haute sera;
P*ar* desor les montaignes toutes
Aura de haut .xl. coutes;
Ausi co*m*me .I. mur sera l'onde
Et toutes les iaues dou monde
Le secont iour descenderont
Et si embas se meteront
Q*u*'a paines iert il ho*m*s qui vive
Q*ui* l'yaue voie de la riue.
Au tiers seront si faitement
Com furent au co*m*mencement.
Au q[u]art iour seront, ce me samble,
Poisson *et* bestes tout ensamble
De la mer sus les iaues cleres;
A uoiz crueuses et ameres
M*ou*lt m*er*ueilleusement brairont
Et ausi co*m* torel muiront,
Mais nus homs fors Dieu ne set mie
Q*ue* ceste chose senefie.
Au cinquime iour arderont
Les iaues toutes qui seront
Des le lieu do*n*t uienne*n*t *et* naisse*n*t
Duq*u*'au lieu ou estre se laissent.
Au .vi. aubres et h*er*bes toutes
Le sanc u*er*mail a grosses goutes
Geteront en lieu de rousee

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[11] Henri Omont *et al.*, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français: Ancien Saint-Germain français* II (Paris, 1898), p. 25.

Ausi co*mm*e a la matinee
Q[u]ant on uoit la rousee espandre
As arb*res* et a l'erbe rendre.
Au septime co*mm*unement
Trestout li edefiement
*Qu*i sont si belement estruit
Seront crauente *et* destruit,
*Qu*e n'i demorra, p*ar* saint Pierre,
Si *com* dit Diex, pierre sor pierre. [fol. 281ᵛ, col. 1]
Mais cil qui font ses grans maisons
Ne pensent pas a ces raisons:
Amcois cuident que touz iourz soient
Et q*ue* iamais finer ne doient.
L'uitisme l'une a l'autre pierre
Se *com*batront et feront guerre
Tant que seront toutes brisies,
Chascune pierre en .iij. parties;
L'une partie encontre l'autre
Se *com*batront ausi *com* viautre.
Au neueuisme iour crollera
La terre toute et mouuera,
Si que des le iour en enca
*Qu*e li siecles en co*mm*enca
Ne fu tiex mouemenz omques
De terre com sera adomques.
Li disimes, val et montaignes
Seront co*n*uerties em plaignes;
La terre onnie iert p*ar* le mont
*Qu*e ni aura ne val ne mont.
A l'onzime iour isteront
Hors des q*u*auernes ou seront
Tuit cil qui seront a sse iour
Amo*n*t et aual sanz seiour,
Con gent qui seront malsene,
Corront apres com forsene;
Li .i. a l'autre .i. seul mot dire
Ne porront, si seront plain d'ire.
Au douzime dou ciel cheoir
Porront cil qui seront veoir
Et les signes et les estoyles
Ardanz cl*er*es co*mm*e chandoiles.
Au tresime s'asambleront
Tuit li os des mors qui seront
Et leueront duqu'a la bouche
Des sepucres ou l'en les couche.
Ne ne se mouront autrement
Deuant le iour dou jugement.
Au quatorzime, c'est la so*mm*e,
Morront trestuit, et fame et home,
Por ce q*ue* de mort, ce me samble,
Resusciteront tuit ensamble.
Au ior apres, ou tanz qui*n*zime,
Duq*u*'au fonz d'enfer en abisme
Ardera trestoute la terre:

Or de la coistre,[12] or de la guerre, [fol. 281^{v}, col. 2]
Ja la terre n'iert si esparse;
Toute ne soit bruie et arse;
Et puis apres son iugement
Tenra li dox Diex qui ne ment.
La uerra chascu*n*s tout affait
Les max q*ue* chascu*n*s aura fait
De quoy co*n*fes ne sera mie
Ne repentanz en ceste vie.
Trestout apert ia n'e*n* douton
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .[13]
He: laz! qui osera venir
A ce grief iugement tenir
A ce que m'auez oy dire?
Je dout que chacu*n*s n'e*n* puist rire.
De q[u]an que Dieus en terre a mis
De gent a il mout peu d'amis,
Car .m. tanz ia mains bonte
Q*ue* ne uous ay deuant conte.
Mais or prions a Dieu le Pere
Q*u*'il nous gart de la grant misere
Ou tuit cil seront tormente
Q*ui* n'auront fait sa uolente.
ISKHGIHLIGKHGKHFIHK
Explicit.

V.

Ms fr. 15212 contains two long works by the Renclus de Moiliens and two sets of Miracles of Our Lady in verse, according to Omont's catalogue, besides a number of shorter pieces, of which the Fifteen Signs occupies fols. 156^{r}-166^{r}. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century and is written in a quite legible book hand.

Chi *co*mmen*c*he*n*t li quinse signe qui aue*n*ront deuan le jugement. Et *com*ment N*ost*re Sires jugera les boi*n*s *et* les mauuais.

Or escoutes *co*mmunalme*n*t, *co*mment N*ost*re Sires reprent toute *cr*eature q*u*'il a faites *et* fourmees a se sanlance *et* a l'image de le Sainte Trinite; que no*us* nous desnaturons q*u*ant no*us* ne l'amons de tout no cuer, de toute no ame, *et* de toute no force. Oisel, bestes, poisson font cou q*u*'il doiue*n*t a leur *cr*eateur. Li solaus, li lune, les esteiles, li airs, li cieus, *et* li firmamens re*n*dent cou q*u*'il doiue*n*t a *n*o*str*e Signeur. *Et* li hons, qui tout cou voit, se desnature *et* pert l'iretage de paradis do*n*t il estoit drois hoirs; dont li apostles dist: Q*ui* est de Diu, il oit vole*n*tiers parler de Diu. Et p*our* ciaus q*u*i volentiers oent le parole de Diu, *et* volentiers le metent a oeure, voel ie dire *et* racon*ter* les .xv. signes *par* le tesmoi*n*g des *pro*phetes *et* des patriarches a qui li Sains [fol. 156^{v}] Espris le reuela, *et par* le tesmoi*n*g de Diu q*ue* li ewangeliste anoncent. Car il n'est nus en cest siecle, se il b*i*en pensoit au destroit jugement, qu'il n'eüst le cuer tout a N*ost*re Signour, et q*u*e p*our* tout l'or du mo*n*de ne feroit mie vn pechiet mortel.

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[12] Apparently a rare word, not listed by Godefroy. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois*, edd. L. Favre and M. Pajot (Niort, n.d.), *s. v.*, says it means "field," and specifically "battlefield," citing a passage from Ph. Mouskes describing thte battle of Roncevaux.

[13] Three lines illegible in copy.

N*ost*re Sires fera signes deuant le jugeme*nt*. Li p*r*emiers signes si ert q*u*'il plouuera plueue sangle*n*te dont toute li t*er*re ert arrousee. Li e*n*fa*n*t qui seront dedens les ve*n*tres de leu mere crieront: "Vrais Dix o*n*ipote*n*s, m*er*ci! Nous ne querriemes ia naistre; *et* plus kier ariemes q*u*e no*us* ne fuissiemes onq*ue*s, que no*us* veissons le iour de vo*st*re ire." Che sera li p*r*emiers signes.

Li secons signes sera pl*us* crueus: car du ciel querro*nt* les estoiles. Cou ert vne tres g*r*ant m*er*uelle: car eles iront courant en abisme *et* seront aussi noires co*m*me carbon qui si estoient luisans. He, do*us* Ih'c Cris! Q*u*e ferons no*us* q*u*i sommes enuolepe de pluiseurs pechies?

Li tiers signes ert m*er*uilleus *et* plains de tres g*r*ans peurs. Car li solaus q*u*e vo*us* veës, que si est clers *et* si biaus, sera si noirs q*u*e nus aireme*n*s deste*m*pres, si q*u*'on ne verra nule goute a cel iour. He, bia*us* Sire Dix! Q*u*e feront cil qui ont fait tant de peciet? Iamais ioie n'aront.

Li quars signes [fol. 157^{r}] ert mo*u*lt espoentables. Car li lune, q*u*i ta*n*t est bele, sera muee en sanc *et* fera sambla*n*t de dolour *et* se desseuerra du ciel, *et* s'en ira courant v*er*s le mer p*our* eskiuer le iour de l'ire Ih'u Crist. He, Dix! Ke feront li pekeur de qui vo*us* n'aures merci?

Li quins signes sera mout oribles. Car trestoutes les mues bestes hauceront les testes aussi *com* s'eles vausissent plaindre a Diu *et* crieront *et* braieront *et* mout doutero*n*t le iour de l'ire N*ost*re Signe*ur*; *et* li vne braiera plus fort c'ore ne feroient cent. Toute riens ert en tristece. He, Dix! Ce dist Salemons: "Co*m*me il doiue*n*t estre dolent, cil qui dampne seront ap*r*es le iugeme*n*t!"

Li sisimes ert mout lais. Car li pais sera muee en guerre. Car li tere crollera si fort q*u*e li mont kerront es valees, *et* les tours *et* li palais q*u*erront tout co*n*tre t*er*re. He, Dix! Ce dist S'. Jeromes: "Q*u*e feront li felon *et* li maluais a cel iour?"

Li septimes sera crueus: deuant cestui n'ert iamais nus teus. Car li mers istera de sen canel *et* courra p*ar* tout le mo*n*de. Et ce no*us* dist Moyses. Et li mers vaurra aler au ciel, *et* vaurra entrer ens, mais non pora; ins reuenra a son canel. "He, Dix!" dist S'. Augustins, "co*m* cil doiuent estre en g*r*ant destrece qui t'auront courcie deuant cel iour!"

Li witimes ert m*er*uilleus. [fol. 157^{v}] Car li arbre qui seront keü redrecront les racines co*n*tremont *et* s'entreco*m*batro*nt*[14] si fort q*u*e toute t*er*re crollera. He, dous Dix! Q*u*e feront pekeur *et* pekeresses a cel iour?

Li noeuimes ert mout diuers: de to*us* les signes ert mout crue*us*. Car li tout li flueue p*ar*leront *et* diront, "Sauueres de le tout le mo*n*de, m*er*ci!" Et ce no*us* dist S'. Augustins, q*u*e pekeur *et* peceresses seront malbailli a cel iour.

Li disimes p*ar* ert tant fie*r*s, q*u*e[15] n'est nus sains tant soit de g*r*ant saintee plains qu'il n'ait paour a cel iour *et* de cel signe. Car adont tra*m*bleront li cerubi*n*, li seraphin, les v*er*t*us* du ciel, *et* li apostle[16]; ne nus n'osera vn seul mot dire de le g*r*ant paour q*u*'il aro*nt*. Car il v*er*ront le ciel p*ar*tir *et* le t*er*re braire angousseusement. Et cri[er]a, "Vrais Dix om*n*ipot*en*s, m*er*ci!" Lors aront clarte cil d'infer. Mais mo*u*lt sero*nt* espoente: S'. Pols li apostles le dist. Or escoutes q*u*e li anemi[17] diront: "Sire Pere, qui no*us* fesis, qui le ciel no*us* tolis, q*u*e no*us* p*er*dimes p*ar* no folie: Sire, aies m*er*ci de ces poures c*r*eatures qui endure*n*t l'angoisse d'infer." Mais nie*n*t ne leur vaurroit.

Li onsimes signes ert mo*u*lt g*r*ans. Car li ve*n*t ve*n*tero*nt* de toutes pars, li vn *con*tre l'autre, *et* despecero*nt* la[18] t*er*re et eleueront en l'air. Lors descendera des cius li arca*n*gles *et* en cachera les dyales en infer. La souffer- [fol. 158^{r}] ront les g*r*ans tourme*n*s. Lors dira li archa*n*gles, "Li iours du iugement vient."

La dousime ert de tel maniere q*u*e[19] n'est nus si durs cuers qui ne l'eüst tourble, et qui ne doiue auoir co*m*passion de lui meismes, *et* qui ne deüst seruir Ih'u Crist *et* le douce ve*r*ge Marie g*r*acieuse. Li cieus sera reclos arriere *et* dira, "Toute riens doit finer." He, las! Que feront cil qui ont le oribles pecies fais? Dolant en seront; mais c'ert a tart.

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[14] *Before correction,* s'entrecontrebatront.
[15] *Ms* qui.
[16] *Before correction,* apostole.
[17] Li anemi *repeated in Ms.*
[18] *Ms* le.
[19] *Ms* qui.

Li tresimes ert mo*u*lt sauuages. Car cil qui seurent les langages, che fu Japhes, li fix Noe, *et* Abrehams *ne* poroie*n*t mie le moitie dire de le g*r*ant doleur q*ue* Nost*r*e Sires moust*r*era a cel iour *et* a cel signe. Car toutes les pierres qui sont desous le ciel *et* [ci-]desous[20] dusq*ue*s en abisme co*m*me*n*ceront vne si tres g*r*ant bataille q*ue* cuers ne le poroit pe*n*ser ne langue dire. De cest signe dist Job en sen liure, q*ue* toute c*r*eature ert ado*n*t finee.

Del q*u*atorsime signe dirai: sour to*us* les autres ert a cremir. Car adont ve*r*ront te*m*peste de noif *et* de gresil *et* d'orages. Adont ve*r*ront effoudre *et* esclistre[21] *et* tourbillon, *et* les nues[22] qui courront fero*n*t vne g*r*ant ost d'eles *et* iront ve*r*s le mer coura*n*t *et* mout douteront le destroit jugeme*n*t.

Li quinsimes signes ert mout crueus. [fol. 158$^{\text{v}}$] Ce sera li co*n*so*m*mations de to*us* les autres. Li cieus, li te*r*re, li mers, li airs, *et* toutes c*r*eatures arderont *et* iront a nie*n*t, aussi qu'eles furent au co*m*me*n*cement de nient faites. Adont refera No*s*t*r*e Sires nouel ciel *et* nouele tere.

Adont apelera No*s*t*r*e Sires les .iiij. euangelistes *et* lor dira, "Ales se semo*n*nes toutes c*r*eatures humaines, *et* boins *et* maluais, *et* dites q*u*'il viegne*n*t au jugement le Roy des rois, le Signeur des signeurs, le C*r*eateur de toutes coses, qui en son pui*n*g tient toutes coses." Adont iro*n*t li .iiij. euang*el*iste as .iiij. corons du mo*n*de *et* soneront cascuns se buisine *et* diront, "Venes au jugeme*n*t le Roy des rois, le Signeur des signeurs, le Sauueur de toutes coses." Adont seront les vois oïs p*ar* tout le mo*n*de. Adont ressusciteront tout li mort qui onq*ue*s fure*n*t ne qui adont seront, *et* rep*r*endra cascu*n*s son cors; *et* ert cascuns en l'aage de .xxxij. ans; *et* seront tout assanle v Val de Josaphat.

Adont ve*n*ra li Rois des rois, Ih'u Cris, au jugement. Il i ve*n*ra co*m*me empereres de tout le mo*n*de. Car il amenra auoec lui les angles *et* les archangles, les trosnes, les do*m*inations, les cerubins, les sceraphyns, les vert*us*, *et* les poestes. *Et* si ame*n*ra [fol. 159$^{\text{r}}$] se douce glorieuse mere, le douce viergene Marie gracieuse, qui plus resple*n*dira a .c. doubles q*ue* li solaus. Si aura auoec li .lx. m. viellars, *et* si seront li p*r*ophete *et* li patriarche. Si tenront li cerubin *et* li seraphin le crois No*s*t*r*e Signe*ur* Ih'u Crist, qui plus reluira clere a .c. doubles q*ue* li solaus. Si tenront li autre les claus q*u*'il eüt p*ar*mi les pies, *et* p*ar*mi les mains, *et* le lance dont il eüt p*er*ciet le coste toute ve*r*melle; *et* li autre le couro*n*ne dont il fu couro*n*nes.

Tout cil qui onq*ue*s fure*n*t, ne qui iamais seront, seront deua*n*t lui assamble en .iiij. ordenes. Li iuste seront plus cler .vij. fies q*ue* li solaus. Li dampne sero*n*t plus noir q*u*'airemens deste*m*pres, *et* ara cascu*n*s des dampnes sen peciet escrit en sen front, *et* le ve[r]ra[23] on tout ap*er*teme*n*t. Li p*r*emiers ordenes n'ert nient jugies *et* s'ert sauues. Li secons ert jugies *et* sauues. Li tiers n'ert nient jugies *et* si ert dampnes. Et li quars ert *et* jugies *et* dampnes.

Or p*r*endo*n*s garde au p*r*emier ordene, qui n'ert pas jugies *et* si ert sauues. Saues vo*us* quels il ert? Ce seront li martir, li apostle, li confes, *et* les saintes vierges. A ciaus dira No*s*t*r*e Sires: "Vous qui ensiuistes[24] ens v siecle mi *et* mes co*m*ma*n*deme*n*s *par* le ma*r*t*i*r [fol. 159$^{\text{v}}$] de vos cors *et* *par* l'amour q*ue* vo*us* eüstes a mi *et* me douce mere glorieuse, *et* fesistes mes co*m*ma*n*demens, venes seoir jouste moi, apostle, martir, co*n*fes, viergenes, si iugeres auoec moi les .xij. nations du monde."

Li secons ert *et* iugies *et* sauues. Che sero*n*t li preudo*m*me *et* les preude femes qui vol*en*tiers aro*n*t oïe le p*ar*ole de Diu, *et* qui aro*n*t vescu en grasse. A ciaus *et* a celes dira No*st*re Sires: “Li mien fil *et* les mienes filles, q*ua*nt i’eüe faim, vo*us* me do*n*nastes a ma*n*gier; j’eüe soif, vo*us* me do*n*nastes a boire; je fui nus, vo*us* me reuestistes. Vo*us* emplisistes[25] to*us* mes *com*ma*n*demens. Venes en le ioie qui toudis duerra tant q*ue* Dix ert Dix, sans fin.”

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[20] *Ms* sdesous.

[21] *Ms* escistle.

[22] *Before correction*, nuees

[23] *Ms* ve*n*ra.

[24] *Before correction*, ensiustes.

Li tiers si n’ert nient jugies *et* si ert da*m*pnes. Ce seront li Sarrasin, *et* li Turc *et* li Persant. De chia*us* dist S. Paus: “Cil qui sans loy *et* sans *com*mandeme*n*t ont vescu en cel siecle te*r*rijen *et* pekierent sans loy *et* sans jugeme*n*t periront.”

Li quars ordenes, qui ert *et* iugies *et* dampnes: che seront li p*a*riur *et* li foy me*n*tie, li escumenijet, li hayne*us*, li enuieus, *et* li omecide, li mesdisant, li ire*us*, li accideus, li glouto*n*, li tauerneur, li luxurieus, li mourdreur, li laron, tout li maluais *et* les maluaises. A ciaus dira No*st*re Sires: “Q*u*ant i’eüe faim, vo*us* ne me do*n*nastes mie a mangier. Q*u*ant i’eüe [fol. 160^{r}] soif, vo*us* ne me do*n*nastes mie a boire. Q*u*ant ie fui nus, vo*us* ne me reuestistes mie.” Ado*n*t respo*n*diro*n*t[26] li dampne: “Sire, q*u*ant te veismes nous *et* nu *et* poure *et* besoigne*us*?” Nostres Sires respo*n*di[ra]: “Cou q*ue* vo*us* eüssies fait vn de mes poures, cou eüssies vo*us* fait a mi.”

Adont trambleront tout, *et* saint *et* saintes, pour le paour de l’ire No*st*re Signe*ur*. Ne nus ni osera mot so*n*ner, ne angles ne archangles. Ado*n*t dira No*st*re Sires as maluais: “Ales, maleure*us*,” dira il, “en infer en fu p*ar*manable auoec les diables a to*us* iours sans fin.” Adont aront li da*m*pne si p*ar*faite doleur q*u*’il estrai*n*deront les dens si fort ensanle de cou q*u*’il aront oï le sente*n*se No*st*re Signeur; *et* plu*us* g*r*ant mal fera a leur cuer q*u*’estre[27] cent ans en infer.

La aront il .vij. tourme*n*s, q*u*ant il seront tout enferme en infer. Li p*re*miers tormens qui ert en infer, cou ert vns fus si tres grans q*ue* toutes les yawes ki so*n*t v mo*n*de ne l’estainderoie*n*t mie. Li fus de no maison n’est fors q*u*’ointure en regart. Li secons tourme*n*s si ert vne froidure si tres g*r*ans q*ue* qui p*r*enderoit tout le mo*n*de, se fust fus, se le mesist en cele froidure, si deuenroit il ta*n*tost gelee. De ces .ij. tourme*n*s de le caleur *et* de le froidure parla Dix en l’eva*n*gile la v il dist: “En infer ara plaignement [fol. 160^{v}] *et* estraigneme*n*t *et* reskinement de dens.” Li tiers torme*n*s si ert ve*r*s qui ia ne morro*n*t, qui viue*n*t v fu d’infer aussi *com* li poissons en l’iauve. De cele ve*r*mine p*ar*la Job: “Li ve*r*mine qui les maleure*us* ma*n*gera, jamais ne li fus qui les ardera jamais n’estaindera.” Li quars torme*n*s, c’ert vne pueurs si tres g*r*ans q*ue* bouce ne poroit pas dire. De cele pueur p*ar*la Ysaies, la ou il dist: “Les jume*n*s purront en leu ordures.” K’apele il jumens? Ciaus *et* celes qui viue*n*t *com*me bestes, qui ne quiere*n*t fors boire *et* ma*n*gier, *et* le volente de la car. Li quins torme*n*s, c’ert vns bateme*n*s aussi *com*me martiaus fait sour le fer sour l’e*n*glume q*u*ant il est bie*n* caus *et* b*i*en boillans. Ensi sero*n*t batu de dolereus torme*n*s cil qui sero*n*t en infer. Li sisimes ert li *con*fusio*n*s *et* le desperance des pekeurs q*ue* de trestous les pechies q*ue* cascuns ara fait, cascuns ert torme*n*tes selonc cou. Li septimes torme*n*s, c’ert tenebres p*ar*manables qui nient pl*us* c’uns ours voit goute q*u*ant il est awules *et* il ne set v il va: nie*n*t plus ne ve*r*ront iamais cil goute q*u*i en ynfer descendero*n*t. Che no*us* tesmoigne S’. Job, v il dist: “En infer ert li te*r*re plaine de caitiuete *et* de tenebres ou nus ne ve[r]ra[28] [fol. 161^{r}] signeries; ains i ara to*us* iours doleurs *et* passion p*ar*manable.” Or sachies qu’en inf*er* aro*n*t li pekeur ces .vij. tourme*n*s. Vraiement che ert li cartre No*st*re Signeur v il co*n*sentira estre chiau*us* qui maleme*n*t l’aro*n*t s*er*ui en cel siecle. Et Dix no*us* deffenge de la aler, *et* no*us* doinst faire se sainte vole*n*te. Ame*n*.

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[25] *Ms* Vo*us* a emplisistis.

[26] *Ms* respondirent.

[27] *Followed by* que *cancelled.*

[28] *Ms* venra, *perhaps correctly.*

Or reueno*n*s a no mat*er*re. Nostres Sires emmerra ses amis to*us* en p*ar*adis. La auront il si g*r*ant ioie de veir le Sainte Trinite: le Pere, le Fil, *et* le S*ain*t Espirit, vn Diu en trois perso*n*nes; *et* de veoir le t*r*es douce v*er*ge Marie gracieuse vestue *et* aournee de si g*r*ant glore, *et comment* ele est seruie d'angles et d'arca*n*gles, *et comment* cascuns *et* cascune sero*n*t s*er*ui de si g*r*ant glore q*ue* se tout cil qui onq*ue*s fure*n*t ne qui iamais seront estoient .m. tans plus sage que Salemons ne fu, ne saroient il mie dire ne comprendre le meneur ioie qui ert en paradis. He! dous Ihesus, lumiere nient ne defalans; tres sains, tres dignes, tres purs! Se i'auoie cent mile cuers *et* cent mile bouces, ne poroi-ge mie dire ne penser le centisme p*ar*tie de le joie ne de le glore q*ue* vo*us* do*n*nes a vos amis en paradis. Et cele ioie *et* cele glore no*us* voelle otroijer Ille qui est benedictus in *secula seculorum*. Amen.

VI. APPENDIX

La Grande Danse macabre . . . Avec le Débat du corps et de l'âme . . . la Vie du mauvais Antechrist, les Quinze-signes du Jugement, published by Charles Nisard, *Histoire des livres populaires* II (2nd ed., Paris, 1864), pp. 327 f.

Premier, la mer outre mesure
S'élèvera outres les monts,
Comme un mur, haut en droiture . . . .
Après ce signe, le second:
La mer se verra trébucher
En abime si très-profond,
Comme s'elle vouloit trémusser . . . .
Le tiers sera dur et amer,
Car baleines et grands poissons
S'apparoîtront dessus la mer . . . .
Le quart signe moult perilleux,
En déguise étrange sera,
Car par feu grand et merveilleux
La mer et l'Océan ardra . . . .
Du quint signe sortiront merveilles;
Les arbres, les herbes sueront,
Cottes (*sic*) et roses vermeilles
Comme sang . . . .
Le sixième sera d'étrange guise . . . .
Arbres, châteaux, maisons, église,
Trébucheront tout en un jour . . . .
Le septième est de telle nature,
Que lors dessous le firmament,
N'y aura pierre tant soit dure
Qui ne se fonde promptement . . . .
Au huitième signe . . .
Tant fort la terre tremblera,
Que rien vivant n'aura pouvoir
D'être sur pieds . . . .
Adonc un chacun cherchera
Lieu pour en terre se musser.
Au neuvième s'élèveront
Les vents en grande quantité,
Que les monts et vaux tomberont,
Mettant tout à égalité . . . .
Au dixième sortiront les morts . . . .

L'onzième jour les os des gens
Qui du siècle sont trépassés,
Seront sur touts les monuments
Qui seront ouverts et cassés . . . .
Le douzième jour les planètes,
Et les étoiles au ciel posées,
Tomberont, et paroîtront comètes
Merveilleusement enflambées . . . .
Le treizième est a douter,
Car tous ceux qui seront vivans
Mourront souvent sans respirer . . . .
Le quatorzième merveilleux
Et dont par-dessus tout sera,
Car à ce jour très-périlleux
Et le ciel et la terre ardra . . . .
Le quinzième pour tous vivans,
Terre et ciel renouvelleront,
Puis incontinent, sans délai,
Tous humains ressusciteront,
De toutes parts s'assembleront
Pour venir ouïr la sentence
Du juge qui tant douteront:
Point ne doit rire qui y pense.

Mediaevalia

I. Note sur le *Revelabile* selon Cajétan

Le premier article de la *Somme de théologie* de saint Thomas d'Aquin demande s'il était nécessaire qu'il y eût, outre les disciplines philosophiques, une autre doctrine. La réponse est affirmative. Au corps de l'article, cette doctrine est qualifiée de doctrine "sacrée": *sacra doctrina*. D'innombrables controverses se sont développées, touchant le sens de cette formule. Dans le passé: Cajétan, Bañez, Jean de Saint-Thomas, Gonet, Billuart et beaucop d'autres en ont discuté le sens; ces controverses ne sont pas closes[1] et bien qu'elles ne soient pas faites que de désaccords, elles vivent de ce qu'elles en contiennent. Il y aurait quelque naïveté à prétendre y mettre un terme: ce ne serait pas dans la nature des choses. Mais il n'est peut-être pas absolument vain de souhaiter qu'on en limite l'objet à ses dimensions réelles. Celles-ci, comme toujours, se mesurent à la question précise posée par saint Thomas dans l'article en question. C'est par rapport à elle seule que doivent se définir les termes de sa réponse. Assurément, il est légitime, utile, parfois même indispensable de savoir quel sens il leur donne en d'autres textes, pouvu toutefois qu'on se souvienne que, la question n'étant plus la même, les mêmes termes peuvent alors appeler des connotations nouvelles qui, compatibles avec les précédentes, n'avaient pas nécessairement à intervenir dans la première question. Nous espérons faire voir que, parmi les difficultés soulevées à propos de ce premier article, une au moins n'est pas nécessaire et que les solutions qu'on en propose, justes ou non en elles-mêmes, obscurcissent le problème au lieu de l'éclairer.

Supposant que le lecteur a le texte de la *Somme* sous les yeux, ou du moins sous la main, nous rappellerons simplement l'économie générale de ce premier article. Deux objections nient qu'un autre enseignement soit nécessaire, outre les disciplines philosophiques. En effet: (1) l'Ecriture nous déconseille de scruter ce qui nous dépasse;[2] or ce qui est à portée de la raison est suffisamment enseigné par les disciplines philosophiques; un autre enseignement que le leur est donc superflu; (2) un enseignement ne peut porter que sur l'être (puisqu'on ne peut savoir que le vrai, qui est convertible avec l'être); or les disciplines philosophiques traitent de tous les êtres, y compris Dieu; c'est même pourquoi il y a une partie de la philosophie que l'on nomme "théologie", ou "science divine";[3] il n'était donc pas nécessaire d' avoir un autre enseignement que celui des sciences philosophiques. Ce second argument évoque à l'imagination de l'historien les propositions que Tempier condamnera en 1277, touchant la suffisance de la philosophie en vue de la fin dernière de l'homme; sans nier que saint Thomas ait pu songer à quelques précurseurs de la doctrine, notons que le Commentaire sur les *Sentences*, antérieur à la *Somme*, renvoie sur ce point à Denys, dont ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'examiner le texte,[4] mais que l'on tiendra difficilement pour un avant-coureur de l'averroisme.[5] Il s'agit simplement de savoir si la connaissance théologique de Dieu, dont parle Denys, est de même nature que celle dont avait parlé Aristote.

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[1] Le renouveau de la controverse date de M.D.Chenu O.P., 'La théologie comme science au XIII^e siecle, '*Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, II (1927), 31-71. Cet article, revu et augmenté, a été republié (*pro manuscripto*) sous le même titre, Paris, J. Vrin, 2^e, ed., 1943. Cette deuxième rédaction tient compte d'une longue étude, en partie dirigée contre l'article de 1927 par J. Fr. Bonnefoy O.F.M., 'La nature de la théologie selon saint Thomas d'Aquin,' *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, XIV (1937), 421-46; XV (1938), 491-516. Ces articles ont été réunis dans une brochure séparaée, Paris, J. Vrin et Bruges, Beyaert, 1939. Cette publication séparée tient compte des articles publiés ailleurs par le R. P. Gagnebet O.P., 'La nature de la théologie spéculative,' *Revue thomiste*, XLIV (1938), 1-39, 213-55, 645-74. D'autres contributions a l'étude du problème sont indiquées dans M.D.Chenu, *La théologie comme science*, pp. 7-9. Toutes ces études, centrées sur la notion de théologie, débordent largement le cadre de nos remarques sur la *sacra doctrina*, mais elles l'incluent dans leur propre objet.

[2] *Eccli.* iii, 22.

[3] *Metaph.* E, I, 1026*a* 19.

[4] *Epistola ad Polycarpum*, 2.

I Sent., Prol. qu. 1, ad 1^{m}.

Le *Sed contra*, emprunté de saint Paul,[6] répond que la révélation de l'Ecriture est tout entière "utile" pour nourrir l'homme à la justice: *Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum ad justitiam.* Or la révélation de l'Ecriture n'appartient pas aux disciplines philosophiques; il était donc utile qu'en dehors des disciplines philosophiques, il y eût un autre savoir, inspiré de Dieu. Le latin ne traduit pas exactement le grec du texte paulinien, mais le sens n'en est aucunement altéré. L'original dit: "Toute l'Ecriture est inspirée de Dieu et utile pour nourrir l'homme à la justice . . . ," etc. L'important est que le mot "utile" figure dans les deux textes et que Thomas l'ait conservé. En effet, la question est de savoir si une doctrine divine était "nécessaire," et le *Sed contra* répond qu'elle est "utile." ce qui n'empêchera pas le *Respondeo* de conclure qu'elle est "nécessaire." Il ne s'agit pas d'une inadvertence. En effet, on va le voir, son utilité en vue d'une certaine fin, puisqu'en vue de cette fin elle est irremplaçable, est précisément ce qui fait sa nécessité.

On ne saurait souligner ce point trop fortement. Thomas d'Aquin cherche l'unité de la théologie dans la convenance, qui peut aller jusqu'à la nécessité pratique, des moyens employés par Dieu en vue d'assurer la fin de la révélation. Parmi les vérités révélées, il pourra s'en trouver d'espèces différentes, mais puisque toutes seront nécessaires en vue de la même fin, elles appartiendront toutes à la théologie comme relevant pareillement de la révélation. Les difficultés vont naître du fait que, moins intéressé à la cause finale qu'à la cause formelle, Cajétan va hésiter à inclure de droit égal, au sein de la théologie, des vérités révélées qui exigent une révélation divine pour être connues et des vérites révélées qui, au moins en théorie, pourraient être connues de tous les hommes par les seules ressources de leur raison naturelle. Le lecteur de Cajétan se trouve dès lors en difficulté. En effet, tout ce que dit son commentaire sur la distinction de deux ordres de vérités révélées, les unes dont la nature même exige révélation pour être connues, les autres qui, en droit sinon en fait, pourraient être connues sans révélation, est authentiquement thomiste, mais il en fait un usage dont on peut douter qu'il soit thomiste, car Cajétan va tendre à séparer ce que saint Thomas a distingué pour le mieux unir.

Le corps de l'article est clair. Il commence par affirmer qu'un enseignement suivant la révélation divine était nécessaire au salut humain: *necessarium fuit ad humanam salutem.* Tout lecteur de saint Thomas insérera ici le commentaire classique de Cajétan sur le double sens de *necessarium*, qui se prend en deux acceptions: *simpliciter et ad finem*; *hic sumitur secundo modo.* Rien de plus juste. La distinction remonte à Aristote.[7] En vue de ce que Cajétan tentera bientôt d'en faire sortir, rappelons-en le sens. Aristote distingue entre le nécessaire pour vivre, et le nécessaire pour vivre bien; par exemple: manger est nécessaire à la vie et à l'être, prendre un remède est nécessaire au bien être. Retenons de cette distinction que la nécessité de la doctrine sacrée est telle un vue d'un certain bien; mais notons surtout la manière dont Thomas d'Aquin formule sa réponse: *necessarium fuit ad* humanam *salutem* . . . , . . .*necessarium* fuit homini . . . , etc.,—toutes expressions suggérant qu'il s'agit ici de l'homme en général. Cette généralité du problême est essentielle à l'intelligence de la réponse. Dieu pouvait créer le genre humain sans vouloir le sauver, mais supposant qu'il ait voulu le sauver, il devenait alors "nécessaire" qu'une doctrine divinement inspirée fût ajoutée à la philosophie afin de rendre possible le salut de l'homme. La démonstration de l'insuffisance de la philosophie en vue de salut va se tenir tout entière à l'intérieur de cette donnée initiale: la possibilité du salut de l'homme en général.

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[6] *II Tim.* iii, 16.

[7] *Metaph.* D, 5, 1015*a* 20-6.

La démonstration se fait en deux temps. Premièrement, la révélation des vérités nécessaires au salut qui dépassent les prises de la raison naturelle de l'homme, était nécessaire pour qu'il pût atteindre la fin à laquelle Dieu l'appelait. La proposition est quasi évidente; certains moyens nécessaires au salut étant naturellement inconnaissables à la raison humaine, il fallait qu'ils fussent révélés. Deuxièmement, même la révélation de celles des vérités nécessaires au salut qui sont accesibles à la raison naturelle était nécessaire: *necessarium fuit hominem instrui revelatione divina.* Les raisons de cette nécessité sont bien connues: sans la révélation, ces connaissances naturelles nécessaires au salut ne seraient sues que de peu d'hommes, après un long temps d'études et mêlées de beaucoup d'erreurs: *a paucis et post longum tempus et cum admixtione multorum errorum.* Ici commencent les difficultés.[8]

On s'est demandé si l'énumération était cumulative. Sont-ce les mêmes *pauci,* qui ne parviennent à ces vérités que *post longum tempus* et encore *cum admixtione multorum errorum*? Ou bien s'agit-il seulement de certains d'entre eux? La lettre du texte ne permet guère le doute; le *et* deux fois répété ne peut signifier que: peu d'hommes, et ceux-ci après un long temps, et en outre mêlées à beaucoup d'erreurs. Mais le sens lui-même impose cette interprétation. Il est parfaitement certain que, selon la doctrine constante d'Aristote, reprise par saint Thomas, l'étude des questions métaphysiques vient la dernière, avec l'éthique, et qu'elle requiert de auditeurs beaucoup plus avancés en âge que nous ne semblons le croire aujourdhui.[9] Pour tous les hommes, sans exception, la connaissance de ces vérités ne pourrait être que tardive. Or, l'âge de la mort étant inconnu pour tous, la révélation de telles vérités est évidemment nécessaire à l'homme en général. Il ne s'agit donc pas seulement de résoudre le problême pour le genre humain en général (*non sufficit humano generi*),[10] mais encore pour tous et à tout âge: *omnibus facilis aditus ad salutem secundum quodcumque tempus.*[11] Cette règle ne souffrant aucune exception, il importe peu de savoir si aucun philosophe n'a jamais pu, ou ne pourra jamais, connaître ces vérités sans aucun mélange d'erreur. Un texte étrangement prudent de saint Thomas sur ce point, qui est une réponse moins précise que l'objection, note que, même sur un sujet susceptible de démonstration philosophique tel que l'unité de Dieu, les philosophes ont commis beaucoup d'erreurs. Il s'agit, notons-le, d'un article de foi: *Credo in unum Deum . . .* Thomas ne nie pas que le Philosophe ait démontré qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu; il n'affirme pas non plus qu'Aristote l'ait fait; il observe seulement: *multa per fidem tenemus de Deo, quae naturali ratione investigare philosophi non potuerunt: puta, circa providentiam ejus, et omnipotentiam, et quod ipse solus sit colendus,* quae omnia continentur sub articulo unitatis Dei.[12] D'où le *Sed contra: necesse est credere Deum esse unum et incorporeum, quae naturali ratione a philosophis probantur.* La règle est cette fois sans exception. Elle ne dit pas que ces vérités ne soient pas de soi connaissables par la raison naturelle; elle ne dit pas qu'aucun philosophe ne soit jamais arrivé à les connaître; mais elle dit qu'il est nécessaire de les croire parce que, même après un long temps, on ne saurait être certain de connaître tout ce que ces vérités de foi recèlent de vérité sans y mêler quelque erreur. Il n'est peut-être pas nécessaire de souscrire au commentaire de Bañez sur ce point, du moins en tous ses détails. Ce n'est pas que la logique en soit fautive, mais le ton n'en est plus tout à fait celui de saint Thomas.[13] Il a pourtant raison sur le fond; l'infaillibilité philosophique de la raison naturelle, même en métaphysique, ne semble pas entrer dans les vues de saint Thomas. Surtout, n'oublions pas qu'il s'agit toujours ici du salut du "genre humain" en général. L'existence d'une poignée de philosophes infaillibles en leur sagesse naturelle (*pauci, paucissimi*) ne changerait rien aux données du problême. La nécessité générale d'une révélation de certaines vérités naturellement connaissables demeurerait exactement ce qu'elle est.

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[8] Dans la *Summa contra Gentiles,* les deux classes de vérités révélées distinguées par la *Summa* font l'objet de deux chapitres distincts: I, 3 et 4. Saint Thomas revient sur ce problème en mainte occasion. Les textes relatifs à la question ont été scrutés de près dans la magistrale étdue du P. Synave O.P., 'La révélation des vérités naturelles d'après saint Thomas d'Aquin,' *Mélanges Mandonnet* I, 327-70. Après avoir comparé ces textes avec celui de Maimonide, *Guide des indécis* I, 33, l'auteur conclut que la contribution personnelle de saint Thomas fut d'ajouter au *pauci* et au *post longum tempus* de Maimonides, la troisième clause: *cum admixtione multorum errorum,* qui paraît pour la première fois dans la *Contra Gentiles* I, 4. Ajoutons que l'origine de ces trois clauses n'est pas la même; les deux premières viennent d'Aristote, la troisième représente chez saint Thomas l'argument patristique classique *per errores philosophorum.* C'est un argument apologétique chrétien. Il est naturel que des théologiens plus récents aient saisi cette occasion pour réintroduire l'argument dans leurs commentaires de la *Somme;* par exemple, J. B. Gonet O.P., *Clypeus theologiae thomisticae* I (Anvers, 1744), pp. 22-3.

[9] Sur ce point, Aristote, *Ethic Nic.* VI, 7, dans le commentaire de saint Thomas; éd. R. M. Spiazzi (Marietti), 1206-10. Tout notre enseignement moderne de la philosophie, spécialement la métaphysique et l'éthique, à des jeunes gens ou jeunes filles de 18 à 25 ans, repose sur l'hypothèse que ce problème a cessé d'exister.

[10] *Summa* II-II, 2, 4, ad 1^{m}.

[11] *De veritate* XIV, 10, resp.

On peut donc se demander si Cajétan fut bien inspiré, dans son commentaire sur ce premier article de la *Somme,* d'appliquer aux deux classes de vérités révélées la distinction empruntée d'Aristote entre le nécessaire *ad esse* et le nécessaire *ad bene esse.* On comprend qu'il l'ait fait. Cajétan aimait trop les distinctions pour en rencontrer une sans immédiatement l'utiliser. Ce penchant qui l'a conduit à inventer parfois des problèmes imaginaires, lui en a fait négliger quelques autres pourtant beaucoup plus réels. Il n'était pas le premier de son espèce. Albert le Grand, qui connaissait bien ces dialecticiens, a résumé leur attitude en une formule lapidaire: *omnem distinctionem solutionem esse* reputant[14]. A quoi il ajoutait aussitôt, avec sa rude franchise: *Sed ego tales logicas consequentias in scientiis de rebus abhorreo, eo quod ad multos deducunt errores.* Il s'agissait précisément de savoir si Dieu est le sujet de la métaphysique, qui est une science réelle au premier chef. La théologie l'est aussi, mais il ne s'agit pas ici de faire retomber les foudres d'Albert sur le sinueux commentateur de saint Thomas. Notons simplement le fait qu'une fois armé de cette distinction entre les deux types de nécessaire, Cajétan ne résiste pas au plaisir de l'appliquer aux deux types de vérités révélées que saint Thomas lui-même distingue dans le corps de l'article. Le sens divient alors le suivant: *Necessarium est ad fidem dupliciter, ad esse, et ad bene esse. In prima conclusione* (vérités de salut inaccessibles à la raison naturelle) *sumitur necessarium primo modo, in secunda* (vérités accessibles à la raison naturelle), *secundo modo*. Rien, dans le texte de saint Thomas, n'appelle cette distinction. Il ne s'agit pas des conditions requises pour qu'il y ait foi, mais de celles qui le sont pour que le salut de l'homme en général soit possible. Cette possibilité requiert la révélation de deux ordres de vérités formellement distincts, mais *du point de vue de la cause finale,* dont il s'agit ici, leur distinction formelle n'entraîne aucune différence. Il n'y a donc pas lieu, comme fait Cajétan dans le même passage, de nommer les premières *revelabilia* et les deuxièmes *demonstrabilia.* Saint Thomas lui même ne le fait pas, et on ne voit pas pourquoi il le ferait; puisque toutes ces vérités ont été révélées par Dieu, il faut bien que toutes soient révélables. La notion de *revelabile,* que Cajétan emprunte à un autre contexte[15], n'est pas requise directement par celui-ci. Dans le présent article, Thomas s'emploie au contraire à faire voir que, démontrables ou non, toutes ces vérités devaient être révélées parce qu'il est nécessaire qu'elles soient crues; c'est cette nécessité qui, du point de vue du problème posé, et par conséquent de la cause finale, les inclut toutes dans une même classe, celle des vérités dont la révélation était nécessaire en vue du salut.

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[12] *Summa* II-II, q. 1, a .8, ad 1^{m}.

[13] Bañes, *Scholastica commentaria in I Partem Summae Theologiae . . .,* éd. Luis Urbano, (Madrid, Valencia, 1934). L'interprétation est stricte: Quia quamvis aliquibus possit contingere aliqualis Dei cognitio post longum tempus, tamen hoc non contingit de facto, nisi cum aliqua admixtione errorum. Unde necesse est quod doctrina revelata perficiat naturam; I, 1, 1; *éd. cit.*, I, p. 16. Aucun infaillibilisme métaphysique chez Bañez. Outre l'embarras des phantasmes, notre intellect blessé par le péché originel ne saurait, *de facto*, atteindre sans erreur des vérités salutaires: Et denique distincta cognitio et certa et sine admixtione erroris et brevi tempore acquisita circa veritates naturales de ipso Deo quae quidem sunt necessaria homini, non potest haberi in statu naturae lapsae viribus humanis; ergo . . .; *ibid.* Même Platon et Aristote se sont trompés: après de longues études: isti in gravissimos errores inciderunt; saint Augustin fut manichéen pendant neuf ans: Ergo si tam magno et excellenti ingenio viri erraverunt circa naturalia, *omnibus* necessaria est doctrina revelata . . .; *ibid.* La lumière de révélation ne démontre pas les conclusions démontrables, elle confirme l'homme dans leur vérité par sa lumière supérieure; ad 2^{m}, p. 17. Cf. fides in philosopho non destruit demonstrationem conclusionis, sed insuper quantum ad certitudinem confirmat illam certitudine supernaturali: quamvis quantum ad obscuritatem fidei non possit philosophus assentire conclusione scitae; ad. 3^{m}, *ibid.* La profondeur de cette dernière remarque appellerait bien des commentaires, si c'en était ici le lieu. Bañez nous semble dans la droite ligne de la pensée de saint Thomas; le ton diffère quelque peu en ce sens que Bañez insiste, plus que Thomas, sur la blessure soufferte par l'intellect spéculatif lui-même. Bien entendu, on peut retrouver chez Thomas cette *ignorantia* parmi les suites du péché originel, mais le Maître y insiste certainement moins que le Commentateur, et il n'en parle pas sur le même ton.

[14] *Metaph.* I, 1, 3.

Cajétan déplace par sa distinction l'axe de la doctrine qu'il commente; il divise du point de vue de la cause formelle ce que Thomas d'Aquin s'efforce précisément d'unir du point de vue de la cause finle. Il transpose, et la transposition qu'il opère en prépare d'autres dont ses successeurs prendront la responsabilité. Ces *demonstrabilia,* subrepticement introduits dans la *Somme* en contradistinction avec les *revelabilia,* vont tendre à sortir de la doctrine sacrée pour constituer une théologie naturelle d'un nouveau genre: naturelle parce qu'elle fait partie intégrante de la métaphysique comme celle des païens, mais spontanément d'accord avec la foi chrétienne comme celle des théologiens chrétiens. Il est vain de se demander ce que saint Thomas eût pensé de la manière dont Cajétan interprétait cet article de la *Somme.* de quel droit lui prêterions-nous nos propres pensées? D'autre part, il est difficile d'imaginer que Cajétan lui-même n'ait pas eu conscience de l'infléchissement qu'il imposait à la doctrine de la *Somme* sur ce point. Il ne commet ni contre-sens ni faux sens; il modifie dans un sens défini et constant, qui n'est pas celui de saint Thomas d'Aquin. Tout l'effort de la *Somme* en ce point tendait à faire voir que la révélation des deux ordres de vérités était pareillement nécessaire au salut de l'homme: l'effort de Cajétan veut faire voir que ces deux ordres de vérités révélées ne sont pas de même nature. D'une part, on hésite à penser que, commentateur, Cajétan veuille délibérément nous engager dans une voie différente de celle du texte qu'il commente; d'autre part, si l'on distingue avec lui les *demonstrabilia* des *revelabilia,* il faut nier que les démontrables puissent être aussi des révélables au sens plein du terme. Il ne reste alors d'autre choix que de tenir les démontrables en marge de la théologie, ou de les y inclure et d'en ruiner l'unité.

On est hanté par ce problème en abordant le commentaire de Cajétan sur le troisième article de la première question: "Si la doctrine sacrée est une science une." Il est extraordinaire à quel point les commentateurs de saint Thomas se sont facilement contentés sur ce point dont l'importance en notre temps est devenue capitale. La portée du problème était pourtant claire dans l'esprit de saint Thomas lui-même. Au moment de commencer l'exposé d'une théologie qui ferait sans cesse appel aux ressources de la philosophie, de la grammaire, du droit et pratiquement de toutes les sciences ou disciplines naturelles pour élucider le sens de la révélation chrétienne, saint Thomas se demandait comment ce mélange de révélation et de philosophie pourrait conserver une unité quelconque. Se demander si la théologie ainsi entendue peut être une science "une", c'était précisément se poser cette question.

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[15] I, 1, 3, ad 1^m.

La difficulté est évidemment pour le théologien d'intégrer de la philosophie à la doctrine sacrée sans s'exposer au reproche de rompre l'unité de l'objet dont traite cette doctrine. Bien entendu, saint Thomas maintiendra intacte la distinction entre ce que Cajétan devait nommer les démontrables (même s'il se trouve que Dieu les ait révélés) et les révélables qui ne peuvent être connus que par révélation; pourtant, sauf erreur de notre part, même ce que Cajétan nommera les *demonstrabilia* est inclus par saint Thomas dans les *revelabilia*. Démontrable ou non, tout ce que Dieu a révélé est du révélable. Ce qui fait de la notion thomiste de révélable la clef du problême, c'est précisément que la raison formelle en est assez générale pour englober dans sa compréhension celles des vérités révélées qui sont de soi accessibles à la raison naturelle et celles qui, en cette vie du moins, l'excèdent irrémédiablement.

On ne voit pas d'abord ce qui pouvait gêner Cajétan dans une telle notion, et, à vrai dire, ses difficultés semblent avoir été psychologiques plutôt que logiques. La position de saint Thomas est d'un réalisme des plus concrets: de soi connaissable ou non, tout ce que Dieu a jugé nécessaire de révéler à l'homme en vue de son salut appartient de plein droit à doctrine sacrée et par conséquent à la théologie. Tout cela est du révélable. Pour un esprit abstrait comme celui de Cajétan, il y avait quelque chose d'incomplètement intelligible dans cette libre décision d'un Dieu révélant du naturellement connaissable afin de rendre possible le salut de tous, y compris même ceux dont la métaphysique excède les ressources intellectuelles. La seule manière de rétablir en sa perfection un ordre formel compromis par les libres initiatives de la finalité pratique—car comment déduire les décisions de la volonté divine?—est de renvoyer le démontrable à la philosophie où il est chez lui de plein droit.

Tel est, si nous ne nous trompons, le sens de l'opération discrètement effectuée par Cajétan dans son commentaire au premier article. Nous n'oserions affirmer absolument que le *revelabile*, sur la raison formelle duquel Cajétan fonde l'unité de la théologie dans son commentaire à I, 1, 3, n'est plus exactement celui de saint Thomas, mais nous pouvons encore moins nous empêcher de penser que tel est en effet le cas. Peut-être la démonstration de cette thèse est elle de soi impossible. Quand un commentateur manipule un texte pour l'accorder à d'autres fins que celles de son auteur, la preuve de ses intentions intimes est au moins fort difficile à faire. On ne peut qu'inviter le lecteur à tenter lui-même l'expérience après l'avoir averti du problème.

Car enfin pourquoi consulte-t-on Cajétan sur ce point, sinon pour éclaircir le sens d'un passage[16] qui ne doit rien avoir de plus mystérieux que les autres textes de la *Somme* et sur lequel pourtant beaucoup de commentateurs semblent rester hésitants? Il n'a d'autre défaut que d'être trop clair pour ceux que son sens obvie ne satisfait pas. "La doctrine sacrée peut, tout en étant une (*una existens*) considérer ce dont traitent les diverses sciences philosophiques sous une raison unique, savoir, en tant qu'elles sont révélables par Dieu, de sorte qu'ainsi la doctrine sacrée soit comme une impression de la science divine qui, une et simple, s'étend à toutes choses." En effet, toute la première question de la *Somme* fonde l'unité de la théologie sur sa transcendance divine, source d'inclusions qui ne sont jamais des additions ni des juxtapositions pures et simples. Elle est Sagesse[17] et elle l'est en un sens qui n'appartient qu'à elle. Dans le cas présent, cette transcendance est ce qui lui permet, *una existens*, d'inclure éminemment tout le savoir philosophique dont le théologien peut faire usage pour promouvoir l'oeuvre de la rédemption. Cette extraordinaire doctrine qui inclut l'enseignement des sciences philosophiques, dans la mesure où le théologien en fait usage, parmi les *divinitus revelabilia*, qu'en dit Cajétan? Rien. Ce commentateur, que de bons maîtres nous ont accoutumé à tenir pour l'interprête par excellence de la lettre thomiste, s'étend ici à l'aise sur la distinction, excellente en elle-même, entre la raison formelle d'objet *qua* et la raison formelle d'objet *sub qua*; il défend la notion de révélable, telle que lui-même l'entend, contre les objections plutôt vives qu'Albert le Grand avait déjà dirigées contre elle; il la défend encore contre la critique plus tardive de Pierre Auriole; en ce sens, Cajétan est bien fondé à dire qu'il maintient la lettre même de la doctrine:

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[16] *Ibid.*

[17] I, 1, 6.

> "*Et hoc est quod in littera dicitur, dum ratio quare theologia sit una scientia, assignatur ex unitate rationis formalis* sub qua, *seu objecti ut objectum, idest luminis divinae revelationis; omnia enim dicuntur considerari in theologia inquantum sunt divinitus revelabilia. Et sic patet vis et sensus rationis allatae in littera.*

Tout ceci est vrai, et c'était bien là ce qu'il fallait répondre à Maître Albert[18] mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai que le révélable, ou la *revelabilitas* dont Cajétan entreprend la défense est celui même qu'en son commentaire à I, 1, 1, il distinguait avec soin du "démontrable." On ne peut donc s'empêcher de se demander si le commentateur n'est pas plus engagé dans l'oeuvre de nous conduire dans ses propres voies que soucieux de nous ouvrir celles de son maître. Ses intentions nous échapperont toujours, mais des interprêtes non moins qualifiés que Cajétan ont exprimé déjà des doutes sur la fidélité de son interprétation en ce point.[19] On agirait peut-être sagement an avertissant les débutants auxquels on recommande le recours à son commentaire qu'ils ne doivent pas toujours s'attendre à y retrouver les positions authentiques de saint Thomas. En fait, la lecture de Cajétan accroit parfois les difficultés plutôt qu'elle ne les allège. Il faut d'abord comprendre le texte de la *Somme*; il faut ensuite comprendre le texte du commentaire, souvent plus difficile que celui de la *Somme*; il faut enfin se livrer à une

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[18] Albert le Grant argumente du point de vue de la *sacra scriptura* et tient pour évidemment faux que la révélabilité de ce que contient l'Ecriture en assure l'unité: ad hoc dixerunt quidam, quod omnia quae tractantur in Sacra Scriptura sub una ratione stant, quae est revelabile esse, et sic de ipsis est Sacra Scriptura una. Et quod hoc falsum sit, patet; *Summa theologiae* I, 1, 3, 1; éd. Borgnet, XIII, p. 15. Suivent ses raisons, entre lesquelles, précisément, celle ci, que cette science traite de Deo secundum quod via rationis investigatur, *ibid.*, p. 16. Cf. Ergo nihil est dicere, quod ab unitate revelationis una dictur scientia; *ibid.*, p. 17. Selon Albert: in veritate, Sacra Scriptura practica est; I, 1, 3, 3; *éd. cit.*, p. 18; separata est a cognitione philosophorum; I, 1, 4; *éd. cit.*, p. 20; son sujet est le *fruibile*, ou ce qui s'y rapporte à titre de signe ou de moyen. La réfutation d'Albert par Cajétan nous semble tout à fait pertinente; elle met en relief le rôle de la *revelabilitas* comme raison formelle du *revelabile;* on regrette seulement que la notion de *revelabile* fasse les frais de l'opération.

[19] Bañez a fort bien vu ce que faisait Cajétan, et il a protesté là contre: *In I, 1, 1*; éd. cit., I, pp. 15-6. Appuyé sur *Sum. theol.* II-II, 2, 4, ad 1^m et *III Sent.*, d. 23, a. 3, q. 1, ad 1^m, Bañez conclut: ad naturalem cognitionem Dei non potuit sufficienter provideri per naturam hominis; ergo non solum ad bene esse, sed simpliciter asserenda est necessaria revelata doctrina ad hujusmodi veritates cognoscendas. Il est vrai que, lorsqu'il s'est heurté aux textes de II-II, 2, 4, Cajétan lui-même a retouché sa position sur ce point. La révélation de ces vérités, dit-il, est simplement nécessaire pour la masse de ceux qui ne peuvent les atteindre par la raisons seule; elle n'est pas simplement nécessaire pour la communauté du genre humain dans son ensemble, c'est-à-dire pour tous, puisque certains peuvent les connaître par leurs propres forces. Mais ceci même ne satisfait pas Bañez: Verumtamen neque ista moderatio videtur nobis convenire cum doctrina D. Thomae. Nam jam tunc verificaretur quod naturalis ratio sufficit ad cognitionem illarum veritatum. Nam quod in aliquibus deficit ista cognitio ex accidentali causa provenit: et tamen D. Thomas hujusmodi defectum ad naturam humanam refert (*ibid.* p. 16). Il s'agit, bien entendu, de la nature *pro statu isto*. Bañez a tout à fait raison quant au fond. La correction imaginée par Cajétan est pire que la thèse, car elle le conduit à dire que la révélation des vérités naturelles n'est pas simplement nécessaire à la communauté du genre humain (puisque certains peuvent les connaître sans révélation), au lieu que, selon Thomas d'Aquin, c'est précisément à la communauté du genre humain qu'elle est nécessaire, puisque, quel qu'en soit le nombre, fort peu d'hommes peuvent atteindre ces vérités par eux-mêmes, et encore après longtemps, et mêlées d'erreurs. Cette inversion totale de la position thomiste annonce l'ère des théologiens qui, se comptant au nombre des *paucissimi*, s'octroient en outre une immunité personnelle contre les suites intellectuelles du péché originel.

enquête toujours très délicate pour s'assurer si ce que Cajétan se propose de nous faire comprendre est sa propre pensée ou celle de saint Thomas. Ne pas arriver, malgré la bonne volonté qu'on y met, à retrouver la doctrine de la *Somme* dans celle du plus célèbre de ses commentaires ne prouve pas nécessairement que l'on soit dans l'erreur.

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II. *Sir Degare*: ll. 992-997

IN HIS study of *Sir Degare*, George Patterson Faust describes this Middle English poem of around a thousand lines as a "Breton lay in exactly the same sense that Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* is one. As an imitation, and as that alone, can it be placed in the same category with the poems of Marie de France."[1] On careful study, in fact, certain features of the Breton lay are prominent throughout *Sir Degare*. Though lacking the familiar prologue and epilogue, the story is set in Brittany, and the ideals of conduct which it represents are courtly. Details which suggest fairyland—especially the ravishing knight—suggest as well such non-realistic lays as *Guigemar*, *Lanval* and *Yonec* of Marie de France. Degare's name is formally derived to agree in style with *Lai le Fraisne*, *Bisclavret*, *Laostic* and *Chievrefueil* (ll. 252-56). Yet, as convincing as these features appear, they could easily be imitated for any of several reasons, especially to trade on the popularity of the Breton lay or to employ for a political reason a literary form associated with British tradition. *Sir Degare*, this note will attempt to show, can be better understood as an imitation coming after the *floruit* of the Breton lay (1160-1225) if an historical reference which it makes is clearly explained.

When the narrative reaches a climax, it sets aside all earlier methods of identifying characters and names the hero's opponent by means of the distinctive coat of arms which he bears on his shield. When Degare meets his father in a Sohrab and Rustem combat, he sees him as

> a douȝti kniȝt
> Vpon a stede, god and liȝt,
> In armes þat were riche and sur,
> Wiȝ þe sscheld of asur
> And þre bor-heuedes þerin,
> Wel ipainted wiȝ gold fin. (ll. 992-97)

Although a shield charged with three boars' heads may signify only a fierce warrior, the combination of its details is too striking to be unintended: 1) a shield in an azure field; 2) the three boars' heads 3) in gold. This description, unlike others in *Libeaus Desconus*, *Octovian* and *Sir Thopas*, to which Kölbing long ago called attention, is so sufficiently detailed as to allow a positive identification of the family to which the arms belong: the Gurdons or Gordons.[2] In May of 1266, we know, Sir Adam de Gordon (d. 1306) engaged in a single combat which in many respects resembles that described in *Sir Degare*. Still fighting the war on the side of the baronial faction, he ravaged, along with others of the disinherited, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire. Then, when the Lord Edward marched against him and his followers, he faced Sir Adam in single combat, seriously wounded him and presently repaired with his prisoner to Windsor Castle. Such, the usual historical version of the encounter (*DNB*, VII, 436: VIII, 795-96), is supported, in fact, by the annals of Dunstable and by the chronicler Wykes.[3] Yet another version of the combat circulated widely. This, the more dramatic of the two, records that the fighting was interrupted when the Lord Edward, impressed with his opponent's valor, suddenly and mercifully restored him to a position of trust. Trivet tells clearly what happened in the wood of Alton, Hampshire:[4]

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[1] *Sir Degare, A Study of the Texts and Narrative Structure* (Princeton Studies in English, 11, Princeton, 1935), p. 86. All quotations from *Sir Degare* in this study are based on the reading of the earliest manuscript, the *Auchinleck* (1330-40), as edited by Walter Hoyt French and Charles Brockway Hale: *Middle English Metrical Romances* (New York, 1930), pp. 288-320.

[2] E. Kölbing, 'Zu Chaucers Sir Thopas,' *Englische Studien*, XI (1887-88), 506-7. For a description of the Gordon arms, see J. W. Papsworth and A. W. Morant, eds., *An Alphabetical Dictionary of Coats of Arms*, etc. II (London, 1874), p. 924.

> Cujus vires et probitatem ex fama cognitas cupiens Edwardus experiri, cum in manu forti supervenisset eidem se ad pugnam paranti, praecepit suis, ne quis inter eos impediret singulare certamen. Congressi itaque mutuos ictus ingeminant; parique sorte, neutro cedente alteri, diutius dimicant. Delectatus tandem Edwardus militis virtute et animo, inter pugnandum consulit ei ut se redderet, vitam pollicens et fortunam. Cui miles adquiescens, abjectis armis se illico reddidit, quem eadem nocte Gildfordiam Edwardus transmisit, *reginae matri cum recommendatione supplici praesentandum, quem postea hereditati restitutum, Edwardus semper carum habuit atque fidum.*

This version differs further by naming Guildford, and not Windsor, as the place to which the warriors then turned. At the castle of Guildford, as Rishanger also notes,[5] they met the Queen Mother, Eleanor of Province, to whom Edward recommended continued leniency toward Sir Adam.

In the historic ballad "Prince Edward and Adam Gordon," printed in Thomas Evans' *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative* (1784), and intended here as a striking analogue, the happy ending is preserved. The drama of the "poetical" version of the incident appears as the Lord Edward pauses in combat to say:

Adam, they valour charms my soule,
I ever love the brave;
And tho I feare not thy dread sword
Thy honour I would save. (ll. 85-88)

He offers his opponent friendship or continued combat:

Nowe, Adam, take thy lasting choice,
Thy prince awaits thy word:
Accept, brave man, my smile or frowne,
My friendship or my sword. (ll. 109-12)

With this version and that in Trivet, *Sir Degare* offers certain points of agreement. In the narrative lay, a Sohrab and Rustem story reaches its climax in the single combat between the knight and his son. The knight bears arms which we have identified as those of Sir Adam de Gordon. He fights until he notices his son's sword with a broken point, and this sword he left years before with Degare's mother after ravishing her. Matching the sword and broken point, which he has kept with him for twenty years, he faints with joy on discovery of his son. As in the account in Trivet and Rishanger, the younger warrior then takes the older to the castle where his mother lies:

"Ac ȝif hit ȝoure wille were,
To mi moder we wende ifere;
For ȝhe is in gret mourning." (ll. 1070-72)

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[3] *Annales Monastici* III, p. 241; IV, 189-90, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Rolls Series, London, 1864-69).

[4] *F. Nicholai Triveti, De Ordine Frat. Praedicatorum, Annales,* ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), p. 269.

[5] *Chronica et Annales*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (Rolls Series, London, 1865), pp. 48-9.

The arms on Degare's shield, however, little resemble the three *lions passant guardant or* associated with the Lord Edward:

> A sscheld he kest aboute his swere
> Þat was of armes riche and dere,
> Wiȝ þre maidenes heuedes of siluer briȝt,
> Wiȝ crounes of gold precious of siȝt. (ll. 1018-21)

In fact, in thirteenth-century rolls of arms no exact counterpart of this shield can be found. The assumption which we must make is that the author of *Sir Degare* first allowed the crowns to appear as a badge of royalty but dropped the lions as unsuited to the theme of conciliation—between Edward as heir-apparent and Sir Adam de Gordon, a symbol of anti-royalist feeling after the death of Sir Simon de Montfort and the battle of Evesham. By this time the royal lions had suffered enough through the bestiary etymology of the partisan *Battle of Lewes* (1264?): *leo-pardus*, “a cross-breeding of lion and pard, of courage and deceit.”[6] Although lions traditionally symbolize mercy as well—according to Alexander Neckham, *parcere subjectis scit nobilis ira leonis*[7]—still mercy could be better conveyed by maidens in white, three in all to correspond to the three lions, and would fittingly characterize the Lord Edward as heir-apparent, who early saw in mercy the only means of uniting a nation torn by a long, bloody civil war. The chronicler Wykes, in describing the submission of John de Vesci in the same year 1266, extols Edward *cuius inaestimabilis et universa semper contra transgressores extitit misericordia* (p. 198). This attitude, in turn, must have been based on a realistic view of Edward's prospects, which Bishop Stubbs summarizes:[8]

> Earl Simon and his companions had perished, but the great end of their work had been achieved; they had made it impossible for a king again to rule as John had ruled, and as Henry had tried to rule. They had drawn out a plan of reform in the laws which Henry himself had accepted after their death, although he had struggled against it and evaded it whilst they lived; for most of the articles which had been forced upon him at Oxford in 1258 and at Westminster in 1259 he had re-enacted in the great statute of Marlborough, in 1267 (p. 212).

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III. The Formation of the Marriage Bond According to the *Summa Parisiensis*

THE main lines of the evolution of the doctrine concerning the formation of the marriage bond in the middle of the twelfth century are well known.[1] Shortly after 1140 Gratian in his Decretum distinguishes between the *matrimonium initiatum* which is the *desponsatio* and the *matrimonium ratum* which requires in addition the consummation of the *matrimonium initiatum*. The first is more than a simple promise to marry, an engagement; it is the placing of the matrimonial consent so that the *copula* which follows is not a simple fornication but results in an indissoluble marriage portraying the sacramental symbolism. For the sake of convenience this doctrine is referred to as the copula theory, or the theory of the School of Bologna. About ten years later Peter Lombard in his Sentences proposes what is called the consensual theory or the theory of the School of Paris. He distinguishes two kinds of *desponsatio*, one *per verba de futuro*, the other *per verba de praesenti*. The first is a simple promise to marry, an engagement; the second is a real marriage, *ratum* and indissoluble, without any need of being consummated.

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[6] *The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to That of Edward II.*, ed. Thomas Wright (Camden Society, London, 1839), p. 93.

[7] *De Naturis Rerum*, ed. Thomas Wright (Rolls Series, London, 1863), p. 228.

[8] *The Early Plantagenets* (New York, 1886), p. 212. For further discussion of Edward and the romances, see Roger Sherman Loomis, ‘Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast,’ *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 114-127.

[1] G. LeBras, ‘Mariage,’ *Dict. de théologie catholique* IX (1927), col. 2149 ff.; A. Esmein, *Le mariage en droit canonique* I (2nd edit., Paris, 1929), p. 119 ff.; J. Freisen, *Geschichte des canonischen Eherechts* (2nd edit., Paderborn, 1893), p. 164 ff.; J. Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'église* (Paris, 1933), p. 9 ff.; G. H. Joyce, *Christian Marriage* (London, 1933), p. 57 ff.

The adherents of these two divergent theories, the exact position of each and the contribution made by them toward the evolution of the final doctrine, crystallized chiefly by the legislation of Pope Alexander III, have not been the object of such close study. This is particularly true for those authors whose works still remain unpublished.

Among those canonists who are usually considered to have belonged to the school of decretists following the teaching of the School of Bologna is to be found the anonymous author of the *Summa Parisiensis*.[2] This has resulted primarily from the fact that scholars have relied exclusively upon a few passages published by Maassen and especially by Schulte. Now that we have a complete edition of the early *Summa*,[3] probably about 1160,[4] it seems advisable to make a more thorough investigation of the problem.

It is to be noted first of all that the author has not expressly treated the question of the formation of marriage because his work contains no commentary on the Causa 27 where Gratian had handled the problem. Consequently we are obliged to look for his views in various other passages incidentally thrown into his explanations of other texts of the Decretum.

Early in the work is found the most frequently quoted text on our question. The author reports the opposition between what he calls the custom of the Gallican Church and that of the Church of Rome:

> Invenitur quaedam consuetudo quae aliter hodie in Francia, aliter in ecclesia Romana observatur. Si enim aliquis aliquam verbis de praesenti desponsaverit et benedictionem cum ea sacerdotalem susceperit sed antequam eam cognoscat ab alio desponsata carnaliter cognita fuerit, ecclesia Franciae cogit eam redire ad primum, sed non ecclesia Romana. Et adhuc quid sit melius ignoratur.[5]

As the last sentence of this text indicates, no official legislative solution has as yet been given to the question but, as we shall see, this does not prevent the author later taking up a definite position on the point.

Further on, dealing with clerical marriage, he sets forth the doctrine of both Gratian and the Lombard on the formation of marriage and already shows some preference for the teaching of the second:

> Alibi vero ex his Gratianus argumentatur in XXVII Causa quia inter sponsos non est conjugium, quoniam si conjugium esset, qui sponsam post mortem sponsi duceret esset maritus viduae. Sed qui talem ducit auctoritate hujus decreti promovetur; quare primi non fuit uxor. Sed ecclesia Francorum judicat quod si facta desponsatio verbis praesentis temporis, i.e. 'Ego accipio te in meam' et econverso, exinde est matrimonium ratum. Unde etsi alii desponsata carnaliter adjungatur, cogitur redire ad primum qui eam [non] cognovit. Sic ergo matrimonium fuit. Sic ergo clericus qui eam duxerit, promovendus non est, quod tamen hoc decreto conceditur. Respondit autem Magister P[etrus] Lombardus in Sententiis suis ad illud

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[2] LeBras, *art. cit.*, col. 2155; Esmein, *op cit.*, p. 138; Dauvillier, *op cit.*, p. 14; Freisen, *op. cit.*, p. 186. See also Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 63, note 1.

[3] T. P. McLaughlin, *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani* (Toronto, 1952).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. XXXI ff.

[5] D. 11, c. 11; *ed. cit.*, p. 11.

> Gratiani: Dicimus quod ista fuit desponsata verbis de futuro, nec fuit ibi consensus de praesenti. Contra quem videtur esse quod dicitur in hoc capitulo 'Velata' (cap. 20.), sed sic exponi potest, i.e. pallio sponsi cooperta. Posset tamen concedi quod fuisset desponsatio, nec sequitur illud Gratiani, quia ad hoc quod dimissa ab uno, si ducta fuerit ab alio, impediat ordines, non sufficit ut fuisset uxor alterius, sed etiam ut ab eo carnaliter cognita. Haec ergo distinctio Gratiani quae hic ponitur conveniens est, licet post non convenienter argumentatur ex his.[6]

It is however toward the end of his work, commenting upon some of the other Causae dealing with marriage, that we find clear indications of the views of the author on the problem. He affirms that there is an indissoluble marriage as soon as a present consent has been given providing the persons are not prevented by some impediment from contracting a legitimate marriage:

> Statim enim ex quo consensus expressus per verba praesentis temporis, est conjugium, quacumque de causa contrahatur, dum tamen sint personae legitimae ad contrahendum.[7]

The same is true for a clandestine *desponsatio*, even though such unions are forbidden:

> Clandestina itaque desponsatio quia [non] habet perpetuam causam prohibitionis, sed magis ad majorem cautelam prohibetur, si forte fiat, dissolvi non debet, sed si forte utriusque confessione comprobata fuerit, simul manere debent. Statim enim ex eo quod aliquis alicui promisit per verba praesentis temporis se ducturum eam in conjugem, matrimonium est perfectum et ratum. Sed ne daretur alterutri facultas reclamandi clandestina celebrata desponsatione, idcirco prohibitum ne fiat, ne forte ex divortio, sive ille alteram duceret vel illa alteri nuberet, adulterii crimen incurreret.[8]

The author insists upon the consent as the one essential element and explains this consent espousing the teaching of Peter Lombard:

> [Si] enim omnia desinunt quae in decreto postea enumerantur, sed consensus adsit, nihilominus est matrimonium, sed non legitimum, ut vis fiat in verbo, hoc est non per legem impletum. Si forte aliquis alicui promiserit jurejurando se ducturum eam in conjugem, cogendus est deinceps eam tenere. Augustinus contra videtur asserere. Dicit enim, licet aliquis fidem det alicui, non tamen ideo cogendus est eam retinere. Solutio: Si dixerimus auctoritatem Augustini constitutioni Novellarum praejudicare, non est absurdum. Vel dicamus quoniam constitutio illa loquitur de eo qui jurejurando per verba praesentis temporis promittit alicui se eam ducturum; Augustinus vero de eo qui per verba futuri temporis jurejurando religione interposita promittit alicui se ducturum eam.[9]

Children are unable to contract marriage because they are incapable of proferring a matrimonial consent:

> Infantes etenim qui ratione carent matrimonium contrahere non possunt, quia vero nec consentire. Ubi autem consensus non est, non est matrimonium, sicut in capitulo illo habetur 'Ubi non est' (cap. 1).[10]

If matrimonial consent is not freely given, the party is not obliged to carry out the marriage, but once freely given, force may be employed to compel him to do so:

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[6] D. 34, c. 19; *ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

[7] C. 32, q. 2, pr.; *ibid.*, p. 241.

[8] C. 30, q. 5, pr.; *ibid.*, p. 277.

[9] C. 30, q. 5, c. 1; *ibid.*, p. 237.

[10] C. 30, q. 2, pr.; *ibid.*, p. 236.

> Si autem ab initio desponsationi consentiat, postea autem dissentiat, verberibus etiam cogenda est eum habere cui desponsa est.[11]

Not only does our canonist accept the Gallican theory but he is at pains to reject categorically the teaching of the School of Bologna and the distinction of Gratian between the *matrimonium initiatum* and the *matrimonium consummatum:*

> Istud decretum canonicae scripturae obviare videtur et idcirco omnino reprobatur. Magistri tamen Boloniensis illud salvare volentes dicunt decretum istud loqui de initiato conjugio, non autem consummato, ut in eo casu qui continere non potest, nubat in Domino, si mulier infirmitate corrupta viro debitum persolvere non poterit. Sed sicut frequentius dictum, [si in] contrahendo legitimae fuerint personae, quantumcumque deinceps contingat horribile, nullomodo potest primi tori fides violari.[12]

Again, discussing the case where a second marriage has been contracted because the first husband is believed dead, it is stated:

> Magistri [Boloniensis] tamen, non simpliciter sed cum distinctione, pristina conjugia redintegranda esse asserunt. Dicunt enim si forte initiatum [non] consummatum fuerit, prius conjugium redintegrandum non esse. Si autem initiatum fuerit consummatum, uxorem viro esse asserunt. Sed sine omni distinctione dicimus uxorem a viro suo separandam et priori restituendam si initum sit conjugium per verba praesentis temporis.[13]

Attempting a concordance of two texts, the first affirming that putting away one's wife and marrying another is adultery, and the second stating that a man may to avoid incontinence put away a wife who is incapable of rendering the debitum and marry another, the author says that the second text is apocryphal. He then presents the solution of the Bolognese School and finally his own.

> Magistri tamen concedentes illud abusivum sonare dicunt quoniam de matrimonio initiato, non autem consummato decretum illud loquitur, ut in eo casu licite dimittit vir uxorem et uxor virum. Sed nos dicimus statim matrimonium esse initiatum, consummatum et ratum ex quo fit consensus expressus per verba praesentis temporis si contrahentes in contrahendo legitimae fuerint personae. Quidquid enim post contingat quantumcumque horribile, excepta causa fornicationis, matrimonium non dissolvitur, ut in sequenti capitulo [et] alibi ostenditur.[14]

The canonist always emphasizes that in order that the consent be effective it is required that the persons be capable of marriage or, in our terminology, that there exist no diriment impediment:

> Ex hoc decreto confirmatur opinio eorum qui dicunt nullomodo, nullo casu nisi fornicationis interveniente causa, ab invicem aliquos separare non posse si in contrahendo legitimae fuerint personae.[15]

If the *impossibilitas coeundi* follows the marriage, si in contrahendo legitimae personae fuerint, nullomodo dissolvitur.[16]

I believe the simple presentation of these texts is sufficient evidence of the fact that the author of the *Summa Parisiensis* is neither content with simply reporting the two divergent theories of his time nor is he a follower of the

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[11] C. 31, q. 2, pr.; *ibid.*, p. 239.
[12] C. 32, q. 7, c. 18; *ibid.*, p. 248.
[13] C. 34, q. 1 & 2, c. 1; *ibid.*, p. 256.
[14] C. 32, q. 5, c. 16; *ibid.*, p. 246.
[15] C. 32, q. 7, c. 25; *ibid.*, p. 248.
[16] C. 33, q. 1, pr.; *ibid.*, p. 249. See also the texts referred to in notes 7, 12 and 14, and also C. 35, q. 10, c. 1.

Master whose work he is commenting upon. On the contrary, he is a strong supporter of the teaching of Peter Lombard and of the general views of the School of Paris on the question of the formation of the marriage bond.[17]

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IV. A Hitherto Unknown Commentary on Boethius' *de Hebdomadibus* Written by Clarenbaldus of Arras

IN the introduction to his edition of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and *Opuscula Sera*,[1] R. Peiper notes: *Nescio utrum Clarenbaldi an alius sit tractatus super B. de trinitate qui est in codice S. Omeri n. 142, 2 s. XII qui sic incipit: "Cum regimini scholarum accitus ab episcopo Laudunensi etc."*[2] It seems that Peiper was the first to draw attention to a thirteenth-century manuscript of Clarenbaldus' commentary or *tractatus* on Boethius' *De Trinitate* in the library of Valenciennes, though he does not seem to have known another (fourteenth-century) handwritten copy of the same work at Balliol College, Oxford, which Cardinal Pitra had intended to publish in the *Spicilegium Solesmense*.[3] Unfortunately, W. Jansen who finally edited the treatise in 1926 was much less careful than R. Peiper and thus deprived himself of the third, oldest and best manuscript known to this date. Without examining the manuscript of St. Omer and obviously misled by its *incipit,* Jansen discarded Peiper's reference to the manuscripts of Valenciennes and St. Omer with the categorical, though false, statement: *Beide Kommentare sind nicht identisch.*[4] As a matter of fact, they are identical with the exception of the introduction from which we learn that Clarenbaldus directed the School of Laon when many *claustrales* began urging him to write a *tractatus* on the Boethian *De Trinitate.* They kept complaining to him about the difficulty of the *glosae* written *sermone perplexo et stilo involuto* by the Bishop of Poitiers. The introduction or *prologus,* as it is called in a marginal note, begins on folio 31ᵛ and reads as follows:

> Cum regimini scholarum accitus ab episcopo Laudunensi, qui nunc urbi praesidet, in philosophiae laribus anhelanter obversarer, die quadam pauculis mecum assumptis sociis ad coenobium Sancti Vicentii archivium ecclesiae inspecturus egressus sum. Ubi ab abbate coenobii quaestio mihi proposita est, quo nam modo in faciem protoplasti Creator vitae spiraculum inspirasset. Quam quaestionem cum, ut abbati videbatur, sufficienter expedissem, oh, inquit, utinam tam vehemens ad perscrutationem divinae scripturae fore velles quam ad ethnicorum, videlicet Aristotelis et Boethii, documenta persistis intentus. Cumque subridens Aristotelem paganum, Boethium vero christianae fidei ex ipsius scriptis validum assertorem intimassem, laetatus valde abbas obnixe me adjurare coepit, quatenus ipsi super Boethii de Trinitate asserta tractatum aliquem traderem. Quam abbatis voluntatem fortasse negligentiae tradidissem, si non postea multorum claustralium postulationes apud me invaluissent conquerentium de difficultate glosarum episcopi Pictavensis, quas ille sermone perplexo et stilo involuto super

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[17] Thus the argument for the Parisian origin of our *Summa* can be considerably strengthened. See *ed. cit.*, p. XVII and especially the first two lines of p. XIX.

[1] Leipzig, Teubner, 1871.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. L. Cf. *Catal. Gén.* III (Paris, 1861), p. 78. The manuscript belonged to the Abbaye de Saint-Bertin and was written in the twelfth century. The treatise begins on fol. 31ᵛ, ends with *Deo gratias* on fol. 77ᵛ, and is immediately followed by an introduction to a commentary on Boethius, *De Hebdomadibus* beginning with the words: Eam logicae partem quae dialectica dicitur. The explicit on fol. 92r reads: Si cui autem aliter videtur, si tamen bene, nullum bonum criminamur. Both commentaries are without any indication of the author.

[3] W. Jansen, *Der Kommentar des Clarenbaldus von Arras zu Boethius De Trinitate* (Breslau, 1926), p. 2.

[4] Jansen, p. 2.

> Boethii scripta de Trinitate reliquit. Concurrentibus itaque praedicti abbatis aliorumque religioni deditorum sacris postulationibus eam quaestionem, quam contra Arianos de Trinitate personarum et unitate divinae substantiae Symmacho Boethius evolvit, exponere conatus sum, non quo mei viribus ingenii confiderem sed ut doctorum Theodorici Britonis et Hugonis de Sancto Victore, apud quos in hoc opere vehementem operam dedi, lectiones imitarer.
>
> Te ergo, dilecte mi amice, Odo, inspectorem atque judicem <32r> mei laboris constituo confisus quod, si in aliquo exorbitaverim, tu justus corripies me in misericordia et increpabis me. Nullius adulatoris oleum impinguet caput meum. Quod fortasse facile fieret si imperito artium et theologiae judicium istud committerem, cum eo honore indignus ad hujusmodi judicium se gloriaretur electum. In te autem omnis mihi abest metus quoniam vera amicitia omnem fugat adulationem et artium theologiaeque peritia perspicacem promittit judicem, ut, si qua corrigenda videantur, emendes, quae vero catholice dicta sunt, commendes.
>
> Neque enim haec duo facilia factu sunt quoniam, cum sit una vera fallaciaque carens doctrina, quinque illi obsistunt fucatae fallacesque doctrinae et tamen veritatis ejus colore se nitere mentiuntur. Prima earum sterilis appellatur, secunda involucrum frivoli, tertia vulgaris opinio, quarta prava expositio, quinta amphibologica. Et primae quidem duae verum docent sed inutiliter. Reliquae vero falsitatis argui possunt. Est autem sterilis doctrina quae integritatem rei propositae non prosequitur ut si quis docturus omnia esse in Deo dicat hoc esse omnia scire Deum. Et ad huiusmodi quidem doctrinam quaelibet anus prompta esse potest et facilis. Involucrum autem frivoli est, cum quis nomen philosophi falso adeptus ad operimentum inscientiae verba quaerit majora sesquipedalibus, cum res in se parva leviter possit dici ut qui volens dicere corporeitatem sine posteriori corporis forma non apparere in materia dixit reginam non esse in thalamo sine comitante pedissequa. Et ita quidem involvit frivolum, ut in Parnasso somniasse videatur. Vulgaris opinio est quam adhuc hodie multi veritatem in artibus perspicientes, tacita tamen veritate, suis auditoribus propinant, ut quamplurimos sibi parent auditores quales olim Stoici fuisse perhibentur qui eo quod Deus omnia providet, ex necessitate evenire omnia asserebant. Hoc enim facile vulgo poterat persuaderi. Temeraria sive prava expositio est ut cum quis se esse lapidem concedit eo quod in supremo genere cum lapide conveniat dicens sensum non verba spectari oportere. Amphibolum est cum quis suis <32v> sermonibus multiplices significationes inserit, ut cum multis concordare in sua sententia videatur.
>
> Vera autem et imitanda doctrina est quae sibi cavet, ne aliquam ex his quinque vitiosis intermisceat. Non igitur haec dogmatum genera internoscere cuivis facile est. Ideoque tuae cautelae dijudicandum opus istud supposui.

Then follows the text, published by W. Jansen, beginning with the words: *Tria sunt quae hominum vitam . . .* From the word *obversarer* at the beginning of the prologue one may be inclined to gather that Clarenbaldus wrote this treatise after leaving Laon, but the remark *exponere conatus sum* indicates that he wrote the prologue after the completion of his work, when he decided to submit it to a friend and competent judge by the name of Odo. Hence the treatise itself was probably composed at Laon, while the prologue was written somewhere else, most likely at Arras. We know that Clarenbaldus did not write the work before the death of St. Bernard on August 20, 1153, and his remark that the Bishop of Poitiers "left behind" (reliquit) some glosses on Boethius' *De Trinitate* points to a date after Gilbert's death on September 4, 1154. Historical records show that Clarenbaldus was a *praepositus* in Arras at least from 1152-1156.[5] In 1160,

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[5] Jansen, p. 9.

he was succeeded by Roger I (1160-1170), but the name Clarenbaldus is again recorded after the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury on December 29, 1170, since an Archdeacon of Arras, called Clarenbaldus, donated some relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury to a convent at Bapaume near Arras.[6] Although the name Clarenbaldus was by no means uncommon at the time, we can safely identify both the *praepositus* and the *archidiaconus* of Arras with the *magister* of Laon.[7] It is possible that Clarenbaldus presided over the school of Laon before becoming a *praepositus,* i.e., before 1152 at the latest. If so, he would have been "summoned" (*accitus*) to his directorship by Walter of St. Maurice, Bishop of Laon from 1151-1155, still living when the prologue was written.[8] This would mean that he directed the school for no longer than one year, that he returned to Arras in 1152 (at the latest) and wrote his commentary after St. Bernard's death in 1153. Certainly his prologue was written after Gilbert's death in 1154. As *praepositus,* however, Clarenbaldus was engaged in administrative rather than scholarly activities which the extant records confirm.[9] Hence it is much more probable, if not certain, that the Bishop who summoned him to Laon was Gautier II of Mortagne (1155-1174), a noted scholar and writer whom John of Salisbury[10] singles out as the leader of a group professing a new doctrine on the *notio* (universals). Since Clarenbaldus holds the same view, it is quite understandable that Bishop Gautier called upon him to head the once famous centre of learning, the school of Laon. This would well explain why Clarenbaldus was succeeded by Roger I (1160-1170). The abbot of St. Vincent to whom the prologue refers must have been Walter who headed the community from 1156-1174.[11] We do not know how long Clarenbaldus taught philosophy at Laon and there is no evidence to prove that he ever taught at Arras. Even after his return to Arras at an unknown date, he could still be called *magister,* as he is called in both manuscripts used by Jansen. On his return, most likely under Bishop Andreas I of Paris (1161-1173),[12] he was promoted to the dignity of *archidiaconus* at Arras which accounts for the title *archidiaconus attrebatensis.* It is safe to assume that Clarenbaldus' "beloved friend" was Odo of Ourscamp who died in 1171 and was well known as the author of theological *Quaestiones.*[13] This would explain why Clarenbaldus devotes several pages to the exposition of the *Quaestio* and its significance in the scholastic method.[14] We can, therefore, conclude with probability that Clarenbaldus wrote his treatise during his teaching career at Laon, not earlier than 1156 when he is last recorded as *praepositus.* It is more probable that he did not start his directorship before 1160 when he was succeeded by Roger I. He left Laon before the death of his friend Odo in 1171. Hence he most likely composed his work between 1160-1170.[15]

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[6] MGH SS XXVII, 37.

[7] In the appendix to the *Catalogus virorum illustrium* (Cologne, 1580), attributed to a monk of Afflighem, we read: Clarebaldus, Atrebatensis Archidiaconus, super Boethium De Trinitate commentum fecit, ubi de quibusdam Gillebertum Pictavensem arguere . . . videtur.

[8] Bishop Walter's predecessor, Bartholomaeus de Jura resigned in 1151 and died about July 10, 1157, as noted in P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 559. He must be ruled out because Clarenbaldus speaks of a bishop "qui nunc urbi praesidet." The fact that the prologue is missing in both manuscripts used by Jansen would seem to confirm our assumption that Clarenbaldus added it at a later date. In the meantime, his treatise was circulated without it. The same fact would also explain the absence of the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus* in both manuscripts, since it too was written at a later time.

[9] No known historical record states the exact period of office. We only learn that in 1152 he settled a certain dispute; in 1153 his signature appears under the Acts of a diocesan synod; in 1154 he received a letter from Hadrian IV confirming a donation by the previous *praepositus*; in 1156 he acted as official witness in a transaction. Cf. *Gallia christiana* III, 354 f. and 462.

[10] *Metalogicon* II, 17; ed. Clement C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1929), p. 93. Concerning Gautier of Mortagne see the excellent study by L. Ott, *Untersuchungen zur theol. Brieflit. der Frühscholastik*, Beiträge XXXIV (Münster, 1937, 126-347. Gautier was a well known *magister* and was the first of the *magistri* who signed the Acts summarizing Gilbert's errors and their corrections resulting from the debates at the council of Rheims in 1148. Cf. J. Leclercq, 'Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porrée,' *Mediaeval Studies*, XIV (1952), 109.

[11] *Gallia christiana* IX, 579.

[12] *Gallia christiana* III, 328. Gams, p. 495.

[13] A. M. Landgraf, *Einf. in die Gesch. der theol. Lit. der Frühscholastik* (Regensburg, 1948), p. 116. M. Grabmann, *Gesch. der schol. Methode* II (Freiburg i. B., 1911), pp. 25 ff.

[14] Jansen, pp. 33*-35*.

Hitherto Clarenbaldus has only been known as the author of a treatise on Boethius, *De Trinitate*. However, the manuscript of St. Omer which Jansen failed to examine contains a commentary on Boethius, *De Hebdomadibus*, written by the same meticulous scribe and composed by the same author after the completion of the commentary whose date we have just tried to establish. There is ample evidence to prove this assertion.

Shortly after some introductory remarks on the methods of demonstration, the author of the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus* observes: *In expositione superioris quaestionis pro captu ingenii nostri de QUAESTIONE multa diximus et tam auctoritatibus quam rationibus asserta de ipsa communivimus. Quapropter ab illo TRACTATU ea, si cui placent, requirenda esse censemus.*[16] This remark is occasioned by Boethius' use of the word *quaestio* in both *De Trinitate* and *De Hebdomadibus*, but the author of the second commentary does not wish to repeat the exposition given in a previous tractate. This *expositio* is found in Clarenbaldus' *De Trinitate* where Aristotle and Boethius provide the *auctoritates* to corroborate the author's *rationes.*[17] The anonymous author of *Librum hunc*, parts of which have been edited by Jansen, must be ruled out because he does not mention the matter. It may be noted in passing that Clarenbaldus did not use the commentary *Librum hunc*, as Jansen claims, but a commentary preserved in *Ms* Paris, B. N. lat. 14489.[18] A manuscript now preserved at Oxford (Bodl. *Lyell* 49, fols. 81 ff.) which also escaped Jansen's attention ascribes *Librum hunc* to Peter Heliae.[19] Whoever the author of *Librum hunc* may be, he is not Thierry of Chartres as Jansen believed.

It was previously stated that Clarenbaldus held a special view on the *notiones*. The commentator of *De Hebdomadibus* states: *Ab his autem rebus, quae in existentia actus sui sortitae sunt veritatem, notiones quaedam ab animo abstrahuntur, sed ab imperitis creaturae esse existimantur. Quod nequaquam verum est. Omnis enim creatura actu subsistit. Accidentia autem, quae notiones dicuntur, mentis tantum receptaculo colliguntur.*[20] The author maintains that Priscian, Cicero, "Augustine" and Boethius support his doctrine that only substances exist in reality. Then he goes on to say: *Et nos quidem haec supra quaestionem de unitate divinae substantiae et personarum Trinitate diligenter explicavimus et quod ea verum esse habere perhibentur eo quod, si actus veritate ita essent ut*

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[15] Jansen sees in Clarenbaldus' reference to a recent heresy (p. 85*) the same heresy which Bishop Godescalc of Arras reported to Pope Eugene III in 1152. He uses this to prove that the date of Clarenbaldus' work must be close to 1152. However, the papal letter (p. 102) speaks only of some *haeretica pravitas* without further specification. I rather suspect that Clarenbaldus refers to the *Cathari* who penetrated Northern France in the middle of the century. In 1167, Bishop Gautier of Mortagne and two fellow bishops examined and condemned a number of them at Vézelay (*Hist. Vizel. Monasterii* IV; ed. L. D'Achéry, *Spicilegium* II [Paris, 1723], p. 506) and in 1166 even England was troubled with them (H. Ch. Lea, *A Hist. of the Inquisition* I [New York, 1906], p. 113). In general they taught a dualism of God and eternal, evil, uncreated matter, distorted the faith and rejected most sacraments and sacramentals. But they were careful to avoid publicity (J. Guiraud, *Hist. de l'Inquisition* [Paris, 1935], pp. 35 ff.). Clarenbaldus declares that all changeable things are good because they must come from the one unchangeable Good which we call God. Then he observes: Mentiuntur igitur nequiter et impie qui stultissimam nuper hanc sibi haeresim cudere coeperunt haec mutabilia semper et ab aeterno fluctuasse nulloque regi Deo Creatore neque exordium a Deo aliquod sumpsisse . . . Quam tamen haeresim nonnisi sub obliquitate insinuationis audet doctis persuadere sed mulierum auribus delicatarum et laicis . . . persuadere non veretur.

[16] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 78^v.

[17] Jansen, pp. 33*-35*.

[18] Parts of this commentary are transcribed in J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres* (Paris-Ottawa, 1938), pp. 180-205. I intend to prove in a separate study that the author is Thierry of Chartres.

[19] The manuscript belonged to Admont (No. 382), was written in the twelfth century and is listed by M. Manitius, *Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters* III (München, 1931), p. 186. R. W. Hunt, 'The Lyell Bequest,' *Bodl. Library Record*, III (1950), 76, attributes the work to Thierry of Chartres.

[20] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 79^r.

mathematica consideratio ea extra materiam perpendit, verum esse haberent et perpetuum, cum nihil materiae deberent.[21]

To this corresponds what Clarenbaldus writes in his treatise on the Trinity: *Quicquid enim in materia est, si extra materiam esset ut mathematicus intellectus illud a subjecto abstrahit, verum esse haberet et perpetuum. Secundum hujusmodi ergo esse hic idem philosophus in secundo* Arithmeticae *prologo sapientiam definivit . . .*[22] He explains his position "diligently" on a later occasion where he lists five different opinions on the meaning of the Aristotelian categories.[23] His own opinion, the fourth of them, is not stated very clearly,[24] but as favourable to his thesis he cites "Augustine" and Themistius as quoted in the same source.[25] He then explains the different terminology used by various authors, including Hugh of St. Victor, and declares that Cicero supports "Augustine": *Unde Tullius in* Topicis, *quae ad Cajum Trebatium scripsit, consonam beati Augustini descriptioni notionis dedit descriptionem: Notio est, inquit, ex ante percepta forma impressa menti cognitio.*[26] Commenting on *De Hebdomadibus,* the author may have realized that the description was not a literal quotation. He offers another passage from the same source which he introduces in the same fashion: *Cicero quoque in Topicis* ad Cajum Trebatium: Duo, inquit, sunt definitionum genera . . . cognationem definias.[27] He also cites a different text from "Augustine" which he introduces with a sentence reminiscent of Macrobius: *In medium producatur beati Augustini super hac ipsa re auctoritas, tam fallere quam falli nescia: Cum in his . . . accidens nominari voluerunt.*[28] The author, who had previously quoted Priscian,[29] now claims that Pythagoras, whom he had never mentioned before, differs from Priscian, Cicero, "Augustine" and Boethius. He then adds a long text from Boethius in support of "Augustine": *Quem imitatus in secundo* Arithmeticae *prologo Boethius: Esse, inquit, dicimus, quae nec . . . vere proprieque esse dicuntur.*[30] But we do not learn on what authority Pythagoras is presented as opposed to their opinion.[31] In his treatise on the Trinity, Clarenbaldus mentions him once as the originator of the Greek word *Philosophos*[32] and omits his name in discussing the *notio.*

The comparison proves that the author of both commentaries was a versatile scholar who did not indulge in sterile repetitions and plagiarisms. Yet it is quite apparent that one and the same commentator wrote these passages, though in commenting on *De Hebdomadibus* he treats with greater precision and clarity what he had "diligently explained" in a previous tractate.

He refers to this work once again when he discusses the process of "mathematical abstraction" by means of which the mind separates from matter what is actually inseparable: *Proprietas enim eorum est, quae mathematicus in sui veritate pertractat, extra materiam considerari. De hujusmodi autem in quaestione de sancta Trinitate plura diximus.* In his tractate on the Trinity, Clarenbaldus enlarges on this point twice,[33] though it must be admitted that any commentator of the Boethian *De Trinitate* would have something to say on the process of abstraction. The reference may still serve as circumstantial evidence which points to Clarenbaldus as the same author of both works.

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[21] *Ibid.*, fol. 79^{v}.

[22] Ed. Jansen, p. 56*. See also Jansen, p. 28*: Quod si sic esset, verum esse et perpetuum haberet. Boethius, *Arithmetica* I, 1; PL 63, 1079D.

[23] Ed. Jansen, p. 79* ff.

[24] Ed. Jansen, p. 79* f.

[25] Ed. Jansen, p. 80*. Pseudo-Augustine, *Categoriae*, 3; PL 32, 1422.

[26] Ed. Jansen, p. 81*. Cicero, *Topica* III; PL 64, 1105A.

[27] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 79^{r}.

[28] *Ibid.*, fol. 79^{r}. Pseudo-Augustine, *Categoriae*, 5; PL 32, 1423. Macrobius, *Comm. in Somnium Scipionis* I, vi, 64; ed. F. Eyssenhardt (Leipzig, 1893), p. 509: Hippocrates quoque ipse qui tam fallere quam falli nescit.

[29] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 79^{r}. Priscian, *Institut.* I, i, 1: ed. M. Hertz in Keil, *Grammatici Latini* II (Leipzig, 1821), p. 5.

[30] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 79^{v}. Boethius, *Arithmetica* I, 1; PL 63, 1080D-1081A.

[31] His information is based on Boethius, *In Categor. Aristotelis* I, PL 64, 160 ff.

[32] Ed. Jansen, p. 56*.

[33] Compare *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 87^{v} and Jansen, pp. 28* and 57*.

An examination of the author's terminology leads to the same results. Clarenbaldus distinguishes four faculties of the soul, the highest of which is called *intellectibilitas.*[34] Jansen holds that only Clarenbaldus uses this expression,[35] since it is not found in *Librum hunc.* Although this not quite accurate,[36] it will not surprise us to meet the term in the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus,* where we are told that certain *principia per se nota* "almost require the capacity of the *intellectibilitas*".[37] Both authors use the expression *possibilitas definita* which is not found in *Librum hunc.*[38] Clarenbaldus writes: *Quartus modus universitatis est possibilitas definita, hoc est eadem materia, sed aliter intellecta.*[39] The commentary on *De Hebdomadibus* explains the fouth rule as follows: *Id quod est, hoc est in possibilitate definita subsistens . . .*[40] The author assumes that the reader understands the expression. Both commentaries have in common a number of rare terms, phrases and sentences which betray the same author. Both speak of *artium professores,*[41] *heimarmene,*[42] *necessitas absoluta,*[43] *Deus aeternitas est.*[44] They speak of God as *entitas simplex* or *primordialis*[45] and of divine Providence as *fatum.*[46]

We have seen that Clarenbaldus acknowledges his debt to Thierry of Chartres and Hugh of St. Victor in his prologue. He does so again in his treatise on the Trinity or simply refers to *doctores mei.*[47] The commentator of *De Hebdomadibus* did not need to repeat their names and tells us that "my teachers" taught that the word *enuntiatio* in Boethius must be understood *complexive: Et secundum quidem meos doctores enuntiationis vocabulum hoc loco complexive legendum esse.*[48] To offer us an example as to how to distinguish such a noun from a collective noun he declares: *Omnes homines Laudunenses populus unus sunt. Nullus tamen Laudunensium hominum collectionis nomen sortitur.*[49] It is hard to imagine that an author writing at Arras would choose Laon to illustrate a statement. At the end of *De Hebdomadibus* we find a second reference to the author's teachers: *Et hoc quidem modo tam mihi quam meis doctoribus visum est.*[50]

In both works we are confronted with the same method. It is typical of Clarenbaldus to cite the complete text he intends to explain. As a rule, the text either precedes or follows the exposition and only rarely does he weave a Boethian sentence into his own explanation after the manner of Gilbert of Poitiers. Occasionally he omits a passage. The same method is adopted by the author commenting on *De Hebdomadibus,* though he is less meticulous in quoting Sacred Scripture than in citing philosophical authors. Thus de declares: *Omne enim subsistens ex illa forma* (God), *ut etiam testatur Apostolus, esse capit quia ex ea omnia et per eam omnia et in ea omnia.* One may even suspect that he wrote: *Quod factum est in ipsa vita erat,* though *ipsa* was corrected to *ipso.*[51] He appears as a cheerful sort of scholar who prabably expected the reader, *si forte aliquis erit,*[52] to overlook such liberties and to proceed: *Eja, progrediamur . . . Eja, quod sequitur breviter percurramus.*[53]

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[34] Ed. Jansen, pp. 36* and 54*.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[36] See the anonymous commentary on Boethius, *De Trinitate* in *Ms* Paris, B.N. *lat.* 14489, fol. 23^{v}: Nam in theologia utendum est intellectibilitate sive intelligentia . . . Comprehendit enim anima intelligentia sive intellectibilitate. (fol. 24^{r}): Intelligentia enim sive intellectibilitas universitatem comprehendit in simplicitate. The author of *Librum hunc* uses only the word intelligentia.

[37] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 78^{r}.

[38] It is used by Thierry of Chartres(?), *Liber de septem diebus* II; *Ms* Paris, B.N. *lat.* 3584, fol. 14^{r} and by the author of the treatise on the Trinity in *Ms* Paris, B.N. *lat.* 14489, fol. 21^{v}.

[39] Ed. Jansen, p. 64*.

[40] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 83^{r}.

[41] *Ibid.*, fol. 79^{v} and Jansen, p. 38*.

[42] *Ibid.*, fol. 83^{r} and Jansen, p. 64*.

[43] *Ibid.*, fol. 83^{r} and Jansen, pp. 64* f.

[44] *Ibid.*, fols. 83^{r}, 90^{v}, 91^{v} and Jansen, p. 60*.

[45] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 82^{v} and Jansen, p. 58*.

[46] *Ibid.*, fols. 83^{v}, 85^{v} and Jansen, p. 47*.

[47] Jansen, pp. 6 f.

[48] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 81^{v}.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*, fol. 92^{r}.

[51] *Ibid.*, fols. 82^{v}, 83^{r}. Cf. *Rom.* xi, 36 *John* i, 4.

[52] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 90^{r}. The same remark is found in Jansen, p. 72*.

[53] *Ibid.*, fols. 88^{v}, 90^{v}.

When we compare the *auctoritates* used in both commentaries, it must be kept in mind that they deal with an entirely different subject matter. Worth mentioning are two texts from Galen's *Tegni* or *Ars parva* in the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus.*[54] It is quite understandable that Galen is not mentioned in Clarenbaldus' tractate on the Trinity. In *De Hebdomadibus* there are several references to Aristotle's *Prior Analytics,* likewise not mentioned in the previous work.[55] We also meet Pseudo-Dionysius and learn that God is *adeo simplex, ut magis videatur, ut beatus Dionysius in* Hierarchia *commemorat, ad nihil accedere quam ad aliquid.*[56] This text occurs neither in Clarenbaldus' work on the Trinity nor in *Librum hunc.* It goes back to the unpublished work of his teacher Thierry of Chartres who writes: *Quod autem Deus non sit ens, aperte dicit Dionysius in* Hierarchia *dicens quod Deus potius accedit ad nihil quam ad aliquid.*[57] The commentator of *De Hebdomadibus* speaks of the divine nature *quae est inexcogitabilis sic et immobilis spiritus est, nisi forte cum Epicuro demetari volens dicat ante tempus inane fuisse cum atomis.*[58] Speaking of Epicurus in his work on the Trinity Clarenbaldus makes a similar accusation: *Unde ex intermundiis, hoc est ex inani et atomis, nullo curante, nullo id agente, mentitus est tò pân, i.e., hoc omne concrevisse.*[59] We need not repeat the author's treatment of the notio where the same *auctoritates* serve to confirm the same doctrine, although the choice of texts varies to some extent. Even such variations may well serve to prove our point in view of the author's assumption that the reader would know his previous commentary. We may finally mention a definition of *elementum* for which no source is given. It is defined as *simpla et minima pars compositi corporis*[60] and is either directly derived from the Pantegni of *Constantinus* or from the *Philosophia mundi* of William of Conches.[61]

There is one very remarkable difference between the two commentaries. It is well known and again confirmed by our prologue that Clarenbaldus wrote his *Tractatus super Boethii de Trinitate* to oblige the *claustrales* who considered Gilbert too obscure and involved. Of theological interest is his opinion on the numerical distinction of the three divine Persons. He holds that Gilbert's book was condemned at Rheims (1148) precisely because Gilbert taught a numerical distinction: *Ex hoc loco*[62] *episcopi Pictaviensis error ortus esse videtur, ut tres personas numero differentes esse assereret . . . Ergo nec numero tres personae inter se differunt.*[63] Whatever reasons he offers to reject Gilbert's teaching, he claims that "our teachers" shared his view.[64] Gilbert and his school saw a veiled Sabellianism in this denial. Much more significant is the fact that Clarenbaldus does not accuse Gilbert of teaching that the *divinitas* is a separate form.[65] One might still expect some criticism of Gilbert's doctrine in the commentary of *De Hebdomadibus.* But not a word is said against the Bishop of Poitiers, although there is no denying that the author had seen Gilbert's commentary on the same work. The main reason for this silence may be found in the philosophical nature of *De Hebdomadibus* and in the fact that Gilbert's commentary was not controversial.

To enable future students of Clarenbaldus' *Commentary on Boethius, De Trinitate* to have ready access to the variants found in the manuscript of St. Omer, Bibl. publ. 142, I submit the following list noting the pages and lines in

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[54] *Ibid.*, fols. 78^{v}, 86^{r}.

[55] *Ibid.*, fols. 78^{r}, 81^{r}.

[56] *Ibid.*, fol. 82^{v}.

[57] *Ms* Paris, B.N. *lat.* 14489, fol. 41^{r}.

[58] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 82^{v}.

[59] Ed. Jansen, p. 58*.

[60] *Ms* St. Omer 142, fol. 81^{v}.

[61] *Philos. mundi* I, 21; PL 172, 48D.

[62] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, 3; ed. R. Peiper (Leipzig, 1871), p. 155.

[63] Ed. Jansen, p 77*. Cf. p. 51*.

[64] Ed. Jansen, pp. 45* f.

[65] Cf. Jansen, pp. 91* and 96*. Clarenbaldus simply ignores the highly controversial passage in Boethius (ed. Peiper, p. 159): Qui homo est vel Deus, refertur ad substantiam, qua est aliquid, i.e., homo vel Deus. Cf. N. M. Haring, 'The Case of Gilbert de la Porrée,' *Mediaeval Studies*, XIII (1951)), 12 ff.

Jansen's edition. The commentary begins on fol. 32^{v} and is followed by the commentary on *De Hebdomadibus* on fol. 77^{v}.

*P. 26**
[8] soluta: solvere.
[15] philosophi: philosophiam.
*p. 27**
[5] igitur: enim.
[8] atque: *om.*
[13] quantitates: fol. 33^{r}.
[14] actu: actui.
[19] illae: *om.*
[27] et: *om. Add.* meminit.
*p. 28**
[9] significatione: fol. 33^{v}.
[13] actus: auctum.
[21] rationabilem: rationem.
[22] distinguere: discernere.
[24] doctores: doctorem.
[28] Gillebertus: Gislebertus.
*p. 29**
[1] illud unde est: id, unde illud est.
[6] Ergo ex hoc: fol. 34^{r}.
[9] nobis: breviter nobis.
[21] caelestis: caelestis sphaerae.
[22] naturam: materiam.
[32] plurale: pluralis.
*p. 30**
[6] inventum: fol. 34^{v}.
[8] theologiae: theologice.
[39] verum esset: verum esse.
[40] et: *om.*
*p. 31**
[3] Verum: fol. 35^{r}.
[4] accidentium: tamen accidentium.
[27] scilicet: *om.*
[32] toto: toti.
[35] huic: hujus (*suprascript*: vel huic).
[39] Prologus: *om.* fol. 35^{v} *Marg.* Incipit tractatus super Boethium de Trinitate.
*p. 32**
[15] erit: erit Pater.
[19] Nunc autem, ubi in litteram: Nunc autem in littera, ubi.
[28] captet: fol. 36^{r}.
[35] desiderantibus: desideranter.
*p. 33**
[6] circumscriptum: circumpositum.
[10] alia: talia.
[20] nota: satis nota.
[24] loquendi: fol. 36^{v}.
*p. 34**
[5] quia: et.
[11] ad: *om.*
[23] Sed: fol. 37^{r}.
[34] habeant: habent.
[37] subjecit: subjicit.
*p 35**
[2] mundus: mundus aeternus; quaerit: quaeret.
[10] alia: altera.
[13] asseritur: vere asseritur.
[16] excogitata: excogitanda.
[20] obtulit: fol. 37^{v}.
[27] jactantia: jactatione.
*p. 36**
[19] si: fol. 38^{r}.
[31] sibi: sibi traditis.
[37] id est aëre: id est ut est aëre.
*p. 37**
[6] accommodata: commodata.
[9] eorumque: ceterisve eorum; vivificata: inusitata.
[15] indigni: fol. 38^{v}.
[23] intermiserit: omiserit.
[24] duplicitatem: multiplicitatem.
[27] et: etiam.
[31] nostrae: vestrae.
*p. 38**
[4] et: etiam.
[11] quaestionis: nodum quaestionis.
[12] solvenda: fol. 39^{r}.
[17] Sic: Sicut.
[26] temptarent: temperarent.
[34] vestris: nostris; vobis: nobis.
p. 39.
[2] sumamus: hinc sumamus.
[3] Liber . . . incipit: *om.*
[6] ejusdem: fol. 39^{v}.
[10] primo: primitus.
[14] superstitiosam: superstitionem.
*p. 40**
[5] juxta: fol. 40^{r}.
[10] substantia: sperandarum substantia.
[17] pervenerimus: pervenimus.
[19] et: *om.*
[29] imperiti: eorum imperiti.
[34] regularum: regulis.
[35] conservari: servari.
*p. 41**
[3] universalis: fol. 40^{v}.
[31] potest: debet
[35] praedictae: personae dictae.
[37] igitur: fol. 41^{r}.
*p. 42**
[22] Ciceronem: et Ciceronem.
[24] fatentur: fol. 41^{v}.
*p. 43**
[5] hominis: homines.
[11] (ut) in actus: ut actus.
[19] cum: quoniam cum.
[24] mathematice: mathematicae; et: etiam.
[27] Subjicitur: fol. 42^{r}; subjiciatur: subjicitur.
[32] cum enim eadem: neque enim cum eadem.
[33] nequent: queunt.
*p. 44**
[2] praedicetur plurimis: praedicetur. Possemus autem contradicentibus plurimis.
[6] continenter: consequenter.
[10] quidem quomodo: quidem modo, quomodo.
[15] aeri: aeris.
[25] qualitatibus: fol. 42^{v}.
[26] aliisque: ceterisque.
[36] appellaverunt: appellarunt.
[37] qualitatis: qualitatum; quidlibet: quodlibet.
*p. 45**
[14] Filius: Filius et.
[16] et: etiam.
[21] substantia: fol. 34^{r}; sunt: sint.
[27] de. *om.*
[28] prima et secunda: prima vel secunda.
[36] (est): est; sanctus: *om.*
[39] praedicati: praedicatis.
*p. 46**
[8] autem: vero.
[9] rationali: rationalius.
[10] omiomira: omnino mira.
[12] haec: hoc; pertineant: pertineat.
[17] didici: fol. 43^{v}.
[19] adjungat: subjungat.
*p. 47**
[8] enim: enim omnis.
[11] binarius: fol. 44^{r}.
[32] et tunc: tunc.
*p. 48**
[2] dictum: dictu.
[3] quam: fol. 44^{v}.
[6] abdito loco: abditum locum.
[9] metricavit: metrizavit.
[26] festive: festine.
[28] scriptis: scriptis ejus.
[36] gerendo: fol. 45^{r}; gerendo et: gerendo ita et.
*p. 49**
[5] quod: quid.
[9] qui: *om.*
[27] Deinde: Deinceps.
[28] possit: potest.
[29] enim: *om.*
[33] vel: fol. 45^{v}.
[36] genere: genere vel specie vel numero.
*p. 50**
[13] animal: animalis.
[23] autem: enim.
[27] simul: scilicet.
[28] dixeris: fol. 46^{r}.
[29] occurrat: occurrit.
[30] substantiam: subjectum.
[32] substantia: subjectum.
[34] produxit sed simul et ex: producitur simul sed ex.
*p. 51**
[13] vero: vero quando.
[17] sint: sunt.
[21] assignantur: fol. 46^{v}.
[30] illud: hoc.

*p. 52**
9 quoniam dubitari: quoniam ab indoctis dubitari.
11 personarum: *om.*
15 solis: fol. 47^{r}.
25 possibile sit: possibile non sit.
32 unus: sunt unus.
36 a naturalibus: a naturalium.
40 intelligi: intellectu capi.
*p. 53**
6 specie: speciei.
7 in: fol. 47^{v}.
15 vel quovis: vel alio quovis.
*p. 54**
7 aliquam: fol. 48^{r}.
35 et: ac.
39 partim: fol. 48^{v}; materia et: materia a.
*p. 55**
5 aqua: aquae.
7 autem: *om.*
8 Spiritus: Spiritus Dei.
20 et: etiam.
26 terram: terra.
32 materia: fol. 49^{r}.
33 idcirco esse: idcirco in motu esse.
*p. 56**
31 mutabilitas: fol. 49^{v}.
*p. 57**
16 rationabili: rationis.
27 Deum: fol. 50^{r}.
*p. 58**
6 inductionem: diductionem.
14 quia: quia est.
16 Deo: Deo sunt.
17 est et: est.
21 profecto: procul dubio.
30 verbum: hoc verbum.
33 Moysem: fol. 50^{v}.
33 sic: *om.*
34 vos: te.
*p. 59**
13 quae: qua; dicitur nec: dicitur ipsumque aes non.
28 quoddam: fol. 51^{r}.
*p. 60**
5 subsistit: *om.*
7 sit: est; vere: nomine.
11 modis: modis esse.
18 similiter: simul.
23 si: fol. 51^{v}.
*p. 61**
20 in: fol. 52^{r}.
25 (nihil): nihil.
35 hoc: id.
*p. 62**
9 simul: scilicet.
11 appellat: nominat.
12 materia: natura.
19 suam: fol. 52^{v}.
*p. 63**
5 eadem: earundem.
16 Pater: Pater est.
20 nec: fol. 53^{r}.
23 diximus: diximus supra.
24 nec: sed.
28 aeris: aere.
31 kata ton: katakon; ipsam: ipsum.
42 constat: constet.
*p. 64**
1 vel anima: vel solum anima.
12 sive: fol. 53^{v}.
13 continuatione quam: continuatione quasi concatenatus et sese complectentibus causis administrantur. Sic enim publica in re causae rerum connexae sunt ut si ad divinam praenotionem referantur in temporum continuatione quam.
39 intelligi: fol. 54^{r}.
*p. 65**
12 et: ac.
27 parte: partem.
29 exemplum: exempli.
30 Gillebertus: Gislebertus.
31 obscuritatem: fol. 54^{v}.; liberatque: laboratque.
*p. 66**
13 pulchrae: pulchre.
18 naturale: naturalis.
29 fieri: fol. 55^{r}.
30 albus: homo albus.
*p. 67**
9 enim: enim esset.
15 extra: praeter.
19 in: fol. 55^{v}.
32 loco: loco philosophum.
*p. 68**
5 quibus: quibus esse.
15 quae: fol. 56^{r}.
28 esse: in eo esse.
29 enim: unum enim.
32 ratione: ratione substantiae.
*p. 69**
12 alia: fol. 56^{v}.
14 idcirco: ideo.
17 sequatur: sequitur.
34 sit: sicut.
*p.70**
5 si quoque: sicque.
6 subjectum: fol. 57^{r}.
20 haec: *om.*
29 utrum: est, utrum.
30 in unum: numeri.
38 vero: fol. 57^{v}.
*p. 71**
6 cum: quo.
18 trinam: ternam.
30 est: fol. 58^{r}.
*p. 72**
13 ut: ut in.
24 producit: seriatim procedit.
25 Est itaque: Estque.
27 et: fol. 58^{v}.
*p. 73**
8 causa, et si: tametsi.
9 hoc quoque: hocque.
12 substantiae: subest.
16 univoco: univoco. In quibusdam vero codicibus reperitur sic: Tres unitates non faciunt pluralitatem numeri in eo quod ipse est. Quae littera hoc modo exponi potest ut numerus alius dicatur in eo quod ipse est, i.e., numerus rerum. Omnis enim rerum multitudo existit. Alius vero in eo quod ipse profertur et cassus tantum numerus est. Quam litteram cum hac expositione commoda sequens littera suscipit et sine nodo se illi adnectit quae est: si advertamus ad res numerabiles ac non ad ipsum numerum. Quod vero ait...
19 quippe: fol. 59^{r}.
21 trinam: ternam.
*p. 74**
10 aliquod aliquorum: aliquid aliorum.
11 naturalium: naturaliter; eo: fol. 59^{v}.
23 debet: debeat.
*p. 75**
1 ait: fol. 60^{r}.
16 est Deus: una sunt deitas et unum nomen de illis tertio repetitur cum dicimus Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus.
17 verbi: ubi.
23 trina: terna.
24 Arianis: Arianis, ut dictum est,
32 quod et: quod simplex et.
33 majestatis: fol. 60^{v}.
*p. 76**
15 verum: numerum.
27 sit: fol. 61^{r}.
31 metricavit: metrizavit.
*p. 77**
9 concessione: confessione.
16 qualem: qualis.
25 loco: fol. 61^{v}.
*p. 78**
1 rebus: erroribus.
11 quod: qui; substantiis: subsistentis.
12 negatur: negatur ab eis.
16 dici: fol. 62^{r}.
19 illis: ipsis.
20 sint: sunt.
22 eos: se.
35 quemadmodum: ut.
*p. 79**
2 praedicturum: dicturum.
4 quodve: quidve.
10 sit: fit.
16 est: fol. 62^{v}.
26 in quid tantum sunt: inquantum sunt.
*p. 80**
9 sed: fol. 63^{r}.
14 autem: vero.
24 anima: animo.
27 Aristotelem: mentem Aristotelis.
*p. 81**
6 notionis: notioni.
10 ostensione: fol. 63^{v}.
13 eas: ea.
18 possit: posset.
20 nec ... nec: nunc ... nunc.
*p. 82**
7 nihil: fol. 64^{r}.
11 sed: est.
14 sed: est.
15 sed: est.
30 est spatiosum: est et quod secundum ipsam praedicationem suscipit spatiosum.
31 quod ... suscipit: *om.*

*p. 83**
[1] non: unitas non.
[2] unitas: *om.*
[6] Deus: fol. 64^{v}.
[10] in . . . corpus: *om.*
[36] factum: illud factum.
[40] aliquando: aliquid.
[42] conclusum: fol. 65^{r}.
*p. 84**
[2] fiebat: esset.
[21] punctis: lineis.
[25] numerus: ipse numerus.
[30] latum: lineatum; certis: fol. 65^{v}.
[31] coerceatur: coarctetur.
*p.85**
[1] infinitae: infinite.
[3] singularum: bonum singularum.
[4] bonum: *om.*
[13] Promittens: *om.*
[24] discreta: vel discreta.
[26] esse: fol. 66^{r}.
[38] sit: *om.*
*p. 86**
[23] quod: fol. 66^{v}.
*p. 87**
[5] octo: octo his.
[20] nec: fol. 67^{r}.
*p. 88**
[1] contigue: contiguae.
[9] materia: natura.
[18] est: fol. 67^{v}.
[25] tametsi: quoniam etsi.
*p. 89**
[3] substantia: substantia, alia.
[11] quae: fol. 68^{r}.
[27] praedicamentum: praedicamenti.
*p. 90**
[4] Deum: Deum magnum.
[7] magnus: fol. 68^{v}.
[9] enim: enim est.
[20] conjunctive: conjuncte.
[21] copulative: copulate.
[26] videlicet: *om.*
[27] (res): res.
[28] praedicate: praedicatae.
[29] item: iterum.
*p. 91**
[4] distinguere: disjungere; siquidem: fol. 69^{r}.
[16] est idem homo: id est homo.
[20] generis: genus.
[29] non: *om.*
[37] insinuat: fol. 69^{v}.
*p. 92**
[33] singulorum: singulum.
[37] hoc: fol. 70^{r}.
[42] substantiam: subjectum.
*p. 93**
[9] quod: quid.
[16] faciunt: faciant.
[29] mensuramus: fol. 70^{v}.
[35] nullum: nullam.
*p. 94**
[8] hoc: *om.*
[16] inquam: inquit.
[17] ut: sed ita ut.
[24] sed: fol. 71^{r}.
[25] Unde: unum.
*p. 95**
[6] potest: solet.
[21] quod: fol. 71^{v}.
[24] planetis: plano.
[27] autem: autem nostri.
*p. 96**
[3] substantiam: subjectum.
[5] possidere: possidens.
[17] transit: fol. 72^{r}.
[25] substantiam: subjectum.
[43] subjiciuntur: subjiciuntur praedicatis.
*p. 97**
[1] praedicamenta: praedicata.
[6] qui: fol. 72^{v}.
[12] aliquod: aliquid.
[31] demonstrant: monstrant.
[32] demonstrent: monstrent.
*p. 98**
[1] demonstrant: monstrant.
[3] sicut: fol. 73^{r}.
[25] affigere: quodammodo affigere.
[28] demonstrant: monstrant.
[30] etiam: et.
[39] enim: fol. 73^{v}.
*p. 99**
[33] loco: fol. 74^{r}.
[38] sit: fit.
*p. 100**
[14] possimus: possis.
[22] quod: fol. 74^{v}.
[26] facit alterationem: faciet alteritatem.
[32] autem: igitur.
[38] concreta: certa.
[39] tamen: inde.
[40] per: *om.*
*p. 101**
[7] idem: *om.*
[10] confiteri: fateri.
[12] contradicit: fol. 75^{r}.
[20] a: in.
[27] acciperet: vere acciperet.
[33] deo: eo.
[37] accessibile: accessisse.
*p. 102**
[6] .processisse: fol. 75^{v}.
[10] ante satis: ante latis.
[13] recolligimus: intelligimus.
[24] ergo: vero.
*p. 103**
[5] subdit: fol. 76^{r}.
[13] nulla: ulla.
[21] vel unitatem: *om.*
[38] quod: idem.
[40] tamen: fol. 76^{v}.
*p. 104**
[33] Symon: Simo.
[35] sint: fol. 77^{r}.
*p. 105**
[3] rebus: caducis rebus.
[11] sit vestrae statuet: sit a minimae vestrae statuat.
[12] scripsit: scribit.
[17] dicit: dicit esse.
[26] satis: fol. 77^{v}; poscit: petit.
[28] nequivit: nequit.
[29] supplebunt: supplebunt. Deo gratias.
[32] ad . . . Trinitate: *om.*

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V. A Frequency Word-Count of Anglo-Saxon Poetry

COUNTS to determine the relative frequency of words in their occurrence in writing or in speech is a recent development in the study of languages and literature. Since Friedrich Kaeding completed his monumental word-count of German literature at the close of the last century[1], a long series of such studies has been published. Each of these frequency-counts has been made to serve a particular need. The purpose of Kaeding's count was to aid the teachers of short-hand and typing. A number of the more recent counts of English words in the United States and Canada have served as aids to teachers of reading and spelling.[2] Several were undertaken to aid the teaching

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[1] *Häufigkeitswörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin, 1897-8).

[2] E.g. Leonard P. Ayers, *Measuring Scale for Ability in Spelling* (New York, 1915); Edward L. Thorndike, *A Teacher's Word-Book* (New York, 1921); Godfrey Dewey, *Relative Frequency of English Speech Sounds* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923); Arthur I.

of foreign languages and basic vocabulary lists were formulated from the results of these frequency-counts of many thousands of words.[3]

With the new interest in languages resulting from closer cultural and economic relations with Europe, Asia and South America, new methods were evolved to speed the teaching of a reading knowledge of foreign languages. One of these methods has been the use of frequency-word-counts to determine the most "useful" words of a language, and the development of a "basic" vocabulary of such words. But these word-counts have served other purposes than the development of a basic spelling list, or a vocabulary list for a foreign language. One count of spoken conversation proved useful in designing telephone circuits. Professor George Zipf has used word-counts in English, Latin and Chinese in a series of philological studies.[4] And anthropologists have made use of word-counts in the investigation of cultural developments within a nation.

Among the techniques evolved by teachers of modern foreign languages is drilling the students in a basic vocabulary of words which will infallibly occur most frequently in their reading in the language. An exhaustive word-count of a wide selection of writings in the language is the first step in the formulation of such a list. To determine what words such a basic vocabulary should include to be useful to a student of Anglo-Saxon poetry, a word-count of the corpus of the poetry was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Francis P. Magoun Jr. of Harvard University.

Although introductory courses in Anglo-Saxon are required for advanced work in English in most universities in the western world, and despite the fact that the interest of almost all students of Anglo-Saxon is ultimately literary and only rarely philological or historical, the teaching of these beginners' courses has been primarily linguistic, including the study of grammar, the memorizing of paradigms, the translation of miscellaneous prose items, and finally some poetry. As a result in many cases—and the small number who take advanced courses in Anglo-Saxon literature confirms this—the beginning student fails to learn the language well enough to read it with ease or pleasure.

By the use of techniques found so successful in the teaching of modern languages, it is possible for the teacher of Anglo-Saxon poetry to introduce his beginners' class to the poetry in the space of a single semester. During this rather short time he can give his students the essentials of grammar, introduce them to a representative sampling of the finest poetry and drill them in a knowledge of the first thousand most frequently used words, which will cover approximately ninety per cent of all the running words in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

In putting into practice the method of instruction outlined above, the teacher of Anglo-Saxon is in a more difficult position than the instructor in a modern language. The latter has at his disposal a large and growing collection of beginner's text-books, books in which the vocabulary is based on the frequency-lists of Morgan in German, West and Bond in French, Buchanan in Spanish, etc. The teacher is certain that by drilling on the vocabulary in these texts the student is actually learning the most frequently used, hence the most useful, words in the language. But there are and can be no such text-books of Anglo-Saxon poetry, for it would be impossible to find or to invent formulas whereby one could introduce vocabulary even approximately according to the frequency, real or relative, of the poetical vocabulary. In these circumstances the only

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Gates, *New Methods in Primary Reading* (New York, 1928).

[3] E.g. R. C. Eldridge, *Six Thousand Common English Words, Their Frequencies and What Can Be Done with Them* (Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1911); V. A. C. Henmon, *French Word Book* (Madison, 1924); Milton A. Buchanan, *A Graded Spanish Word-Book* (Toronto, 1927); Bayard Q. Morgan, *German Frequency Word-Book* (New York, 1928).

[4] George Zipf, 'Relative Frequency as a Determinant of Phonetic Change,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XL (1929), 1-25; *Selected Studies of the Principle of Relative Frequency in Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932); *The Psycho-biology of Language: An Introduction to Dynamic Philology* (Boston, 1935).

means of developing a vocabulary has been to make the student memorize the meaning of each word as it occurs in the text. The testing in this case is done on the basis of the texts read in a class. College students can easily write out a modern English translation for an Anglo-Saxon text which they have studied; but in most cases this is a memorized translation recalled by the sight of the original. The ability to translate in that fashion has no "carry-over" value. The student knows the words, but exclusively in that context. Such a knowledge cannot be of great value in further reading in the literature.

An alternative to this, a method which has proved successful in introductory courses in modern foreign languages, is the preparation of a list of the words that have been demonstrated as the most frequent in occurence. When these words, ranked according to their relative frequency—the number determined by the length of the course and the ability of the students—are memorized out of context, the student is in command of his most useful tool.

In a living language with its continually expanding vocabulary it is not possible to be absolutely exact in determining the words most frequently used, at least beyond the first thousand words or so. Another factor making an accurate frequency-count impossible in a living language is that of "range;" that is, the consideration of the varied types of writing included in the count. Obviously the frequency of many words will vary in different kinds of writing, and no count can give a representation of all the types that would be proportionally perfect.

But in Anglo-Saxon poetry, neither of these difficulties, the expanding of the literature or the problem of determining "range", present themselves in a word count, because we are dealing with a discrete body of writing of just 30,271 lines or verse-pairs. A frequency-count of Anglo-Saxon poetry can be made accurate to within a fraction of one per cent.

When the student knows the most useful English equivalent, or in some cases equivalents, of the one thousand most frequently used words on the list, he has a command of nearly ninety per cent of the total running words occurring in the poetry. This knowledge, plus the rudiments of grammar and the practice in translation, is the work of one semester, and assures the ability to read the poetry. By the end of the second semester, with the memorization of a thousand more words and further reading, the student will have a command of nearly ninety-six per cent of the total vocabulary.

These lists present the results of a count of the running words in the complete corpus of Anglo-Saxon poetry as edited in the five volumes of the Krapp-Dobbie *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, Klaeber's *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* (3rd. ed.), and A. S. Cook's *Judith*. These total 30,271 lines of Anglo-Saxon verse, and 168,496 running words (exclusive of proper names), which are reduced by grammatical and semantic analysis to 8,157 different words, not including Latin words and textual cruxes.

In preparing the lists each word, including numerals and proper names, was copied on a separate slip of paper as often as it occurred. The slips were then sorted under the main dictionary entry and counted. This process involved the combining of all the grammatical forms of a word under the main dictionary entry. The result is thus a *lexical list* with the words arranged in order of frequency.

After some thought it was decided not to sort out the different meanings of words with identical forms; e.g., *sǽlan*, "tie" and *sǽlan* "happen." There were two reasons for this: first, the inevitable inaccuracies that would result, since the English equivalent was not recorded on the slip with the Anglo-Saxon word; and secondly, since the list is designed as an aid to learning, it is more logical to give *sǽlan* a position in the list determined by the combined frequency of both its meanings, and have the student learn the two English equivalents.

The count has been limited to the poetry as it is generally acknowledged that although the prose has interest for the theologian, historian, linguist and antiquarian, the poetry is the main object of interest for the student of belles-lettres. And most of the beginners' classes in Anglo-Saxon are made up of students whose primary interest is literature.

The 8,157 lexical units have been divided into three lists. List I includes "parent-words;" i.e., words that are not compounds or could not be further reduced or included under another parent-word. These are listed in order of frequency. List II is made up of all words compounded with the more common prefixes and suffixes. List III includes compound-words strictly so-called; i.e. words made up of an adjective-noun or a noun-noun combination.

The list of "parent-words" then includes words that are not compounded, but which are the basic words of other compounds, and words that are compounds but whose basic element does not occur as a "parent-word" in the poetry; e.g. *un-sláw*. The frequency of each of the words in Lists II and III has been added to the frequency of the "parent-word" in list I.

It is inevitable that in a work of this kind there will be inaccuracies. These arise from the nature of the material itself and from the limitations of the persons or person making the count. The principal source of error in the material is the fact that the Anglo-Saxon texts used do not employ a normalized orthography. The limitation in the human element is the failure to make the correct grammatical or semantic analysis of a given word as it occurred in the mass of words subjected to the count. Wherever possible, the count has been checked with C. M. W. Grein's *Sprachsatz der Angelsachsischen Dichter*, although even here the check could not be perfect since that work is based on editions other than those used in the count, and often the words were glossed differently. Fortunately these inaccuracies occur for the most part in words of one or two occurrences in the whole of the poetry, and do not affect the position of relative frequency given the words on the list.

A serious deficiency in the published texts and generally used dictionaries of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the preservation of the irregular spelling of the manuscripts. The wide divergencies among the scribes can only be of interest to the linguist and he has many editions at his disposal to serve his need. But for the beginnning student as well as for the advanced student of the literature the continual shifts in spelling are a barrier, at first to learning the language, and later to appreciating the poetry.[5] In the frequency-lists based on the word-count, the spellings have been normalized on the basis of Early West Saxon and in all essentials agrees with the spelling in Fernand Holthausen's *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934).

The frequency-lists described above which are the product of the word-count are not as they stand of great value to the teacher of Anglo-Saxon. List I does present parent-words in order of frequency, and included in the frequency assigned to each word is the number of occurrences of that parent-word in all of its compounds. But for full utilization of the material in the lists, all the cognates and derivatives of the parent-word should be grouped under a head-word, and a "credit-number" assigned to the word-group. This further grouping has been done in collaboration with Professor F. P. Magoun Jr. of Harvard. The grouped-frequency list that is the result has been issued in a trial edition which may be obtained from Professor Magoun, Department of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In the course of making the word-count some statistics of interest to language teachers was obtained. First of all, the vocabulary of 8,157 different words is fairly limited. This approximates the vocabulary of about 9,000 words in the

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[5] Cf. Francis P. Magoun, Jr., 'A Brief Plea for the Normalization of OE,' *Les Langues Modernes*, XLV (1951), 66.

Homeric poems. More interesting is the large percentage of compounds in this vocabulary. Of the 8,157 different words, 4,884—nearly sixty per cent—are compounds. Of these, 1,398, seventeen percent, are compounds with common prefixes and suffixes; 3,486, forty-three per cent, are noun-noun or adjective-noun compounds. Only 3,275 words, forty per cent, are "parent-words." These "parent" words are the core of the Anglo-Saxon poetic vocabulary. These figures testify to the highly synthetic nature of the diction of Anglo-Saxon poetry, with well over half of the words being compounds.

The other interesting set of figures indicates the value of learning the words which are highest on the frequency list. They show that a relatively small number of words near the top of the list make up a large percentage of the total number of running words. The percentages are based on the total of 168,496 running words, exclusive of proper names, in the poetry.

For the sake of comparison the percentage figures of a similar count made by Professor Einar Haugen in two Old Norse sagas have been added.[6]

	occurrences	percentage of of total	Old Norse
First 10 words	43,196	25.1	23.9
First 25	56,128	33.3	35.8
First 50	68.985	40.9	44.6
First 100	84,620	50.2	53.2
First 1000	150,481	89.2	
Through the frequency of 4	160,843	95.7	

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VI. Thomas of York on the Efficacy of Secondary Causes

THE influence of Thomas of York upon mediaeval thought and his relationship to the various doctrinal currents of the thirteenth century are difficult to assess, since the edition of his primary work, the *Sapientiale*, is incomplete.[1]

However, an historical note is not out of place, for it may serve to locate this Franciscan author among certain of his contemporaries, notably St. Thomas Aquinas. The particular point of comparison concerns their respective solutions to the problem of the efficacy of secondary agents.[2]

Thomas of York prefaces this discussion with an examination of the proposition that God is necessarily the first efficient cause of every other cause and of every effect:

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[6] *Norwegian Word Studies* II (Madison, 1942), p. 165.

[1] Thomas of York was a member of the English province of the Franciscan Order. What little is known of his life comes from the correspondence of his friend and confrere, Adam Marsh. Two facts of his scholastic career are certain: that he incepted in Theology at Oxford in 1253, and that he was the sixth regent of the Franciscan Studium at Cambridge. The probable date of his death is 1260. Thomas is chiefly remembered as the author of the *Sapientiale*, of which Books I - V have been edited as dissertations in the University of Toronto. These editions are based on the three extant manuscripts of this work: *Ms V*: Vat. *lat.* 5301; *Ms R*: *Vat. lat.* 6771, and *Ms F*: *cod.* Conv. sopp. A.6437. All citations in this article are to *Ms F*, which has been considered as basic for these unpublished editions.

Studies: M. Grabmann, 'Die Metaphysik des Thomas von York,' *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosphie des Mittelalters,* Supplement Band (Münster, 1913), 181-93; A. G. Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* XIX (1926), 803-74; E. Longpré, 'Fr. Thomas D'York, O.F.M., La Première Somme Métaphysique du XIII^{e} Siècle, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* XIX (1926), 875-930; D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century,* (Oxford, 1930); F. Treserra, 'De Doctrinis Metaphysicis Fratris Thomae de Eboraco, O.F.M.,' *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia,* V (1929), 33-102; and 'Entorn del Sapientiale de Tomas de York,' *Criterion Revista Trimestral de Filosofia,* V (1929), 1-180.

[2] The setting for this discussion in the *Sapientiale* is chiefly Book III, chapters 11 and 12.

> Causatum omne causam habeat, et omne factum factorem, et omnis factor unus post unum reducitur ad factorem primum tamquam ad agentem et efficientem principalem, tunc sequitur necessario quod ipse est efficiens omnium et causarum et causatorum, utpote causa prima plus influens in causata omnia quam causae secundariae.[3]

Consequently, the first principle of being cannot be the efficient cause of some and not of other effects.[4] In other words God's causality extends uniformly throughout the entire hierarchy of being.

In the light of this conception of the first efficient cause, Thomas proposes to answer the question of the causal efficacy of secondary agents:

> An in omni actione non tantum creationis, sed etiam eductionis sit ipse primus immediate agens, an in alia actione agat per medium?[5]

Almost immediately he notes that some, *aliqui*, have held that even in every natural activity the only efficient agent is God. The creature is but an occasion for the First Cause to induce forms into matter.[6]

It will be recalled that St. Thomas Aquinas discusses this same problem in the *Contra Gentiles*:

> Ex hoc autem quidam occasionem errandi sumpserunt putantes quod nulla creatura habet aliquam actionem in productione effectuum naturalium, ita scilicet quod ignis non calefacit, sed Deus causat calorem praesente igne. Et similiter dicunt in omnibus aliis effectibus naturalibus . . . [7]

In the same passage, however, St. Thomas clearly identifies the *quidam* who held this view: *Quidam etiam loquentes in lege Maurorum* . . . [8] That is, the Motecallemin, a certain Mohammedan sect.[9]

But this text cannot serve as a point of comparison, for Thomas of York surely does not identify the *aliqui* with any Moslem group. On the contrary he notes that they are Christians:

> Istam autem sui opinionem confirmare voluerunt per sermones sapientium Christianorum, per quos videtur quod inductio formarum naturalium in materia attribuatur solummodo actioni creatoris . . . [10]

As an instance of the texts cited by his opponents, he quotes a passage from St. Augustine :

> Ipse operatione qua usque nunc operatur, facit ut numeros suos explicent semina et a latentibus in formas visibiles evolvant, volens una cum hoc, quod neque mater neque pater in generatione est, sed qui incrementum dat Deus.[11]

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[3] *Sapientiale* III, 11, *Ms F: cod.* Conv. sopp. A.6437, fol. 149^v; cf. Maimonides, *Le Guide des Egarés*, I^e Part., 69; tr. S. Munk, I (Paris, 1856-66), pp. 317-8; cf. *Liber de Causis* 1; ed. R. Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi* XII (Oxford, 1935), p. 161.

[4] *Sapientiale* III, 11, fol. 149^v: Et cum hoc ita sit, volo te scire quod principium non est agens et efficiens aliquorum, et aliquorum non.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid:* Et jam fuerunt aliqui qui posuerunt ipsum immediate agere omnino et non posuerunt creaturam agentem in alia actione naturali, sed tantum occasionem qua per actionem primi forma natura inducitur in materia.

[7] St. Thomas, *Contra Gentiles* III, 69; ed. Leonine, XIV (Rome, 1926), p. 199. St. Thomas, also discusses this same question in relation to Avicenna and Avicebron. Cf. E. Gilson, 'Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, I (1926); 26-45. Cf. A. Masnovo, *Da Guglielmo D'Auvergne A San Tomas* II, (Milan, 1934), p. 183 ff.

[8] St. Thomas, *op. cit.*, III, 69; *ed cit.*, XIV, p. 199.

[9] Cf. E. Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-45.

[10] *Sapientiale* III, 11, fol. 149^v.

[11] *Ibid.* Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XXII, 24, 2; PL 41, 789; Nec qui concumbit nec qui seminat, est aliquid, sed qui format Deus; nec mater, quae conceptum portat et partum nutrit, est aliquid, sed qui incrementum dat Deus. Ipse namque operatione, qua usque nunc operatur, facit ut numeros suos

St Thomas, however, discusses the same question in another context. In the second book of the *Scriptum,* the Angelic Doctor asks this question: *Utrum aliquid aliud a Deo efficiat aliquam rem?*[12] It is the hypothesis of A. Masnovo that William of Auvergne is St. Thomas's opponent.[13] On the assumption that this hypothesis is true, there is an interesting parallel here between the opposition of St. Thomas Aquinas and of Thomas of York to William.

Now it is certain that William of Auvergne is Thomas of York's opponent. The citations that he gives invite us to look to William:

> Volunt creatorem intimiorem esse omni creaturae quam ipsam sibi. Et propter hoc necesse est quod intercipiatur tamquam agens inter omnem creaturam agentem et actum. Amplius solus ipse ingredi videtur perfecte operari in creatura. Praeterea sufficiens principium actionis est ipse creator; quare in genere actionis non admittit socium.[14]

One does not need to search far in the texts of William to discover passages that substantiate this view. One text from the *De Universo* is especially striking:

> Creator vero unicuique creatorum proximus est et praestantissimus, immo etiam intimus, et hoc apparere tibi potest per abstractionem seu spoliationem conditionum omnium atque formarum accidentalium et substantialium . . . Quapropter remanebit et esse suum et entitas quasi intimum indumentum ipsius, et velut interula, qua primo induit ipsum creator; et cum ipsum esse et entitatem ei detraxeris, erunt ei detractae omnes causae essendi et adminiculo excepto solo creatore. Quare manifestum est quod omnium adminiculorum et adjumentorum essendi primus est creator et intimum.[15]

A somewhat parallel passage is also found in the *De Trinitate*:

> Exemplum autem hujus est ut quemadmodum anima est vita corporis sic omnium esse Deus intelligatur . . . Sicut etiam anima imprimis est vita spirituum, deinde nervorum est carnis et ossum, sic Deus priorum prius esse deinde per illa aliorum . . . Et quemadmodum si una anima esset multorum corporum, nihilominus salva esset multitudo corporum, sic una essentia altissima quae Deus est unum est esse omnium, scilicet quo sunt.[16]

These and other texts from William accurately identify the position which Thomas of York describes.[17]

Now in these texts William of Auvergne's purpose is to prove against Avicenna that God is present to all creatures. This is shown to mean that, as their Creator, God is most intimately present to all creatures. In contrast to the necessitarian world of Avicenna, wherein the First Cause is removed from its effects to the same extent that unity and multiplicity are incompatible, William has a First Cause Who is more intimately present to things than they are to themselves. Far from removing unity from things, William makes God present to all.

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explicent semina et a quibusdam latentibus atque invisibilibus involucris in formas visibiles hujus quod aspicimus decoris evolvant.

[12] St. Thomas, *Scriptum Super Libros Sententiarum* II, 1, 1, 4, ed. Mandonnet I (Paris, 1929), pp. 23-7.

[13] A. Masnovo, *op. cit.*, II, p. 183 ff.

[14] *Sapientiale* III, 11, fol. 149^v.

[15] William of Auvergne, *De Universo* I-I, 30, *Opera Omnia* I (Aureliae, 1674), p. 625b.

[16] William of Auvergne, *De Trinitate*, 7; vol. 2, supplement p. 8b.

[17] Cf. *loc. cit.*, supplement p. 17a: Naturarum igitur et naturalium dispositionum creator causa est. Media vero et quae ipsi nominaverunt causas ad sensum causae sunt, ad rationem autem et veritatem ipse solus, eo quod operari quidem videntur quae de primo fonte cujus fluxus et meritum non adverterunt. Ideoque sensum causas media vocaverunt. Quia igitur solus creator solus est in se ipso, solus in se copiosus, solus de se et de suo dans, manifestum est quia solus est veri nominis causa.

Thus, against some of the Arabians,[18] William insists upon a God omnipotent, free and immediately present to things, a creating God to Whom all things owe their existence. The Creator is near to every creature, most intimately present to them. In fact, if one remove from things their forms, there remains the basic reality of each thing, God Himself. Therefore of all the aids and supports of being, the first and most intimate support is God.

But in his desire to oppose the necessitarianism of Avicenna, William not only affirms that God is the sole indispensable cause of every effect, but even the only properly unique cause.[19] In speaking of his adversaries, William says that they remove natures and things from God's governance and ordinance. However, for him it is indubitably true that the power of natures is the will of the Creator alone. He alone is the law and principle of all motion and natural change. Since all perfections of being flow from the first source of being, created natures serve only as certain *media* or windows through which these perfections descend from the First Cause. Thus one cannot speak of these natures as causes without using the term *cause* in an improper manner.[20]

Thus William can say that the Creator is the cause of natures and natural movements; but the *media*, that is the natures themselves, are only causes *ad sensum*. The Creator alone is a cause *ad rationem et veritatem*.[21] Outside of God, then, there is no other cause at all; everything else is but a window through which passes, as does light, the divine causality. Nor does this passage imply any change on the part of the window. The window does not partake in any manner of the flow of causality; it remains what it is unaltered.[22]

Finally, if one were to ask William why he attributes the function of causality to God alone, he would reply:

> Nullo modo enim possibile est ut det esse quod ipsum recipit, det dico de se; si vero dat et non se neque de suo tunc via est acquirendi esse aliis, non dator; et nuntius quodammodo deferens esse, praecipue si ad hoc recipit

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[18] Not the Ash'arites; cf. *infra*, n. 37.

[19] William of Auvergne, *De Universo* I-I, 26; vol. 1, p. 622a: Quare simpliciter verum est quod creator aequaliter causat omnia, quantum est de se, et etiam simpliciter, quia medium vel media nihil addunt, vel minuunt causationi. Jam enim declaravi tibi in primo tractatu, quoniam creator solus proprie ac vere nomine causae dignus est; alia vero, quae velut media causationi ejusdem deserviunt, non sunt nisi nuncii, et deferentes, ultima recepta, tamquam missa a creatore. Cf. A. Masnovo, *op. cit.*, II, p. 180.

[20] William of Auvergne, *De Trinitate*, 11; vol. 2, supplement p. 16a-b: Isti autem sic loquuntur tamquam Deus naturas sub se ipsis reliquerit, et non cura suae gubernationis eas coerceat, moderetur et ordinet: et tamquam per se ipsas aliquid possint: quod profecto si esset, universum minimae (corrige: minime) staret cum repugnantibus invicem naturis et se mutuo destruentibus. Sed hoc indubitanter verum est quod potestas naturarum sola voluntas est conditoris, nec aliquid contra eam nec supra ipsam nec praeter ipsam possunt, et haec pacata et quieta apud se per omnem modum. Hoc principium et lex est omnium motionum et mutationum naturalium; si namque sibi relinquerentur, illae necessario reciderent in non esse. Sed quae voluntate creatae sunt, voluntate stant adhuc et tenentur in esse, et operationes earum regit qui tenet et salvat ipsas, sive intelligatur a nobis modus ille gubernationis sive non; et certas et limitates habent virtutes, sive sis sufficiens comprehendere eas sive non. Quare nulla est omnino necessitas ipsi naturae, quantum in ipsa est, ut operetur et effluat de se aliud; sed hoc cogit et facit vehementia et velut torrens primi fluxus . . . Naturae igitur non sunt sufficientes effluere ex se alia, nisi in quantum usque ad redundantiam implentur (corrige: impletur) influxione primi fontis eorum possibilitas. Et hoc quidem ut effluerent et exuberarent in alias cogit primi fluxus copiosissima vehementia omnino subesse beneplacito influentis ut stare faciat ipsum et detineat cum voluerit absque ulla omnino sui ipsius mutatione . . . Omnis plenitudo et omnis perfectio non potest fluere, nisi a primo fonte, et si per media oportet eam effluere non potest se debere alii nisi illi; nisi forte quis dicat quod illuminatio debet se fenestrae: quod quidem dicendum non est etsi illuminatio domus indigeat fenestra . . . Omnem enim fluxum (corrige: omnium enim fluxuum) a primo descendentium viae quaedam et fenestrae mediae naturae sunt non causae; nisi aliquantulum abusive accepimus nomen causae.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, vol. 2, supplement p. 17a: Media vero et quae ipsi nominaverunt causas ad sensum causae sunt, ad rationem autem et vertitatem ipse solus. . .

[22] *Loc. cit.*, vol. 2, supplement p. 16b: Media . . . viae ulterioris effluxionis et impletionis, quam si beneplacitum esset creatoris in ipsis sistere fluxum suae copiositatis. Quare in se eodem modo prorsus sunt cum est ab eis vel per eas fluxus super alias.

> ut daret; hoc enim ideo ejus qui dat ministerio deferens, scilicet alienum donum. Quare causa non est esse nisi quia prius est, et intentio causalitatis non est nisi ordinatio prioritatis; scilicet ut causa dans esse intelligatur nisi quae de se et de suo dat; praeter primam universalem aliam esse impossibile esse manifestum est, nisi per modum quo diximus.[23]

In his answer to William of Auvergne, Thomas of York is quite ready to agree that God is more intimate to creatures than creatures are to themselves, because through His essence, presence, and power He supports creatures in the very being that they have. Thomas, however, disagrees as to the mode of intimacy. He points out that this intimacy of the Creator to the creature is comparable to the priority that a first cause in any series has over all of its subsequent effects, whether secondary causes or not. Here Thomas has in mind the first proposition of the *Liber de Causis*: *Omnis causa primaria plus est influens super causatum suum quam causa universalis secunda.*[24]

Though Thomas of York is in accord with William's effort to show that the Creator through His essence, presence, and power is the support of creatures in the being that they possess, he objects to making this intimacy of God to creatures mean that the activities of creatures are in reality the activities of the Creator. This alternative would imply two conclusions: first, that since the Creator is the prime source of act, He needs no co-actors, to use St. Augustine's term.[25] Second, that as source of act, God alone is the immediate source of every activity, even that of substantial change.[26]

To the first implication, Thomas of York replies in a twofold way. First of all, he indicates that there is some truth to the contention that to attribute to the Creator the creation of potency and to creatures the production of acts is derogatory to the Creator, if it means that the Creator is excluded from the acts which creatures produce. But since the Creator is immediate to all the activities of creatures in virtue of the influence He exercises over all effects as the First Cause, the dignity of the Creator as well as the causal activities of creatures can both be preserved.[27]

In the second instance, Thomas notes the apparent objection of St. Augustine, that the predicament of action is properly attributed to God alone;[28] consequently some may conclude from this that activity cannot be truly predicated of creatures. Thomas, however, does not interpret St. Augustine in this manner. Rather, he says that St. Augustine did not wish to deny the production of acts to creatures, but that he was speaking of the nature of act which alone can be truly predicated of the Creator. God alone is truly in act by His very nature, whereas all creatures are in act to the extent that they have, from another, the power to be agents.[29]

Thomas is equally opposed to William's second conclusion that God is the source of every act because He alone enters into the very essence of the creature. To interpret this *penetratio Creatoris*, thus, is to exclude creatures from all causal activity. But this involves a denial of the reality of substantial change, which Thomas considers to be manifestly false. If, however, this *penetratio Creatoris* means the activity which is creation, Thomas will accept it as true.[30]

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[23] *Loc. cit.*, vol. 2, supplement p. 17a.

[24] *Liber de Causis* 1; *ed. cit.*, XII, p. 161.

[25] Cf. *Sapientiale* III, 12, fol. 150^{v}. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XVI, 5; PL 41, 483 and *De Genesi ad Littteram* V, 19; PL 34, 334.

[26] Cf. *Sapientiale* III, 12, fol. 151^{r}: Quod autem dictum est solum creatorem ingredi essentiam creaturae, si intelligatur penetratio quae est . . . per actionem ad quam sequitur substantiae transmutatio, falsum est.

[27] *Ibid:* . . . quod dicunt homines vilius attribui creatori et nobilius <creaturae>, si creatori attribueretur creatio potentiae et creaturae productio actus. Hoc verum est, si excluderetur creator a productione actus per creaturam. Nunc autem ipse est magis influens in actum quam secundaria et immediata.

[28] *Ibid:* Si quem vero movet, quod dicit Augustinus, *De Trinitate* V, capitulo 11, praedicamentum actionis de Deo solo proprie dici. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate* V, 8; PL 42, 917.

[29] *Sapientiale* III, 12, fol. 151^{r}: . . . hoc non debet movere cum effectu; nam non vult negare per hoc actionem in creaturis, sed quod de natura sicut de primo dicitur, quia ipse est agens per se ipsum . . . Omnia autem alia ab ipso habent quod agunt, sicut patet in reductione omnium agentium vel efficientium ad unum primum efficientem.

This second interpretation prevents Thomas from accepting William's alternative that God is the unique cause with all that this implies. Since Thomas understands substantial change to mean that there is a power which joins every composite, and which endures in the composite itself, generation is a real act of a creature. It is the bringing forth of an individual of a species through the reduction of the potency of matter to act by that which is already in act.[31] Substantial change verifies the peculiar relationship of potency and act, namely, that the differences found in effects reflect an intrinsic difference in the causes which produce them, as Averroes says: *Illud quod est in potentia fit in actu ab illo, quod est sui generis aut suae speciei in actu.*[32] Thus causes and effects are related to one another as potency and act are related. And just as that which is reduced to act demands a reductive act of either the same genus or species, so too, that an effect actually be, it must be produced by a cause of the same genus or species as itself.[33]

But the *Liber de Causis* says that the First Cause is related to all of its effects in the same way,[34] and, as it is outside every genus, the First Cause cannot be the immediate cause of the reduction of effects from potency to act. Thus Thomas is able to uphold the reality of substantial change. At the same time he admits the efficacy of the First Cause over its effects as the sustainer of the being that they have and of the causal activity that they exercise.[35]

The opposition of St. Thomas Aquinas to William of Auvergne is especially striking in the text cited by A. Masnovo,[36] and this text affords several points of comparison with the opposition of Thomas of York. In the *solutio* to the question: *Utrum aliquid aliud a Deo efficiat aliquam rem*, St. Thomas records three opinions on the question. The first is that which is of concern here:

> Respondeo dicendum quod circa hanc quaestionem sunt tres positiones. Quarum una est quod Deus immediate operetur omnia, ita quod nihil aliud est causa alicujus rei: adeo quod dicunt quod ignis non calefacit sed Deus; nec manus movetur sed Deus causat ejus motum, et sic de aliis. Sed haec positio stulta est; quia ordinem tollit universi, et propriam operationem a rebus, et destruit judicium sensus.[37]

This is clearly a *stulta positio* for St. Thomas because its assertion involves the denial of substantial change and the destruction of the proper order of things. To point out that this view is unsuitable St. Thomas, as did Thomas of York, clarifies the notion of generation. In generation there is a similarity in species between the generative agent and that which is generated; thus only man can generate man. Though the first in the order of created being stems directly from God's creative act, yet there is substantial change, which is the product of second causes. And then St. Thomas adds:

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[30] *Ibid:* Quod autem dictum est solum creatorem ingredi essentiam creaturae, si intelligatur penetratio quae est per actionem quae est creatio, verum est. Si per actionem ad quam sequitur substantiae transmutatio, falsum est.

[31] *Ibid:* . . . quod virtus est in omnibus mixtis miscibilia conjungens et retinens. Haec autem virtus mota per vim coelestem sibi connativam movetur. Hoc autem fit per motum coeli, et ita virtus coeli movens penetrat per vim sibi connativam, et est principium transmutationis per hanc viam. Hoc enim sufficit ad transmutationem per quam est speciei, quae in potentia in materia in actum productio; et haec est generatio.

[32] Averroes, *In VII Meta.; Aristotelis Stagiritae Opera. Averrois Cordubensis in Haec Ipsa Commentaria VIII* (Venice, 1562-76), t.c. 31, fol. 180k.

[33] Cf. *Sapientiale* III, 11, fol. 150^r: . . . quod exit de potentia ad actum, habet extractorem sui generis cum eo, id est extracta; alioquin quidlibet extraheret quodlibet vel ad minus causalis esset extractio, nec esset convenientia inter extrahentem et extractum in forma.

[34] *Ibid:* Prima autem causa nullius generis est cum alio, cum se habeat secundum unam dispositionem ad omnia causata, secundum quod dicitur *De Causis*. Cf. *Liber de Causis* 24; *ed. cit.*, XII, p. 180.

[35] *Sapientiale* III, 12, fol. 150^v: . . . quamvis creator sit intimior creaturae quam aliqui alii per praesentiam, essentiam et potentiam qua supportat eam in esse, tamen non oportet quod sit intimior in ratione qua est agens, nisi sicut causa prior est intimior per influentiam.

[36] A. Masnovo, *op. cit.*, II, p. 183 ff.

[37] St. Thomas, *Scriptum Super Libros Sententiarum* II, 1, 1, 4; *ed. cit.*, I, p. 24. It

> Horum tamen causa etiam Deus est magis intime in eis operans quam aliae causae moventes; quia ipse est dans esse rebus. Causae autem aliae sunt quasi determinantes illud esse. Nullius enim rei totum esse ab aliqua creatura principium sumit, cum materia a Deo solum sit; esse autem est magis intimum cuilibet rei quam ea per quae esse determinatur; unde et remanet, illis remotis, ut in libro *De Causis*, prop. 1, dicitur. Unde operatio Creatoris magis pertingit ad intima rei quam operatio causarum secundarum; et ideo hoc quod creatum est causa alii creaturae, non excludit quin Deus immediate in rebus omnibus operetur, inquantum virtus sua est sicut medium conjungens virtutem cujuslibet causae secundae cum suo effectu; non enim virtus alicujus creaturae posset in effectum, nisi per virtutem Creatoris, a quo est omnis virtus, et virtutis conservatio, et ordo ad effectum; quia, ut in libro *De Causis*, ibid., dicitur, causalitas causae secundae finaliter est per causalitatem causae primae.[38]

In this text St. Thomas wishes to uphold the intimacy of the Creator to creatures, and yet at the same time to safeguard the efficacy of secondary agents. On this issue St. Thomas Aquinas and Thomas of York are in agreement, and their agreement is based on the same reasoning. Both are aware of the reality of substantial change and understand it as a transmission of species in the same sense that Averroes understood it: *Illud quod est in potentia fit in actu ab illo, quod est sui generis aut suae speciei in actu.*[39] William's conclusion that God is the unique cause and the resultant denial of all secondary causality is foreign to St. Thomas and to Thomas of York. William's failure to distinguish the meaning of the intimacy of the Creator to his creatures is at the root of his denial of the efficacy of secondary causes.

St. Thomas and Thomas of York perceived this error. Both of them agree that second causes are truly causes because of their dependency in being on the First Cause. As a consequence, both can admit the intimacy of the Creator to creatures as the source and support of their being without denying all causal activity to creatures. Both St. Thomas and Thomas of York instead understand this intimacy of the Creator to His creatures in the light of the first proposition of the *Liber de Causis*: *Omnis causa primaria plus est influens super causatum suum quam causa universalis secunda.*[40] In other words, God operates immediately in creatures and is therefore most intimate to them. His power is the means which joins every second cause with its effects, for all secondary causality is dependent upon the causality of the First Cause.[41]

As has been seen, Thomas of York is closely related to St. Thomas in this discussion, and is to this extent removed from St. Bonaventure, his fellow Franciscan. Not that St. Bonaventure wishes to deny secondary causality, but rather that for him secondary efficient causes bestow on their effects not being, but a mode of being.[42] Thus St. Bonaventure says:

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should be noted that this text closely parallels the one already cited from the *Contra Gentiles* III, 69, where St. Thomas's opponents are explicitly the Ash'arites, that sect of the Motecallemin previously criticized by Maimonides; cf. *Le Guide des Egarés*, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 375-95. Their position is best illustrated in Gilson's cryptic formula: Leur seule réponse à la question: pourquoi les choses se passent comme elles se passent, c'est que Dieu l'a voulu ainsi. E. Gilson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 16. There is a striking similarity between this position and that of William of Auvergne: cf. *supra* n. 20: Sed hoc indubitanter verum est quod potestas naturam sola voluntas est conditoris . . . .

[38] St. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

[39] Averroes, *op. cit.; ed. cit.*, VIII, t.c. 31, fol. 180k.

[40] *Liber de Causis* 1; *ed. cit.*, XII, p. 161.

[41] St. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[42] Cf. E. Gilson, *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*. (2e éd., Paris, 1943), p. 240.

> Haec igitur est summa positionis, quod agens creatum nullam quidditatem, nec substantialem nec accidentalem omnino producit, sed entem sub una dispositione facit esse sub alia.[43]

However, the accord between St. Thomas and Thomas of York quickly dissolves. As will be seen in a later article, Thomas of York, despite his strong plea for the preservation of secondary efficient causality, ultimately comes over to William's position. This is so, because for him the senses are not causes in knowledge but occasions only.[44] When Thomas of York admits occasionalism in knowledge, he is diametrically opposed to St. Thomas. The significance of St. Thomas's position lies in the fact that it implies an acceptance of two opposed theories of the real, involving a decision concerning natural operations, and especially concerning knowledge, the noblest of these operations.[45]

Thomas of York, on the one hand, wishes to uphold secondary efficient causality, but on the other cannot bring himself to accept this on the level of knowledge. It is difficult to assign the exact reason or reasons for this contradictory position. Perhaps it is a result of the method which has inspired the *Sapientiale*, namely, the concordance of natural and Christian wisdom.

On this score, Thomas of York probably viewed the problem of knowledge in the traditional Augustinian manner, that is, from the standpoint of divine illumination. Since the representatives of natural wisdom, Aristotle and the other philosophers, were not aware of original sin, they could not be aware of a higher mode of human knowing than knowledge through the senses. And thus Thomas says of Aristotle:

> Et propter hoc non est mirum si multiplex sit error Aristotelis in processu, cum sic erret qui <errat> principali principio seu fundamento.[46]

The choice that Thomas of York makes in this problem is indicative of his failure to grasp in an adequate way the very Aristotelian natures that he had previously defended. His choice is in sharp contrast to that of St. Thomas Aquinas on the same issue. The alternative positions, for example, of Alexander of Hales and William of Auvergne were, for St. Thomas, ultimately reducible to the same basic position. For despite Alexander's defense of the human agent intellect, he could not maintain this and at the same time remain faithful to the Augustinian doctrine of illumination. To attempt this was tantamount to agreeing with William of Auvergne that God alone is sufficient to account for the illumination of the intellect.[47] For as Gilson has expressed St. Thomas's view:

> Pour saint Thomas . . . Ou bien cette illumination se réduit au don que Dieu nous fait d'un intellect agent avec la lumière naturelle qui lui est propre, ou bien cette lumière naturelle de l'intellect agent ne suffit pas à soi-même et alors, qu'on le veuille ou non, l'illumination divine que l'augustinisme lui ajoute revient à faire de Dieu notre intellect agent.[48]

Unlike St. Thomas, Thomas of York does not seem to recognize the contradictory nature of such a position. Though adamant in his refusal to accept William of Auvergne's view of nature, especially on the level of substantial change, to the extent that he accepts the Augustinian doctrine of illumination, Thomas of

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[43] St. Bonaventure, *II Sent.*, 7, 2, 2, 1, ad 6^{m}; *Opera Omnia* II (Quaracchi, 1882), p. 199.

[44] Cf. *Sapientiale* III, 24, fol. 169^{r}: Jam enim tetigi tibi supra, in hoc capitulo, aliquantulum sensus se habet ad intellectum sicut occasionem quidem praestans, non ut causans.

[45] Cf. E. Gilson, 'Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critiqué Saint Augustin', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, I, p. 126.

[46] *Sapientiale* III, 24, fol. 169^{r}.

[47] Cf. E. Gilson, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[48] *Ibid.*

York denies the efficiacy of the natural and, wittingly or not, subscribes to the very position that he has so vigorously attacked.

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VII. Letter of an Anonymous French Reformer to a Byzantine Official in South Italy: *De simoniaca heresi.* (*Ms* Vat. *lat.* 3830).

THE letter presented below attracted my attention in the course of an examination of the unpublished canonical collection contained in *Ms* Vat. *lat.* 3830. This text, to the best of my knowledge, is not only hitherto unpublished but without previous public notice of any kind. It has a two-fold claim to the interest of historians: (1) as a significant document on the spirit of Latin and Greek relations, both ecclesiastical and civil, at a time, as I judge, very close to the critical events of 1054 and in a region in many respects the most important meeting-place of Latin and Greek influence and interests, South Italy; and (2) for the clear affinity it bears to the eleventh-century reform literature on the heresy of simony, the validity of the ministrations of simonists and the role of civil authority (in this instance, that of the Byzantine emperor) in the prosecution of a reform of ecclesiastical life. The dossier for each of these fields of study is not so rich that any new items can be overlooked and the present document I consider to be of singular import and interest for both. For this reason I have thought it opportune to publish the text itself, together with these introductory remarks, with the hope that others may be able to clear up what to me remains obscure and to supplement, correct or confirm my present views on its date, identification and relation to other items in the literature of the early reform. With these matters agreed upon, the document may take its proper place among the source materials available for the historians of the eleventh-century reform and Latin-Byzantine relations.

I.

1. The collection of *Ms* Vat. *lat.* 3830, preserved only in this single exemplar, is relatively well known, at least among the historians of Canon law.[1] Although the collection itself has never been published, almost all its contents are published elsewhere. The approximate dates of 1025-1050 given for its compilation in Italy by P. Fournier[2] are generally accepted and I am unaware of any new evidence on its date since his examination of the manuscript. There is nothing, however, in the collection itself to favor the earlier date and some things against it. The presence of excerpts from Burchard's *Decretum* in the body of the collection, already noted by Fournier and C. G. Mor,[3] argues for the later date. Otto Meyer,[4] in the most careful study to date on the spread and influence of Burchard based on the manuscript tradition, places the coming of the *Decretum* to Italy shortly after 1050. Whatever revision may come here, there is nothing to indicate that the date may ultimately be pushed back as early as 1025. Furthermore, there is a text of Gregory VII of 1078 in the collection,[5] not previously

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[1] The Ballerini, *De ant. coll. canon.* IV, 12, n. 6 (PL 56, 325C f.); F. Patetta, 'Contributi alla storia del diritto romano nel medio evo', *Bull. dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano,* III (1890), 296 ff., has the best notice; P. Fournier-G. LeBras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en occident* I (Paris, 1931), pp. 453 f.; F. Pelster, 'Das Dekret Bischof Burkhards von Worms in Vatikanischen HSS', in *Miscellanea Mercati* II (Studi e Testi, CXXII, Vatican City, 1946), 115; C. G. Mor, 'La reazione al "Decretum Burchardi" in Italia avanti la Riforma Gregoriana', *Studi Gregoriani* I (Rome, 1947), 203; A. Stickler, *Historia iuris canonici latini* I (Turin, 1950), p. 154.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] 'Ueberlieferung u. Verbreitung des Dekrets des Bischofs Burchard von Worms', *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgeschichte, kan. Abt.*, XXIV (1935), 159.

[5] fol. 75^{v}. The text is of the Roman synod, 1078 Feb. 27-Mar. 3. Jaffé, *Regesta Pont. Rom.* I (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1885), p. 625, *ante*

noted, and, although this is probably an addition to the original contents, it indicates that the collection was still "active" in the later years. Finally, the whole tone and temper of the contents accord better with the later rather than with the earlier time. There is notably not only a marked opposition to simoniacal practices, but an organization of materials, which presupposes a stage of development not evident before the mid-century mark. Consequently, I am inclined to put the time of compilation after 1050. The text of our letter is in the first and principal hand and it is much more likely that its dating will ultimately throw light on the date of the collection itself than that the still uncertain date of the collection will help fix a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the letter.

2. The recuperation of power in South Italy was part of the great restoration under the Macedonian dynasty (887-1057) and the high point of Byzantine influence and prestige in Italy was reached in the last years of Basil II under the catepan Basil Bojoannes (1018-1028).[6] Calabria, originally a duchy of the theme of Sicily, was ruled from 900 on by a strategos, with residence at Reggio, although the legal fiction of the "Theme of Sicily" was maintained after the *de facto* loss of the island to the Saracens.[7] The rest of Byzantine Italy was comprised in a second theme to the eastward (Theme of Lombardy, or Italy), with its chief seat at Bari, which was also the usual residence of the catepan, or supreme governor.

Now the spirited exhortation for the exercise of imperial authority to eradicate simony implies, not only recognition of Byzantine prestige, but also reliance on an effective political power. Despite a progressive decline of both after 1028,[8] especially after the Normans in 1042 assumed control of the anti-imperial insurrection,[9] the conquest of Calabria, carried on through the fifties by Robert Guiscard, was not secured until the final fall of Reggio in 1060 and the departure of its last strategos.[10] The year before this, however, had already taken place the momentous reversal of papal policy in the Treaty of Melfi,[11] whereby Pope Nicholas II recognized the new Norman states and conferred on Robert and Richard of Capua the investiture of the old Byzantine dominions. From the point of view of the political situation in South Italy I think that 1059 can be taken as an absolute *terminus ante quem* for our letter.

3. If the identification of the addressee were possible, it would, of course, be decisive for dating the text. The reading is plain: Caelitus . . . calabris assignato sancto karl., but I am at a loss to interpret what the scribe meant by his 'karl'. As I see it, *Karolo* makes no sense in the context and I find no name in the limited lists of high officials available to me that might apply.[12] In any case, I think it more likely to be the title of an office than a proper name. The letter is clearly addressed to an exalted dignitary, perhaps even to the highest civil officer. What strange things could happen to these unfamiliar terms in contemporary Western circles may be seen in what the Burgundian, Raoul Glaber, does with *catepanus,* the supreme governor of both themes.[13] Within the theme the highest

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5065. Greg. VII, *Reg.* V, Epist. 14a, 15-16 (MGH, Epist. sel. II, 2, pp. 372 f.). Friedberg (*ad* C. 15, qu. 6, c. 4) erroneously refers this text to a later synod (*CIC* I, col. 756).

[6] Cf. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire Byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands* (Bibl. des écoles fr. d'Athènes et de Rome, XC, Paris, 1904), p. 419.

[7] Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[8] Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 432 ff.

[9] F. Chalandon, 'The Conquest of South Italy and Sicily by the Normans', in *Cambridge Medieval Hist.* V (N. Y., 1926), pp. 170 ff.

[10] Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 522, 525.

[11] Jaffé *ante* 4408. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff.

[12] C. du Cange, *Glossarium med. et inf. lat.* II (1937), p. 220, *s. v. catepanus* provides a list. Calocyrus (Calochirus, Kalokyros) Delphinas was prominent in late tenth cent. (cf. Lupus Prot., *Chron. ad. a.* 982; PL 155, 130). But more likely names such as Charalampius, Charilaus, Charilas, Charillus do not appear.

[13] *Hist.* III, 1: Tunc enim imperator Basilius sancti imperii CPLtani praecepit cuidam satrapae suo, illi qui cognominatur Cataponti, eo scilicet quod juxta mare inhabitet, *etc.* (PL 142, 645D). Cf. also Leo Marsican., *Chron. casin.* II, 51 (PL 173, 643B).

official was the strategos and among those directly under him, as chief of military administration, was the *kartularius* of the theme. This comes very close and the difficulty that a subordinate officer should be addressed in the terms of our letter might be solved by a more detailed knowledge of actual conditions at this time. All these major officials were directly appointed from Constantinople by the emperor, so that in this respect the address is not only formally but literally correct.[14] The use of *sanctus* for an office or real entity (*sanctus imperator*,[15] *s. imperium*[16]) was current usage but, it would seem, not for a living person. I am not certain that *Calabrians* is to be taken exclusively for the inhabitants of that region[17] and does not include all subjects under Byzantine dominion. *Caelitus* was not simply a laudatory formality, but was an expression of the belief that human agents, by appointment or elections, were executors of the heavenly disposition of man's affairs.[18]

4. Although one might wish that the sender's profession of humility had permitted more, we may be grateful at least for his self-designation as *francigena*. If he was following Italian usage, he meant simply that he was a foreigner from beyond the Alps; it is more likely that he wished to disclose his native stock.[19] Now both Burgundians and Lorrainers from reformed monastic circles were in contact with South Italy from *ca.* 950, when pilgrims, like Abbot Odo of Cluny and Abbot John of Gorze (near Metz), went on from Rome and Montecassino, to Monte Gargano, near Siponto, and the regions of Apulia and Campania. These contacts were not isolated, but continued through the century and were frequent under the Ottos.[20]

However, the climax of this long association and influence in Italy from these Northern monastic centers of reform, came with the advent of Leo IX (1049-1054), native of Alsace and bishop of Toul, in Lorraine, who brought with him an ample personnel from the land of his adoption.[21] At the same time a less felicitous climax was reached in Latin-Byzantine relations with the excommunication of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople. From the point of view of the politico-ecclesiastical situation the *terminus ante quem* may be reduced to 1054. After that event and the antagonisms and changes of policy it entailed, a message in the terms of our text is hardly conceivable.

There is a moment, nevertheless, on the eve of these events, when a combination of circumstances creates a most favorable setting for such a message. In the first place, from the very beginning of his pontificate Leo IX was concerned and in personal contact with South Italy.[22] The plight of the victims of Norman depredations moved him and his policy was conceived on the basis of a close cooperation between Byzantine and Latin imperial power in opposition to the marauding Normans.[23] These hopes were not abandoned even after the disaster of the Norman victory at Civitella in 1053 June.[24] The pope's letter of 1054 Jan., to Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus,[25] explains that the Normans overcame him as he sought out a meeting with the emperor's faithful *gloriosus dux et magister Argyros*[26] (the last leader of prominence of Byzantine Italy) and that he awaits daily for aid from Emperor Henry III. He appeals for a *foedus pacis et amicitiae*[27] between the two emperors. The letter is marked by the greatest benevolence toward Constantine, who is still considered the ruler of the South and whose help is asked for the recuperation of the *patrimonia* of the Roman see *in tuae ditionis partibus*.[28] Nor is a note of confidence in the future lacking when Pope Leo protests: *ab hac nostra intentione liberandae Christianitatis non deficiemus*.[29]

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[14] Cf. *Hist. du moyen âge* (*Hist. générale*, ed. G. Glotz) III (Paris, 1944), p. 500, on the organization of a theme and the appointment of officials. There was a palatine office of the same title. As an honorific title in the West, cf. Peter the Deacon, *Chron. casin.* IV, 116, 125 (PL 173, 957D, 969C).

[15] *Annales Barenses* (*a.* 1042): Et reversi Bari, ad laudem dedit sancto imperatori Constantino Monomacho . . . (PL 155, 129C).

[16] Cf. R. Glaber, quoted in note 13 *supra*.

[17] Cf. *Enciclopedia Italiana* VIII (1930), pp. 303 f., on the variations in nomenclature and territories.

[18] Cf. the texts quoted in note 1 of the edited text *infra*.

[19] Du Cange, *Glossarium* III (1938), p. 591: Anglis dicebantur omnes extranei . . . Ita et Italis, quicumque Transmontani, *Francigenae* appellabantur. *Francigenae* Germanis Belgisque posteriorum temporum, id est post Carolingos, non tam Franci, quam Francorum posteri vocabantur.

[20] Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 385 f.

[21] A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* I (Spicileg. S. Lovanien., études et doc., VI, Louvain, 1924), pp. 152 f., lists these Lorrainers.

[22] Cf. II, 3 *infra*.

[23] Chalandon, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 f. H. L. Mikoletzky, 'Bemerkungen zu einer Vorgeschichte des Investiturstreites', *Studi Gregoriani* III (Rome, 1948), 262 f., offers a somewhat different interpretation of Leo's policy.

[24] Jaffé *post* 4298a.

Furthermore, this renewal of interest in the Byzantine South and the reopening of communications with Constantinople come at a time when the ideas commonly considered typical of the reform centers of the North were about to attain the peak of their fortunes in the peninsula, and especially at Rome. That the mood of our letter corresponds admirably to this interlude of amicability and confident expectation at the highest level is, to my mind, quite patent. How well it fits in with the expression of these reform ideas at about this same time may best be shown by a glance at its contents in relation to some contemporary items.

II.

1. There are three classical items in the early reform literature, which immediately invite comparison with our letter on the subject of simony.[30] These items are: (1) The anonymous *De ordinando pontifice auctor Gallicus* (1048);[31] (2) the anonymous *Epistola Widonis*;[32] and (3) Cardinal Humbert's *Libri III adversus simoniacos* (*ca.* 1054-1058).[33] F. Pelster[34] advanced the opinion that Humbert was the author of (1), but this has been rejected as impossible by Anton Michel.[35] Michel[36] himself claims (2) for Humbert and suggests Henry I of France as addressee and 1054/55 for the date. However (3) alone belongs to Humbert beyond all doubt, which is difficult to dispel entirely for items that circulated anonymously and for the identification of which internal criteria must be relied upon exclusively. In any case, the first thing to be established in the present instance, so it seems to me, is the fact of a close relationship between our letter and these other items, which belong to the decade 1048-1058. This I have undertaken to do by including in my notes an indication of parallel places for citations, arguments and expressions. If all these pieces are not to be accepted ultimately as products of a single mind, they can at least be shown to bear many marks of a similar mentality. To make this much clear is to advance a step nearer to determining the origins of our text.

2. Now the very fact that the three items mentioned above are either certainly Humbert's, as in the case of (3), or have been attributed to Humbert in recent scholarship, as in the case of (1) and (2), renders inevitable a consideration of Humbert as the possible author of our letter.

The parallels indicated for the *Adversus simoniacos* alone are enough to establish a very close relationship. Especially significant in this regard is the three-fold classification of all those entirely outside the Church (*paganus, Iudaeus,*

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[25] Jaffé 4333. PL 143, 777-781.

[26] *Ed. cit.*, 779A.

[27] *Ibid.*, 780A.

[28] *Ibid.*, 779D.

[29] *Ibid.*, 779B.

[30] C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 343 ff., provides a systematic survey of the literature on this subject.

[31] MGH, Libelli de lite I (Hannover, 1891), pp. 8-14. This volume, which contains all three items, is cited hereafter by page and line.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-253.

[34] 'Der Traktat *De ordinando pont.*', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LXI (1941), 80 ff.

[35] 'Die folgenschweren Ideen des Kardinals Humbert u. ihr Einfluss auf Gregor VII.', *Studi Greg.* I, 87 f.

[36] 'Die antisimonistischen Reordinationen u. eine neue Humbert-Schrift', *Römische Quartalschr. f. christliche Altertumskunde*, XLVI (1938), 19 ff.

hereticus),[37] which would appear to have been invented by Humbert,[38] and by whom it is ingeniously elaborated in *Adversus simoniacos* II, 46. Similarly, the distinction of *heretici* and *male viventes catholici,* taken over from Isidore of Seville, and the insistence on the inclusion of the *simoniaci* in the former category are characteristic features of Humbert's argumentation.[39] The thought is consistently more fully developed in the major work, but the affinity is inescapable.

I have not undertaken to examine all the writings now attributed to Humbert, largely through the scholarly efforts of Anton Michel,[40] although I do not misestimate the utility of a comprehensive comparison of style especially for its confirmatory value. I have fixed attention primarily on these items known to all by reason of their prominence in the history of the reformers' attack on simony in order to show that our letter belongs to this same period. In so doing I have simply reported the course of my own investigation and I consider this point to be established with certainty. I also believe that a good case can be made for Humbert's authorship on the grounds of common sources[41] and arguments, and characteristic thought development. In this instance the conjecture finds unusual support, to my mind, in a set of external circumstances, which present a peculiar historical opportunity for his writing of this letter.

3. Humbert, monk of Moyenmoutier in the diocese of Toul, was closely associated with Bruno (later Leo IX) during his episcopate at Toul and served him in the capacity of a secretary as early as 1030-1040.[42] Bruno was designated for the Roman see in 1048 Dec., arrived in Italy 1049 Jan. and was consecrated in Rome Feb. 12.[43] Humbert, we now know, came to Rome at this same time and the intimate association continued.[44] The new pope went to Montecassino and Monte Gargano in March,[45] the first of many subsequent journies to the South, and was in Rome for a synod, April 9-15, where action against simony was initiated.[46] Humbert probably drew up the synodal decree.[47] In 1050 Feb.-April, Leo was again in the South (Capua, Salerno, Melfi, Benevento, Siponto)[48] and, back in Rome, presided over a synod May 2, where Humbert signed a bull of canonization as 'Archbishop of Sicily.'[49] How long before this he was named for this novel office, or whether he had already accompanied Leo to the South, we do not know. At this date he probably had not yet been created cardinal.[50] In 1051 he undertook a papal mission to Benevento, in the account of which he is first mentioned as cardinal bishop.[51] He undoubtedly had a hand in the negotiations with Argyros, leader of the Byzantine forces, this same year and was certainly with Pope Leo on the expedition that met defeat at Civitella in 1053. Thus Humbert was in Italy for one year without any title and, whatever the pope's plans were for a Sicily still in Saracen hands and never renounced by Constantinople, his first official promotion gave Humbert an *ex officio* interest, as it were, in the Byzantine South. He was in personal contact with the South in 1051 at the latest, and probably earlier; and this personal experience was continued later. Thus from the point of view of time, place and interest the opportunity was certainly there.

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[37] See note 25 of the edited text *infra.*

[38] Cf. A. Michel, *Die Sentenzen des Kardinals Humbert, das erste Rechtsbuch der päpstlichen Reform* (Schriften des Reichsinstitut f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, MGH, VII, Leipzig, 1943), p. 92.

[39] See note 26 of the edited text *infra.*

[40] Michel, 'Die Anfänge des Kardinals Humbert bei Bischof Bruno von Toul (Leo IX)', *Studi Greg.* III, 305, provides a list of these writings with references to the proofs of authorship.

[41] Michel, *Die Sentenzen,* p. 127, lists Humbert's chief mediaeval literary resources (*Hilfsmittel*).

[42] Michel, *Die Anfänge des Kard. H.*

[43] Jaffé *ante* 4153.

[44] F. Pelster, 'Die römische Synode von 1060 u. die von Simonisten gespendeten Weihen', *Gregorianum,* XXIII (1942), 70 f.

[45] Jaffé *ante* 4155.

[46] Jaffé *ante* 4158.

[47] Pelster, *loc. cit.*

[48] Jaffé *post* 4210.

[49] Jaffé 4219.

[50] Mikoletzky, *Vorgeschichte des Investiturstreites,* p. 262.

[51] *Annales Beneventani ad a.* 1051 (MGH, Scriptores III, p. 179).

Humbert's testimony, in *Adversus simoniacos* III, 8-10, on the better condition of the Church in the Eastern Empire with respect to simony is well known. Latin witnesses in such matters at this time were rare. In the light of his experience in South Italy, this testimony has also been considered to be probably pertinent for the dioceses in Italy under the patriarch of Constantinople.[52] In another chapter (III, 7), however, Humbert comments on the increase of simony in the West down to the times of Henry III and includes: *per totam Italiam.*[53] Perhaps he meant this literally to embrace even the regions outside the rule of the Western emperor. In any case, I do not think that his later testimony (1058) militates against accepting him as the author of our letter on simony in the Byzantine provinces of South Italy.

4. The plea to a civil official for the exercise of imperial authority is also entirely consistent with Humbert's conception of the relation of secular power (*regnum*) to ecclesiastical authority (*sacerdotium*).[54] In the present state of the Church their relation may be likened to that of soul and body:

> Ex quibus sicut praeminet anima et praecipit, sic sacerdotalis dignitas regali, utputa caelestis terrestri . . . sacerdotium tanquam anima praemoneat quae sunt agenda; regnum deinde tanquam caput sui corporis omnibus membris praemineat et ea quo expedit praecedat. Sicut enim regum est ecclesiasticos sequi, sic laicorum quoque reges suos ad utilitatem ecclesiae et patriae; sic ab una earum potestate populus doceri, ab altera debet regi, quarum neutra populum inconsiderate sequi.[55]

Or again, the relationship is illustrated by the respective functions of members of the human body:

> Est enim clericalis ordo in ecclesia praecipuus tanquam in capite oculi . . . Est et laicalis potestas tanquam pectus et brachia ad obediendum et defendendum ecclesiam valida et exerta.[56]

And for rulers like the two emperors, Henry III and Constantine Monomachus, who corresponded, in Humbert's view, to such a conception in the fulfillment of their office, he has only the highest praise.[57]

Similarly the request for the intervention of civil authority in rooting out the clerical crime of simony is consistent with Humbert's clearly expressed ideas on the role of secular rulers with respect to evasive or indifferent churchmen in the prosecution of ecclesiastical reform:[58]

> Habet enim ecclesia suas leges, suos iudices, quibus . . . corrigantur culpae praepositorum et ministrorum eius. Quas si ecclesiastici dissimulant aut minime curant, demum saeculares principes et fideles laici pro defensione et recuperatione, quam matri suae ecclesiae debent, necesse est insistant eosque oportune importune conveniant et moneant, ne destructoribus ecclesiarum Dei et indisciplinatis tacendo et dissimulando faveant, sed secum reformandum eius suos canones exurgant.[59]

If these ideas are not peculiar to Humbert and were undoubtedly shared by many of his contemporaries, no one expressed them more clearly and fully at this time. The fact that he is accepted, without any dissent to my knowledge, as the author of the so-called *Epist. Widonis,* addressed to a prince who fell far short of these ideas and ideals of a secular ruler, is also to be considered in weighing the reasons for his authorship of this anonymous message[60] to a civil dignitary on the subject of simony within his jurisdiction. For Humbert, to maintain silence with a knowledge of these evils was to incur the guilt of an accomplice and in conscience a terrible crime.

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[52] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, p. 479.

[53] P. 206, 7.

[54] Cf. Michel, *Die Sentenzen*, p. 67, where the following texts are cited and commented upon.

[55] *Adv. simon.* III, 21 (p. 225, 44 f.).

[56] *Ibid.*, III, 29 (p. 235, 27).

[57] Michel, *loc. cit.*

[58] Cf. Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 33, for lengthier comment on the following text.

[59] *Adv. simon.* III, 11 (p. 212, 8).

5. My own present conclusions may be summed up as follows. I consider it certain that our letter belongs to the stage of development of the anti-simoniacal attack represented by the *De ordinando pontifice* and the so-called *Epist. Widonis.*[61] I also consider it certain that it originated in the atmosphere of amicability and renewed interest in Byzantine Italy during the pontificate of Leo IX. Hence I would date the letter 1050/1054.

That Humbert of Moyenmoutier, later Archbishop of Sicily and Cardinal-Bishop of Silva Candida, was the anonymous *Francigena,* whose customary zeal and personal interest and experience in South Italy prompted him to write the letter, I consider to have a high degree of probability.

6. In publishing the text I have kept emendations at a minimum. The diphthongs *œ* and *œ* are consistently replaced by *e* with cedilla in the script, but I have not followed this, e.g., for *aecclesia.* If the notes contain more references than is customary, it is because I have judged this a convenient way to suggest pertinent material for a judgment on the text itself. My intention has been to explore a problem rather than to present a definitive opinion. For this reason, too, I have not inserted the name of Humbert, but give the text as it appears in the collection, without number, rubric or inscription of any kind. If Humbert is to be recognized as author, that must await a *peritorum in re consensus.* In the meantime, what is here sacrificed to future perfection may be compensated in some measure by present utility.

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Caelitus[1] per sancti Constantinopolitani imperatoris ma- (fol. 17^v) iestatem Calabris assignato sancto karl.,[2] quidam francigena catholicus fidem per vilitatem carens nomine, recubans pulverem salutationemque divina pietate circa humanam necessitudinem, ut condecet, exhibens.

Multimodas[3] omnipotenti Deo gratias referens, congratularer non ad modicum, sed de unius solummodo incommodissimi ac etiam turpissimi sceleris, qui sub vestro dominio agitur, foeditate[4] tristatus sum, cuius iniquitas, ut ipsa veritas ait,[5] in tantum est gravissimum, ut neque in presenti neque in futuro remittatur. Nam

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[60] Cf. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik*, pp. 86 ff., on *anonymity* as a characteristic tendency of the controversialists.

[61] Cf. Fliche, *La réforme grég.* I, pp. 119 f.; L. Saltet, *Les réordinations* (Etudes d'hist. des dogmes et d'ancienne litt. ecclés., Paris, 1907), pp. 179 ff.; A. Schebler, *Die Reordinationen in der "altkatholischen" Kirche* (Kanon. Studien u. Texte, X, Bonn, 1936), pp. 218 ff.

[1] *Caelitus . . . exhibens.* Cf. Greg. VII, *Reg.* I, 29a, Henry IV to Gregory: Vigilantissimo . . . pp. Gregorio apostolica dignitate caelitus insignito Henricus . . . debiti famulatus fidelissimam exhibitionem (MGH, Epist. sel. II, 1, p. 48). This is a possible trace of use of a formulary. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* III, 5: Inde est, quod reges saeculi et principes ecclesiis Dei tutores et defensores *assignati,* relicto officio *desuper* sibi commisso, gladium, quem ut ministri Dei et vindices in via omni operanti malum ostentant, sine causa portant . . . (p. 204, 16).

[2] kar<tu>l<ario>? Cf. *Introd.* I, 3. The *l* is barred in the script.

[3] *Multimodas . . . referens.* Cf. *Formulae Augienses* (Reichenau) *Collectio C*: 'Formulae epistolares' (*ante* 850), n. 3: Multimodas gratiarum laudes v. refero sanctitati (MGH, Leges V: *Formulae*, p. 365); and a twelfth-century example in *Epist. Guarini abb. s. Victoris,* Card. John of Naples to G. (PL 196, 1394). This is another possible trace of use of a formulary.

[4] Cf. *Epist. Ps.-Widonis*: quasi prima et maxima ecclesiae castitatem foeda nimium pollutione contaminet (p. 7, 10). See note 10, 23 *infra.*

[5] *Matth.* xii, 32. Cf. *De ordin. pont.*: quia ex evangelica veritate, qui contra Sp. s. aliquid dixerit, testante scriptura, neque in hoc seculo neque in futuro remissum iri (p. 11, 36); *Epist. Ps.-Widonis*: ne ulterius —quod absit—in Sp. s. peccare neque hic neque in futuro saeculo remittatur (p. 7, 14).

peccare in Filium remittitur, in Spiritum autem sanctum non. Sed ne desperatione absorbeatur, peccata nostra ipse in cruce pendens delevit,[6] in quo est remissio omnium peccatorum,[7] qui iuravit:[8] *Vivo ego, nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut convertatur et vivat.* Sed dicendum est de quo crimine dixeram. Fertur simoniaca heresis,[9] quae specialiter contra Spiritum sanctum de eiusdem Spiritus donorum venalitate accusatur sanctae ecclesiae puritatem sordidissima[m] cupiditatis fece polluere,[10] per vestras provincias lassciva et secura volare et passim simplices Christi columbas uncis ungulis eviscerare ac nullo imperialis potestatis obstaculo abigi. Quod non leni sponsa Christi ecclesia deflet dolore[m], dum natos, quos fidem peperit Christum, heresi depredato captivos duci[11] videt, et duris demonum vinculis innexos actenus christianos nunc simoniacos vocitari. Haec omnia aguntur, dum ambitione quaeruntur et per pecuniam ecclesiasticae dignitatis[12] iura mercantur. Nam nemo sanctorum ecclesiasticum dominium (fol. 18) [n]umquam ambivit aut pecunia optinuit. Sed ne quasi inania ducere videar, ipsius domini Christi, cuius nos filios esse gaudemus, auctoritatem ad medium ducam. Ait enim de pastoribus loquens:[13] *Ego sum hostium, per me si quis introierit salvabitur <et ingredietur> et egredietur et pascua inveniet; qui autem ascendit aliunde fur est et latro. Fur non venit nisi ut <furetur et> mactet et perdat.* Ecce introeunti per Christum et salus et observatio et victus promittitur. Aliunde autem ascendenti furtum et latrocinium et occisio et perditio imputatur. Quid aptius, quid clarius?[14] Nam ecclesiae hostium Christum esse nullus qui legit ignorat. Introire autem illa<m> per hostium, ovium et pastor<um>. Aliunde autem ascendere solummodo hereticorum. Sed oves et pastores salutem et observationem et victum quaerunt. Heretici autem furtum et latrocinium, occisionem et perditionem exercent, et hoc ideo quia non per Christum plane introierunt sed per heresim superbe ascenderunt. Quisquis[15] enim dignus est ecclesiastico honore non spontaneus sed invitus intrare ducitur. Quisquis autem indignus, etiam repulsus se ingerit et pro ambitione honoris praemium porrigit, inde est quod ereticus fit;[16] quae omnia perfici, aut non perfici, libertas obtinet mundi, qui, dum in maligno positus[17] est, quae sunt malignitate exercet ac si gratiam Dei, qua salvatus est, quae malitiae libertatem[18] expellit. Velle namque et posse facere malum an bonum omnibus hominibus adest. Sed malorum merita evadere et bonorum praemia possidere nonnisi ex opere proprio valet quilibet adipisci teste psalmista:[19] *Et tibi* (fol. 18^v) *domine misericordia quia tu reddes*

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[6] delivit *ms.* Cf. *Isa.* xliii, 25: Ego sum ipse qui deleo iniquitates tuas; xliv, 22; *Act.* iii, 19; Convertimini, ut deleantur peccata vestra.

[7] Cf. *Coloss.* i, 14: in quo habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius, remissionem peccatorum.

[8] *Antiph. ad Primam*, Lenten ferial office. *Ezech.* xxxiii, 11.

[9] Cf. Greg. I, *Reg.* IX, 215: Fertur autem simoniacam heresem . . . in regni vestri finibus dominari (MGH, Epist. II, p. 201). John the Deacon, *Vita Greg. M.* III, 2 (PL 75, 127C). Jaffé 1744. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* I, 13 (p. 119, 42).

[10] *s. ecclesiae puritatem . . . polluere.* Cf. *Epist. Ps.-Widonis*, note 4 *supra*.

[11] ducere *ms.*

[12] *dum ambitione . . . eccl. dignitatis.* Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* II, 35: haec cretata ecclesiasticae dignitatis ambitio (p. 183, 32); III, 11: Nam primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum vel possessionum cupidis (p. 211, 28).

[13] *Johan.* x, 9, 1, 10. Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* III, 34, 40 (pp. 243, 248); *De ordin. pont.* (p. 11, 4). For an earlier example of this use of the parable, compare Ratherius, *De contemptu canonum* I, 14-15, 21 (PL 136, 502 ff.).

[14] Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* Praef.: quo aptius et cautius (p. 101, 24).

[15] *Quisquis . . . porrigit.* Cf. Greg. I, *Reg.* IX, 218: Sicut autem is qui invitatus rennuit . . . sacris est altaribus ammovendus, sic qui ultro ambit vel importunum se ingerit, est . . . repellendus (MGH, Epist. II, p. 206, 12). John the Deacon, *Vita Greg. M.* III, 2 (PL 75, 129A). Jaffé 1747. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* I, 13 (pp. 120 f.) has long extract from the *Vita Greg.* text.

[16] Cf. Greg. I, *ibid.*: qui ad hoc, ut fiat hereticus, promovetur (*ed. cit.*, p. 206, 30). *Vita Greg. M.*, ibid. (129C). *Epist. Ps.-Widonis* (p. 5, 8).

[17] malignus *ms.* Cf. *I Johan.* v, 19: et mundus totus in maligno positus. For use of this text in a comment on the *spiritus mundi* (*I Cor.* ii, 10), cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* I, 21 (p. 135, 32).

[18] Cf. *I Petr.* ii, 16: et non quasi velamen habentes malitiae libertatem. For use of this text in a comparison of *vana libertas* and *vera libertas*, cf. Humbert, *De s. Romana eccl. Frag. B*, ed. P. Schramm (*Kaiser, Rom u. Renovatio* II, Leipzig, 1929), p. 130, note 5.

[19] *Ps.* lxi, 13.

unicuique iuxta opera sua. Certe si unicuique iuxta opus redditur, qui per simoniacam heresem dominium optinet ecclesiasticum, cum Simone mago, quem nullus catholicus infernum traditum dubitat, condempnabitur. Sed ne forte aliquis simplex excusetur, quid sit simoniaca heresis exponatur. Simoniaca heresis est ad imitationem Simonis pecuniam pro adipiscendo ecclesiaticum honore<m> proferre, vel dare, vel accipere, vel credere se tale facientem posse fieri sacerdotem. Quod ut verius credatur, liber actuum apostolorum[20] adhibeatur, in quo legitur quod Simon magus, postquam baptismum accepit, apostolo Petro pecuniam protulit, ut ei manus imponens ecclesiasticae censurae locum per sancti Spiritus donum tribueret. Cui statim apostolus, quia indignum erat et impossibile, anathema imposuit, eo quod talem dignitatem data pecunia habere se putavit. Hinc enim perdens christiani nominis dignitatem[21] simoniacus dicitur, qui tam nefanda facere temptat. Et ideo sancti patres in Chalcedonense concilio[22] omnem hominem aliquam ordinationem ecclesiasticam lepra tam pessima polluentem,[23] degradatione et anathemate ab ecclesia deiecerunt. Ideoque et insignis papa Gregorius hanc heresim magno Dei fervore succensus, primo apud Romam postremo apud Galliam,[24] divino ense percussit, et, interposito anathematis muro, a sancta ecclesia separavit. Unde colligi probabiliter potest, quod nullus in hac heresi[m] manens catholicus extat. Quod si non catholicus profecto aut paganus aut Iu- (fol. 19) daeus aut hereticus.[25] Sed hereticum non contingit nisi de male credere. Catholica quidem ecclesia sicut male viventes in se, ut testatur Isidorus,[26] tolerat, sic a se male credentes exterminat. Male credere autem simoniacorum in hoc est quod ecclesiasticae dignitatis censuram per sancti Spiritus donum, quod nonnisi sanctis et humilibus datur, promissa pecunia se habere confidunt, quod omnino est impossibile, teste ipso Deo per hos prophetae:[27] *Super quem requiescet spiritus meus nisi super humilem et quitem et trementem verba mea?* velle manere qui elevari ad terrenum honorem et honorari ab hominibus cupit. Argumentum autem asserentibus hereticum non esse, qui quamvis data pecunia sub aliqua figura ecclesiasticum honorem acquirit, istud potest sufficere. Si ambiendo ecclesiastici privilegii jure, proferre pecuniam heresis est de nomine Simonis titulata, constat eum qui profert hereticum esse. Igitur hereticus est, qui pro ecclesiastici honoris ambitione pecuniam profert. Quod si solummodo proferre hereticum facit, quid putas facit etiam dare? Simon enim a quo haec heresis initium sumpsit, qui et ab apostolo pro huiuscemodi crimine est dampnatus, de nullo nisi de cogitare et proferre est reprehensus. Sed quid plura? Si diligenti otio tota series Veteris ac Novi Testamenti scrutabitur, saepe numero haec pestis[28] divina ultione percussa videbitur. Quippe quae solummodo ad superbiam et vanam gloriam et cupiditatem et fucum[29] omnis malignitatis antiqui hostis calliditate mundum perdens inventa est. Unde quisquis intellegit et divinam mortalibus concessam gratiam perdere non (fol. 19ᵛ) optat, flendo et dolendo assiduis precibus divinum pulset auxilium, ut tam crudelis meretrix, quae tam occulte omnem christiani nominis[30] extinguit laborem, divina pellatur potentia, ne tantus honor christiano nomine et opere acquisitus vilissima et momentanea ambitione Christi cultoribus defraudetur, quia, ut beatus Augustinus ait:[31] *Nulla helimosina, nullum beneficium, nec etiam pro nomine Christi martyrium hereticum iuvat, nisi ante finem huius vitae redintegratus et incorporatus fuerit sanctae ecclesiae.*

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[20] *Act.* viii, 18-20. Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* I, 4 (p. 107). *Epist. Ps.-Widonis* (p. 7).

[21] The phrase 'christianae religionis et nominis dignitatem' appears in 3 Ps.-Isidorian decretals: *Anaclet.* I, 3 (ed. Hinschius, p. 68); *Eutician.* c. 8 (p. 212); *Felix II* c. 12, n. 10 (p. 486).

[22] *Conc. Chalcedon.*, c. 2. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* I, 18 (quotes), 19; III, 3. *Epist. Ps.-Widonis* (p. 6, 6): Quam tamen obiectionem s. Calcidonensis canon penitus exterminat, cum *etc.* (paraphrase). *De ordin. pont.* (p. 10, 27) refers to it.

[23] Cf. *Epist. Ps.-Widonis*, note 4 *supra.*

[24] Cf. John the Deacon, *Vita Greg. M.* III, 2-7; for Rome, c. 5 (PL 75, 125 ff.).

[25] Compare Isidore, *Sent.* I, 16, n. 4: Paganus et haereticus (PL 83, 574). Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* I, 11 (pp. 116, 23 and 37; 118, 12); II, 46, where the whole chapter treats this *profana trinitas,* (pp. 194, 15 and 40; 195, 7). Cf. A. Michel, *Die Sentenzen des Kardinals Humbert*, p. 92, where these *loci* are indicated.

[26] *Sent.* I, 16, n. 3: s. ecclesia catholica, sicut male viventes in se patienter tolerat, ita male credentes a se repellit (PL 83, 571B). On *exterminat* (replacing *repellit*), cf. *Epist. Ps.-Widonis* in note 22 *supra.* Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* III, 43 (*tit.*) '. . . quod heretici non sint a catholicis tolerandi sicut male viventes catholici' (p. 251). The argument is the same, but Isidore is not quoted.

[27] *Isa.* xi, 2; lxvi, 2.

[28] Cf. *Epist. Ps.-Widonis*: tam saeva pestis (p. 7, 13).

[29] Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon*, I, 15: Quorum quia omnia sunt fucata, patet profecto, quod minimi aestimanda sunt, quae apud eos dicuntur sacramenta (p. 125, 47).

Igitur per omnipotentissimam divinitatis clementiam, vestrae excellentiae suppliciter obsecro magnificentiam, ut vestra pervigili cura ab omni quam iudicatis provincia, tam pestifera[32] abiiciatur infirmitas, ne venenoso[33] deprehensa toxico nigrescens a Deo dedignetur ecclesia, sed potius omni puritate nitens, non habens, maculam aut, rugam,[34] Christi sortita thoro iugi permaneat foedere.

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[30] See note 21 *supra.*

[31] Fulgentius Ruspens., *De fide ad Petrum* c. 39 (PL 65, 704). *Epist. Ps.-Widonis* (p. 5) is the only contemporary use of this text to my knowledge. Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* II, 21 (*tit.*) 'De eo quod non prosit symoniacis qualiscumque eorum helemosyna.'

[32] Cf. *Epist.-Widonis* in note 28 *supra.*

[33] Cf. Humbert, *Adv. simon.* II, 13 (*tit.*) 'Qualiter viperae conveniant symoniacis': perfidiam quam veneno diaboli ebria degluttivit ad seminarium sui interitus et aliorum . . . De quibus, quoniam venenati sunt, non nisi venenati filii nascuntur (p. 153, 36 and 44).

[34] Cf. *Ephes.* v, 27.

A Latin Dialogue on the Doctrine of Gilbert of Poitiers

NICHOLAS M. HARING S.A.C.

THE following *Dialogue* between Everardus and Ratius debating the case of Gilbert of Poitiers confronts us with the kind of problems which often surround this literary genre. The discussion between the Cistercian Everardus and the Greek Ratius is, without doubt, the best analysis of Gilbert's doctrine discovered to date,[1] yet there are good reasons to believe that both disputants are fictitious despite the vivid, sometimes highly dramatic or humorous incidents designed to create an atmosphere of reality. If we possessed only the *Dialogue*, it might never occur to us to wonder why the author took pains to record a debate in which he was defeated by his Greek opponent, or why a Greek should display such versatility in classical Latin learning and such a mediocre knowledge of Greek authors.[2]

However, the *Dialogue* belongs to a group of three works found in the following order: a letter by Everardus to Pope Urban III (1185-1187), our *Dialogue* composed during the reign of Pope Celestine III (1191-1198), and a letter to Everardus in which both previous works are examined. The letter to Pope Urban III deals with some trinitarian and christological questions controverted in the twelfth century; regarding the trinitarian problems, the writer insinuates that, among other points of doctrine, the Pope should define the statement: *Paternitas non est Deus.* Coming from a Cistercian monk, the suggestion that the Pope should side with the *Porretani* is no less puzzling than the fact that the burden of his argument is copied verbatim from Gilbert's commentary on Boethius, *De Trinitate,* though Gilbert's name is not mentioned. It cannot be accidental that the Greek Ratius cites the same long passages from his truly prodigious memory,[3] because he also repeats the insertions made by the writer of the letter. It may be accidental that both the letter to Urban and the *Dialogue* contain two identical texts from St. Isidore and St. Basil respectively, but the fact that the conclusions drawn from both agree almost verbatim[4] proves again that the Cistercian Everardus and the

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[1] The *Dialogue,* preserved in *Ms* Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 259, fols. 229^{v}-240^{v}, was discovered and described by J. Leclercq who published some excerpts in 'Textes sur Saint Bernard et Gilbert de la Porrée', *Mediaeval Studies* XIV (1952), 116-127, with a list of the numerous marginal notes which may serve as an index. Since they hardly belong to the original work, they are omitted in this edition.

[2] Though he was supposedly very versatile in 'Latin, Greek and Hebrew,' he quotes his Greek authors according to then currently known Latin translations. Thus he cites Pseudo-Dionysius according to the ninth-century translations of Scottus Erigena and Hilduin. His text from St. Basil is derived from a letter and not, as he states, from a book of St. Basil on the Trinity. It was probably translated by Burgundio and is also found in the letter to Urban III (fol. 228^{va}) preceding the *Dialogue.* His 'Athanasius' is the unknown author of the *Symbolum* 'Quicumque'. To explain the meaning of the Greek *theos* he has no better authority than Isidore of Seville. He knows the Aristotelian *Logica vetus* and the *Sophistici elenchi* of the *Logica nova,* but only the *Timaeus* of Plato. Porphyry is quoted on one occasion. A sentence from the *Ars parva* or *Tegni* of Galen, likewise available in Latin, reveals the author's interest in medical studies which had become fashionable in the second half of the twelfth century. Probably for a similar reason, he was familiar with Gratian's *Decretum.* His use of the Latin Fathers is surpassed in number by his quotations from classical Latin authors such as Horace, Vergil, Ovid, Cicero, Terence, Persius and Juvenal. Of the Latin Fathers Hilary, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory and Isidore are quoted, but the emphasis is on Boethius as commented on by Gilbert and St. Bernard. Priscian provides the starting point of the debate on the grammatical and logical premises in Gilbert's trinitarian doctrine, while the *Disticha Catonis* and a number of popular proverbs contrast sharply with some very critical observations on the *praelati* of the Church and the merits of monastic life as opposed to the pursuit of wisdom. Finally, he does not mention any contemporary theologians, except his *summus philosophus* Gilbert, but he seems to have known the *Regulae theologicae* of Alan of Lille.

[3] Compare fols. 228^{va} and 232^{vb}.

[4] Compare fols. 228^{rb} and 233^{ra}.

Greek Ratius are one and the same person. In other words, at least Ratius is not what he pretends to be. He was not born in Athens, he had no library there, no mother by the name of *Ratio Atheniensis,* no sister Sophia, no servants called Byrria and Davus, no uncle by the name of Sosias, who is kicked by a horse with the happy result that the *Dialogue* can be prolonged and who, although a servant, takes up the debate with equal skill when Ratius is tired. The letter to Everardus seems to confirm his fictitious character by the remark: *Satisfaciat ad hoc Ratius tuus, immo ratio tua.*[5]

Everardus, supposedly a Cistercian, appears to be confused in his dual role when he remarks to Sosias: *Audio te novisse doctrinam doctoris nostri.*[6] A Cistercian calling Gilbert 'our doctor' or admitting that 'the Blessed Bernard says insultingly . . .'[7] reveals signs of very doubtful loyalty which are hardly covered up by his attempts to tone down the Greek's criticism of St. Bernard's attitude to, and remarks against, Gilbert. He does raise vigorous objections to some points of doctrine but only to end up by acknowledging his defeat.

The question whether the letter to Everardus is authentic or fictitious is more difficult to answer. The writer feels that some statements in the *Dialogue* need further clarification, and he advances a few suggestions on the proper method of distinguishing the divine Persons. Having read the letter to Urban, he requests an explanation of two patristic texts which seem to conflict with the doctrine on the Hypostatic Union expounded in the letter. Fictitious or not, this letter to Everardus invites a reply, which strengthens the impression created by the *Dialogue* that all the solutions were not considered final.

The author of the *Dialogue* was an ardent *Porretanus,* yet prudent enough to examine the conflict between St. Bernard and the learned Bishop of Poitiers by introducing a Cistercian monk to defend St. Bernard's cause and a Greek admirer of Gilbert to represent the opponent. Everardus may be the author's real name or a pseudonym. He knows the background of Gilbert's doctrine so well that we may believe his claim to have studied under Gilbert at Chartres and Poitiers, though this assumption is somehow weakened by the fact that his epitaph gives the wrong month for Gilbert's death, since he died in November (1154) and not during the time of the aquarius (January or February). According to the address of the second letter, he was "once a *doctor egregius*" who at a later date became a "humble disciple of Christ".[8] If we suppose that he was only fifteen years old when he studied under Gilbert at Chartres, i.e., not later than 1140, he must have been at least close to seventy years old when he composed the *Dialogue.* In his younger years he also studied law and medicine. He tells us that he spent some time as *clericus* in the entourage of Cardinal Hyacinth who became Pope Celestine III in 1191.

His personal knowledge of the Pope's gentle disposition may have encouraged him to venture a *Dialogue* on so delicate a subject. At the same time he was supported by a strong current of opinion favourable to Gilbert which explains that, about the year 1189, Geoffrey, St. Bernard's secretary at the Council of Rheims, was asked to send a report on the Council of Rheims (1148) to the Cardinal of Albano.[9] Several excellent works had been published in which Gilbert's teaching was more or less openly approved.[10] None of them went to the root of the controversy with the thoroughness of Everardus and Ratius. Although

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[5] Fol. 241^{rb}.

[6] Fol. 239^{rb}.

[7] Fol. 237^{vb}.

[8] Fol. 240^{vb}.

[9] *Libellus* 1 and 13; PL 185, 587B and 595A.

[10] Cf. *Liber de homousion et homoiusion, Ms* Cambridge, Univ. Lib. II, iv, 27, fols. 1-129^{v}, whose author remarks: *teste praeceptore nostro Giselberto Pictaviensi episcopo* (fol. 29^{r}). Better known is the *Liber de diversitate naturae et personae* (fols. 130-177^{v} of the same manuscript) whose author refers to Gilbert as *quidam in omni philosophia perspicacissimus, in theologia catholicae fidei peritissimus* (fol. 155^{r}). The collection of patristic texts in *Ms* Rome, Vat. *Lat.* 561, fols. 171^{r}-282^{r} was written *ut . . . Magistri Gisleberti veritas et innocentia cognoscatur* (fol. 175^{rb}) and was based on an earlier collection made for the same purpose. The *Liber de*

an analysis of their discussion will be the subject of a separate study, it may be noted here that the *Dialogue* clarifies the meaning of many statements which were attributed to Gilbert, but were never properly explained. For that reason the *Dialogue* is an extremely valuable document for the history of twelfth-century theology.

DIALOGUS RATII ET EVERARDI

Suo suus pulsanti vel leniter, licet non leviter, aperiri. Saepe et multum mihi cogitanti de caelesti norma et forma vivendi monachis proposita et de quorundam animorum cervice indomita, de scala Jacob ad caelum erecta per humilitatem ascendenda et de ejusdem scalae descensione propter elationem,[1] semel supervenit meus Ratius Atheniensis, vir virilis animi, apprime in omni facultate eruditissimus qui more suo jocose sic mihi inquit: “Frater Everarde, studiis accingere tarde. *Nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris inepte.*”[2] Ad quem erecto capite: “Rati, optato advenisti sed non optato incepisti, utpote a calumnia. Nam non cornicor inepte sed meditor apte.”

R(atius)—Meditaris quidem sed *in meditatione tua non exardescit ignis*[3] qui tam cito in modico commoveris verbo quod tamen in <229^{vb}> meliorem interpretandum est partem. Non a jurgio sed a joco incepi, ut te quasi *desidere a desidia excitarem,*[4] licet *meliora sint verbera amici quam ubera inimici.*[5]

E(verardus)—Esto. *Per me sint omnia protinus alba.*[6]

R.—Te volo esse tantum, licet difficillimum sit a consuetudine jocunda recedere. Tamen ne nimis applices animum tuum studio, qui propter studium totus fere exsiccatus exinanitionem jam pateris, ut videtur, spasmum. Est autem, ut nosti, spasmus contractio nervorum voluntarium motum impediens. Nam ut noster in *Tegni* ait Galienus: *Omnis animi affectio praeter gaudium desiccat.*[7]

E.—*Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae.*[8] Et haec affectio, quae adjacet tali studio parit gaudium animo. Ideo non desiccat. Cum itaque sim monachus et non poeta, tamen prodesse vellem, si possem, vel mihi. Ideoque placet mihi delectari in jocunda consuetudine et gaudere in dicendo idonea regularis vitae. At si secundum Galienum nihil amplius studium, licet sit jocundissimum, est quam desiccativum, igitur et ipsum gaudium desiccat.

R.—Sciebam oportere me loqui tibi circumspecte, qui cavillator semper es ad opponendum paratus. Dico itaque quod aliud est studium, i.e., vehemens animi applicatio ad aliquid agendum,[9] aliud quod inde sequitur gaudium. Plus vero illud desiccat quam istud delectando humectet.

E.—Quid nos implicas solvendo de studio quod potius solvas in familiari facto Apostolorum de quibus legitur: *Ibant* Apostoli *gaudentes a concilio quia digni habiti sunt pro Christo contumeliam pati.*[10] Et illud Apostoli: *In tribulatione* gaudentes.[11] Et illud Psalmistae quod monachorum debet esse: *Quomodo dilexi legem tuam, Domine, tota die meditatio mea est.*[12] Ecce gaudium ex contumelia, gaudium ex tribulatione. Dilectio est soror laetitiae ex diuturna legis divinae meditatione. Quid dicam? Desiccant ista, scilicet flagellatio, tribulatio, meditatio?

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vera philosophia in *Ms* Grenoble 290 (1085), fols. 3-111, may also be mentioned, but the author betrays too much animosity and reveals too little solid learning to be classed with the others.

[1] Cf. *Rule of St. Benedict*, chapt. 7.

[2] Persius, *Sat.* V, 12.

[3] Cf. *Ps.* xxxviii, 4.

[4] *Marg.* proverbium.

[5] *Marg.* proverbium.

[6] Persius, *Sat.* I, 110.

[7] *Ars medica*, 25; ed. C. G. Kuehn I (Leipzig, 1821), p. 375. *Tegni* or *Ars parva* was a well-known medical text book. Cf. Ch. H. Haskin, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 374.

[8] Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 333.

[9] Cf. Cicero, *De Invent.* I, 25, 36. John of Salisbury, Metalogicon I, 21, ed. Clement C. I. Webb (Oxford, 1929), p. 29.

[10] *Acts* v, 41.

[11] *Rom.* xii, 12.

[12] *Ps.* cxviii, 97.

Et si desiccant et minantur ethicam vel morbum, desistendum propter hoc? Quid censes?

R.—*Non* mihi consilium *nimis morari circa patulum orbem*[13] et tibi quaerenti patentem. Sed potius ediscaris mihi quid cogitabas adeo intente jam pridem me superveniente.

E.—*Cogitavi dies antiquos et annos aeternos in mente habui.*[14]

R.—Bene. Sed circa quid articulasti animum tuum tunc, cum forte hujus versus immemor fuisti?

E.—Dicam tibi a te cupiens erudiri qui saepius in Areopago eruditor sedisti.

R.—Dic.

E.—Dicam. Sed non est mora libera mihi quia campana ad vespertinum vocat me officium. Et anxior, quia hospes es, tuum veritus abscessum.

R.—Ne timeas. Bene et plene tuum poteris prosequi propositum ante meum discessum. Vade itaque et cito redi. (Ego itaque abiens apud me dicebam: "Dicam huic hospiti ea quae mente paulo antea volvebam. Dicam equidem, nam ipse conscius est eorum quae apud claustrales cujusvis ordinis et habitus aguntur. Dicam, non causa diffamandi aliquos sed in dubio me confirmandi. Nam ecce praesto est noster Ratius.")

R.—Dic, Everarde, si quid habes.

E.—Habeo aliquid adversum te quod me appellas simplici nomine, cum regula nostra jubeat aliquid adjici nomini cujuslibet monachi.

R.—Istud regulare dicas fratribus, non mihi. Ne autem *detineas diem* vana *loquendo euntem,*[15] quod dicturus es, dic citius.

E.—Patienter audio te arguentem me vanitatis. Quaero igitur a te, unde tanta sit dissonantia inter regularem et conventualem monachorum institutionem et cotidianam conventicularem quorundam <230ra> conversationem quod et exprimunt per indiscretum, murmuriosum, sussuroneum et contumeliosum sermonem; et unde tanta discordia inter suam professionem sanctam et habitum exteriorem et habitum mentis interiorem. Unde beatus Bernardus[16] ait: *Tepescimus processu temporis a fervore* religionis et *nostrae conversationis. Paulatim refrigescit caritas. Abundat iniquitas, ut consumamur carne qui spiritu ceperamus. Timorem Domini derelinquimus. Religiosam omittimus sollicitudinem. Verbosi, curiosi, faceti etiam detractores et murmuratores, vacantes nugis, fugitantes laboris et disciplinae, quoties sine nota id latet quasi vero confestim sit sine nota. Quid tantis repulsam obstaculis gratiam Dei nobis deesse miramur?*

Ecce his verbis Pater monachorum negligentiam et defectum etiam suorum omnibus tam saecularibus quam claustralibus scripta sua legentibus innotuit, ut tam suos quam extraneos a perversitate morum converteret, immo deterreret. Item in *Canticis Canticorum*[17] reprehendit eosdem, scilicet detractionis et adulationis, dicens: *Pessima vulpes occultus detractor sed non minus nequam et blandus adulator. Sapiens carebit ab his.*

R.—Numquid ego monachus sum, ut judicem de moribus monachorum? *Tractent fabrilia fabri.*[18]

E.—Es monachus verus quidem mentis virtute, licet non habitus professione, et peritus quemvis cujusvis ordinis in suo ordine instruere. Responde igitur.

R.—Respondeo breviter: *Caelum, non animum, mutat qui trans mare currit*[19].

E.—*Satis dictum* est *sapienti* dictum apertius.[20]

R.—Non addam, nisi addideris.

E.—Morem geris gentis tuae sed non tuis, ut *rogatus* non dicas, injussus *numquam desistas.*[21]

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[13] Cf. Horace, *Ars poetica,* 132.

[14] *Ps.* lxxvii, 6.

[15] Ovid, *Met.* I, 683.

[16] *Sermo de Annunt.* III, 9; PL 183, 397B.

[17] *Serm. in Cant. Cantic.* LXIII, 4; PL 183, 1081D.

[18] Horace, *Ep.* II, 1, 116.

[19] Horace, *Ep.* I, 11, 27.

[20] Terence, *Phorm.*, 541

[21] Horace, *Sat.* I, 3, 3

R.—Nunc *tetigisti Rhodium in convivio.*[22] Tamen ede de proposito si quid habes.

E.—Praecepit beatus Benedictus, ne ea quae quis audiret in saeculo referret in claustro.[23] Sed quovis adveniente vel abbate vel monacho conventiculum fit, circumsedetur a monachis, de visis et auditis in saeculo, de rumoribus vagis, de principibus terrarum, de praelatis ecclesiarum quaestio fit. Hospite igitur referente conticent et se continent omnes intenti, quia ora tenent. Quod si quis moveret verbum de divinis operibus sanctorumve scripturis, statim insurgeretur in eum. Quaestionator, disputator, quasi malefactor judicaretur, cum nusquam legatur inhibitum ab aliquo sanctorum patrum quaestiones fieri theologiae vel de bonis moribus et de eis disputari.

R.—Paucis respondeo. Si linguam audires barbaricam, licet de Deo vel de necessariis utriusque vitae resonantem, placeretne tibi audire nonulla?

E.—Non.

R.—Similiter barbaries videtur quibusdam monachorum quicquid alicujus scripturae resonat subtilitatem. Quod autem quis non intelligit, fastidit. Et odit etiam intellecta; in quibus non consuevit abhorret. Redit enim quis libenter ad consueta, quia *consuetudo quasi altera natura.*[24] Unde Stoicus: *Naturam expellas furca licet usque recurret.*[25] Inde est quod, dissueti scripturae, otiosa pro consuetudine sequuntur verba. Studiosi vero tam monachi quam laici, tamen litterati, litteraturam et litteratos diligunt et venerantur. Unde Boethius in *Hebdomadibus* suis: *Omnis diversitas discors, similitudo vero appetenda.*[26] Inde est quod quidam monachorum, nigrorum dico, adeo impatientes, adeo iracundi, adeo elati, adeo ad contumeliam inferiorum proni, ut etiam saeculares in hoc antecedere videantur, in hoc praelati monachorum utriusque habitus et forte plures plurimum redarguendi, quod traditiones suas nimis mandant custodiri, instituta vero regulae a beato Benedicto traditae <230^{rb}> multi non multum attendunt praeteriri, ut de humilitate tenenda et de fraterna pace observanda.

E.—Satis, ex parte tamen, assentio verbis tuis. Nam hac consuetudine inductus quidam monachus, nomine Hugo, tria objecit mihi displicentia, licet gestu et habitu videretur religiosissimus, scientia et moribus multum commendatus.

R.—Quaeris virtutes operum et opera virtutum in hominibus istius temporis. Et quia non invenis, quod invenire putabas, stomacharis? Commendabilis est ut haec: Hic zelus Phinees, hic est Pauli Elymam obcaecantis, hic est Petri Anamiam et Zaphiram condemnantis.[27] Ubi est vera humilitas, qua homines verissima cognitione sui sibi ipsis vilescunt? Verus enim humilis vult vilis reputari, non humilis videri. Gaudet contemptu sui, in hoc solo superbus quod laudes contemnit. Sed inter claustrales quoque, ubi tales inveniuntur, inventi jure laudantur. Sed rari sunt et fere omnes se reprehendi gravantur. Corripe Imperatorem, Regem, Apostolicum, vel alios minores Principes: Conferunt et bene ferunt. Corripe quosdam claustrales: Statim indignantes te persequuntur. Unde hoc, nisi ex occulta superbia qua propriam amant excellentiam, hoc est ex fermento Pharisaeorum putantium se esse sanctificatos ex observantia suarum institutionum, postponentes districtiora regulae, immo Dominica praecepta, scilicet de proximi dilectione, de operibus misercordiae, de judicii examine?

Praelatorum quidam etiam sibi putant sufficere ad salutem, si boni sint in se et ad oculos hominum, non attendentes finem sacerdotis Heli, scilicet de Silo. Nec ruminant illud dictum Job: *Pes fui claudo et oculus caeco. Et ab infantia mea crevit misericordia. Causam etiam nesciebam diligentissime investigabam.*[28] Ecce habes hic in operibus Job misericordiam et judicium, quae vult Dominus sibi decantari. Igitur non sufficit alicui praelato in se esse optimum, nisi subdito exactissimam verbi et exempli adhibuerit diligentiam. Inde Dominus toties Petro:

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[22] Terence, *Eun.*, 420.

[23] *Rule of St. Benedict*, chapt. 67.

[24] Cicero, *De Fin. V*, 25, 74.

[25] Horace, *Ep.* I, 10, 24.

[26] Boethius, *De Hebdom.;* ed. Peiper (Leipzig, 1871), p. 169.

[27] Cf. *Num.* xxiii, 7; *Acts* xiii, 11 and v, 1 ff.

[28] *Job* xxix, 15 f.

Petre, amas me? Pasce, pasce, pasce, non dico te sed *agnos,* sed *oves meas.*[29] Propter ergo praesumptuosam sanctitatis confidentiam tam praelatorum quam subditorum, praecipue claustralium, ait Propheta: *Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem milia a dextris tuis.*[30] Reputo igitur peccatores saeculi sed humiles, sua peccata cotidiana et horrentes et punientes, multum felices, te vero, frater Everarde, et tibi similes, de vana religione intumescentes, miseros.

E.—Benedictus sit sermo oris tui, quia nec mihi amico in conclavi parcis.

R.—*Ad populum phaleras! Ego te intus et in cute novi.*[31] Sed illius Hugonis, quem satis bene novi quantum ad exteriora, verba tibi displicentia mihi aperias. Non enim videtur homo ille contumeliosus esse.

E.—Dicam, si cum praemissis et haec celaveris. Nolo omnia omnibus publicari.

R.—Numquam hoc prudenti dicas, ut celet sermonem celandum quem solus audis. Nam apud eum sepultus est. Perge ergo securus in veritatis relatione, quia *veritas liberabit*[32] te, licet apud omnes fere *veritas odium* et *obsequium amicos pariat.*[33]

E.—Loquebar de quibusdam ad me attinentibus cum abbate Monasteriensi, inter quae cum dicerem me fuisse clericum in Francia domini Hyacinthi, nunc Papae, affuit praefatus Hugo dicens: "Nunc id scimus." Adjecit nullos invitos a Deo trahi, probans hoc sic: "Nam ad hoc, ut homo trahatur, exigitur libertas arbitrii et ita voluntas." Me autem affirmante infinitos trahi nolentes et invitos, adjecit tritum verbum: "Expediret isti, ut minus opinaretur se scire quam opinetur."

R.—Et tu ad haec quid, <230va>qui ad hujusmodi oppositionis argumenta soles instantias libenter, et impatienter quandoque, afferre?

E.—Hoc solum ego: "Expediret isti plura scire quam sciat." Et ille: "Verum est."

R.—Si sic humiliter responsisses, melius tacuisses.

E.—Forsitan. Sed indignabar ab ignoto tunc talia mihi objici et ipsum de opinionis meae occultis tam secure, ne dicam praesumptuose, judicare.

R.—Forte ex modo loquendi tuo arrogantiam sibi perpendere visum fuit vel aliquis forsan de te aliquid sinistri sibi suggesserat, unde promptior ad judicium prosiliit. Sed postea quid?

E.—Sicut et tu, et ipse debuit a me audita vel de me in meliorem partem interpretari, quia erant communia.

R.—Sic esse tecum affirmo. Vale. Vado res meas ordinaturus quasi cras recessurus.

E.—Papae dicebas te diutius apud nos moraturum. Et nondum attigi quaestionem propter cujus solutionem de tuo primum gaudebam adventu. Sed hic est mos Graecorum ut ante expectatum taceant vel alia incepta deserant.

R.—Libenter Latini causantur Graecos, cum ipsi sint rivuli fontis Graecorum et ingrati sicut tuus Virgilius: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*[34]

E.—Omittamus haec. Quod poetice dicitur, pro poesi habeatur.

R.—Non oportet, ut me inungas quia sum homo patiens. Utinam tu ita esses mitis et humilis.

E.—Ex quo patientiae mentionem fecisti, quia a fratribus ad hanc habendam saepe moneor, hanc mihi imprimis definias.

R.—Tu magister es et hanc ignoras? Vel ad tentandum me facis?

E.—Non, sed ad sciendum quia in Graeca et Latina, Hebraea quoque peritissimus es lingua.

R.—Amice facis quod me mihi commendas. Faciam igitur quod hortaris. Patientia alia est vitium, alia virtus. Vitium: quando timore humano quis suffert quod non est sufferendum ut quando quis non audet reprehendere furem. Virtus: ut quando timore divino quis signum tolerantiae exhibet. De qua quaeris. Quae sic describitur: Patientia est repressio vindictae violentia aliena irritatae virtutis amore. Unde tuus Horatius:[35] *Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore. Tu nihil admittas in te formidine poenae.* Declinant itaque a malo mali, declinant et boni: mali demerendo poenam, boni merendo gratiam.

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[29] Cf. *John* xxi, 15 ff.

[30] *Ps.* xc, 7.

[31] Persius, *Sat.* III, 30.

[32] *John* viii, 3.

[33] Terence, *And.*, 68.

[34] Vergil, *Aen.* II, 49.

E.—Videtur mihi quod descriptio patientiae quam ponis reprehensibilis sit in duobus.

R.—Quibus?

E.—Cum patientia passio sit genere, cur in ejus definitione ponis repressionem quae actio genere est? Nec videtur dicendum *vindictae* sed irae. —— Quid me *torvo* inspicis *lumine*?[36] De facili videris moveri, ne dicam irasci, qui te patientem dixeras.

R.—*Tertius e coelo cecidit Cato*, scilicet tu.[37]

E.—Ejice derisorem et exibunt cum eo jurgia sua. Sumne a te deridendus, quia reprehendo reprehendenda?

R.—Proba te reprehendere reprehendenda.

E.—Libenter. Salva tamen pace tua.

R.—Utinam tua pax tibi esset, immo te salvaret.

E.—Amen.

R.—Proba.

E.—Patientia passio genere est.

R.—Sic.

E.—Igitur in ejus definitione genus ipsius ponendum est. Ideo non actio genere.

R.—Erras. Sola ea quae in primo continentur praedicamento, in quo tantum sunt genera et species, definiri possunt, sed non omnia. Quae vero in aliis IX continentur praedicamentis, nequaquam, quia in his non genera vel species continentur, licet generalissima et specialissima ibi contineantur. Igitur non potui dare definitionem sed descriptionem patientiae. Nam definitio constat ex genere et substantialibus differentiis. Descriptio vero quandoque ex substantialibus, quandoque ex accidentalibus praeter conveniens genus aggregatis. <230^{vb}> Nec inconveniens est, si in descriptione universalis unius praedicamenti ponitur generale alterius praedicamenti. Boethius enim in *Arithmetica*[38] describit numerum sic: *Numerus est collectio unitatum*, cum numerus sit de praedicamento quantitatis secundum Aristotelem[39] dicentem: *Discreta quantitas est ut numerus et oratio*, collectio vero sit genere passio vel, si mavis, actio. Tamen ne putes me concedere quod patientia-virtus sit passio genere, immo est qualitas. Unde Augustinus:[40] *Virtus est qualitas mentis qua bene vivitur, qua nemo male utitur, quam Deus operatur in nobis sine nobis.* Igitur et patientia virtus est et ipsa qualitas est. Praeterea in praedicamento qualitatis *tertia species qualitatis est passibilis qualitas et passio*,[41] non dico passio genere sed quadam conformitate: sicut desiderium, quod adjacet amori, qui passio est genere, conformitate dicitur passio ut rubor et verecundia. Patior etiam metu. Passibilis qualitas in subjecto nascitur ex primis et intrinsecus componentibus ut albedo in nive, vel extrinsecis et diuturnis aeris passionibus ut nigredo in Aethiope, livor in Scoto. Sed passio, quae facile mobilis est qualitas, differt a passibili qualitate, quae difficile mobilis est. Sicut ergo passio et patientia idem significant, sic et ipsa patientia, quae est passio genere, et patientia-virtus, quae passio dicitur conformitate, hoc nomine patientia aequivocatur. Sed passibilis qualitas est mansuetudo cui est coaccidens cohibitio manus vel repressio vindictae.

[35] *Ep.* I, 16, 53 f.

[36] Ovid, *Met.* IX, 27.

[37] Juvenal, *Sat.* II, 40.

[38] *De Arith.* I, 3; PL 63. 1083D. Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1276B.

[39] *Categoriae* II; PL 64, 201C.

[40] Lombard, *Sent.* II, 27, 5; ed. Quaracchi (1916), p. 446.

[41] Aristotle, *Categoriae* III; PL 64, 245D.

E.—Trita teris.

R.—Caute agis. Non solum enim non erubescis tuam reprehensionem esse reprehensam, sed attenuas rationem meam, ut sic aliquid dixisse videaris. Memini te quoque indicasse loco vindictae ponendum esse irae. Sed dic quare.

E.—Quia vindicta virtus est tempore noto. Nam, ut ait Tullius:[42] *Vindicatio species virtutis est.* Omnes enim leges et omnia jura permittuntur vi repelli in continente cum moderamine inculpatae tutelae.

R.—Haec regula juris fori, non poli est, quae dicit: *si aufert tibi tunicam, relinque ei et pallium, et si percusserit te in maxillam, praebe ei et aliam.*[43] Inde est quod Dominus reprehendit Petrum gladio percutientem zelo, non officio, dicens: *Converte gladium in vaginam;*[44] ostendit plus quam XII angelorum[45] legiones se posse habere ad defensionem suam et vindictam sed ipsum oportere exemplum omnis patientiae et humilitatis praebere. Ergo ibi patientia fuit repressio vindictae, non irae. Licetque cuivis irasci de vitio proximi ob injuriam sibi vel alii illatam, quia hoc est naturae. Sed non licet privatae personae se vindicare, et praecipue monacho. Igitur virtus est reprimere manum, etsi non usquequaque animum. Vindicta autem nec verbo nec materiali instrumento est exercenda, nec etiam signo, nisi judici ex officio, in quo vitium est patientia, si vindicta pro injuria alteri illata fuerit requisita.

E.—Licetne sibi suam vindicare injuriam ex officio?

R.—Judex publica persona est et contumelia sibi illata redundat in plures. Igitur licet ei vindicare auctoritate officii—cum qui in ipso, quorum ipse est caput, sunt laesi—si qui laesit subditus sit. Si autem alii, recurrendum est ad ipsum qui principatur reo. Nam actor forum rei debet sequi.

E.—Potestne per procuratorem suum praelatus causam suam agere, cui non potest interesse?

R.—Non in tribunali aliquis per procuratorem poterit litigare, i.e., causam causae reddere praeter illustres, quando conveniunt vel conveniuntur in crimine injuriarum ut Codice *De Injuriis* et Causa III, quaestione IX *nisi.*[46] Sed causam absentiae per procuratorem <231ra> suum potest allegare. In civili per quemlibet procuratorem poterit intendere et excipere. Immo tenentur sacerdotes et episcopi procuratorem habere ut Causa V, quaestione III *quia* et Causa III, quaestione IX.[47]

E.—Et si injuriae sibi illatae judex solus sit conscius, quid aget?

R.—Aut hoc novit per confessionem aut aliter. Si per confessionem, injuncta paenitentia nihil addet, quia etsi noverit eum peccasse sciat peccatum ejus se texisse. Quod si aliter noverit et non sit qui accuset, ipse accuset in Synodo, si sit persona ecclesiastica, vel, si forensis, in foro si probare possit. Sin autem taceat et privatim ab ipso ut convertatur erubescens, ut XV, quaestione V *Presbyter,*[48] abstineat, sed non in publico, ne scandalizetur.

E.—Quis judicabit in causa in qua judex accuset?

R.—Contio Synodi vel saecularis fori auctoritate freta quam in eligendo contulit in judicem. — Ecce detinuisti me viatorem in via. Sed jam vocant me mei ut recedam. Igitur vale.

E.—Mane si potes. Inclinatur enim dies.

R.—Non pernoctabo hic.

E.—Vado tecum usque ad portam. Scias autem quod infectum est, pro quo detinui te: causa disputationis habitae de patientia.

R.—Quid hoc fuit?[49]

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[42] Cf. Cicero, *De Invent.* II, 22.

[43] Cf. *Matth.* v, 39f.

[44] *Matth.* xxvi, 53.

[45] *Ms.* Apostolorum.

[46] Gratian, *Decretum* C. 3, qu. 9, dictum post c. 18.

[47] *Ibid.* C. 5, qu. 3, c. 6.

[48] *Ibid.* C. 15, qu. 5, c. 2.

[49] *marg.* Hic incipit principale propositum controversiae habitae inter beatum Bernardum et magistrum Gillebertum.

E.—Praefatus monachus, nomine Hugo, sequenti die opinionem suam retractans, me praesente, quaesivit a me causam dicti magistri Gilleberti Pictavensis episcopi negantis Deum esse essentiam vel deitatem suam et caetera in hunc modum.

R.—Tace. Ecce video equos meos recalcitrare. Servus it ecce tripes, qui solet ire bipes. Quid est, mi Byrria? Quid est servo meo Sosiae? Ne mireris, Everarde, Graecorum. Graeca haec sunt nomina. Tamen in Terentio quondam tibi nota.[50]

E.—Non miror sed tristor, quia audio Sosiam tuum de confractione cruris conquerentem.

R.—Sosia, cur maeres?

S(osias).—Equus tuus fregit mihi crus.

R.—Cur vel quomodo?

S.—Recalcitravit. Quem cum baculo vellem cohibere impatiens crus mihi fregit.

R.—Everarde, hic habes in bruto animali exemplum impatientiae et per contrarium patientiae. Non enim vindictam repressit, qui percutientem repertus sit, tua usus, immo abusus juris regula, quia moderamen inculpatae non adhibuit tutelae. Byrria, voca Davum qui Apostolicon vel aliud epitoma superliget cruri Sosiae laesi. Positisque sellis ascendamus equos jam recessuri.

D(avus)—Domine mi, expectanda tibi est dies XVa, si vis Sosiam habere socium in via.

R.—Audis, Everarde?

E.—Audio dolens de servo, gaudens de mora.

R.—Nunc igitur facto pius et sceleratus eodem es. Redeamus ad hospitium.

E.—Non, bone. Sed transeamus ad pedem hujus monticuli umbrosi, sub umbra ibi sessuri. Messis enim est. Factamque mihi solvas quaestionem. Nolo enim terminos intrare, ne detinear sono campanae.

R.—Mirabilis es putans hominem perturbatae mentis vacare solutioni posse tantae quaestionis.

E.—Philosophus es. Scio te non frangi adversis nec extolli prosperis.

R.—Verum est quod non frangor. Sed naturae patienti compatior. Improbitate tua me vinces. Nam bene nosti illud Virgilii: *Labor improbus omnia vincit.*[51]

E.—Sede.

R.—Sedeo libens, captus loci amoenitate, quoniam visum est pratum praeterfluente commendabili flumine; fusum est declive montis cum umbra grata imminentis silvae.

E.—Audi campanam. Quid meditaris? Festina, quia mora non est mihi libera.[52]

R.—Subit mihi memoria illius summi viri et acutissimi philosophi Gilleberti, jocunda quidem, sed in hoc nimis superbi, quia humanam plus justo contempsit laudem et gloriam. Inde est quod nolens condescendere capacitati plurium tam in legendo quam in scribendo minus studiosos ita submovit, ut sibi videretur *contumeliam* divinae scripturae vel etiam humanae philosophiae *irrogare*, qui *talibus* <231^{rb}> *hominum monstris non agnoscenda haec potius quam proculcanda* projecit indignosque eos judicavit vel ad ea audienda vel legenda, qui vel *callidi livore* vel *ignavi segnitie* intellectu capere ea nequirent.[53]

De ipso igitur constanter audeo praesumere quod summorum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum mentem philosophorum, scilicet Euclidis, Aristotelis, Platonis, Boethi et Tullii plene intellectu assecutus sit et orthodoxorum Patrum scientiam et fidem tam Graecorum, scilicet Basilii, Eusebii et Dionysii, quam Latinorum, scilicet Augustini, Hilarii, Gregorii, plene apprehendit et, *si verbis audacia detur*,[54] in subtilitate altius caput omnibus extulit. Cujus dicta ita inveniuntur per pelagus authenticorum dispersa librorum, ut in philosophia et sacra scriptura exercitato *non tam* sua *inventa quam* auctoribus *furtim subtracta videantur.*[55] Qui etsi pauca scripsit, si quis ea duce Spiritu intellectus perlegerit, peritior in omni facultate haec intelligendo efficietur quam si omnem aliorum percurreret paginam. Cujus scripta omnia et subtiliter ab eo excogitata, quia mundum fere totum propter ipsius segnitiem tum propter livoris calliditatem eis indignum judicavit, in bibliotheca mea Athenis sunt recondita, divitiis Croesi mihi gratiora.

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[50] The names Byrria, Sosias, Davus are derived from the works of Terence.

[51] *Georg.* I, 146.

[52] *Marg.* Commendatio magistri Gilleberti.

[53] Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1259D.

E.—Audivi quia auditor ipsius fuisti.

R.—Fui equidem. Unde et gaudeo et semper gaudebo. Ad quem audiendum mater mea, cujus nomen Ratio Atheniensis, consilio Sophiae, meae sororis, me in Franciam misit. Cui Carnoti quartus in lectionem, Parisius in aula episcopi fere tercentesimus assedi. Et ipsi episcopo Pictavis adhaesi usque ad ipsius obitum, qui me docente Graecam noverat[56] linguam, ego quoque ipso Latinam. Cui sepulto superscripsi hoc breve epitaphium: *Irriguum fontem siccat aquosa dies. In mense enim aquarii, quod terrae gesserat, terrae reddidit, quod caeli caelo.*[57] Qui si sic in Graecia sicut in garrula enituit Francia, nomen celebrius etiam nostro Platone jure obtinuisset. Qui desides nimis reliquit haeredes potius gulae et vanae gloriae apparentiae quam verae scientiae insistentes, a quibus etiam, nedum alienis, nondum est intellectus. Ipse enim ultra hominum fere evolavit intellectum.

E.—Rati, irrationabiliter flere noli. Nam iste fletus nec tibi nec ipsi utilis est. Sed potius insiste pro anima ipsius orationi et eleemosynae.

R.—Non est opus, frater, ut quis pro eo laboret qui a secretis Dei in palatio caeli esse creditur. Nec quod ei aliquid mali accederit lugeo, sed et nobis et toti mundo ejus doctrina indigno. Ipse enim fuit *fons* irriguus *cui nullus communicavit alienus*,[58] et in modico etiam grex suus.

E.—Cum ab antiquo mihi fueris dilectus, propter dilectionem illius magni ex dilecto factus es mihi amplius praecordialis et individuus.[59] — Accingere ergo ad solutionem praemissae quaestionis mihi ab amico factae, scilicet quae fuerit causa negandi Deum esse suam essentiam, sapientiam, et deinceps, quae sancti Patres et orthodoxi affirmant.

* * *

R.—Orandum est imprimis divinum auxilium, sine quo rite nullum funditur exordium. Implorandus est igitur *Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus*,[1] ut det mihi intellectum hujus quaestionis et solutionem sane et digne investigandi et fidem catholicam perscrutandi.

E.—Amen.

R.—Sciendum solutionem hujus quaestionis accubare prae foribus grammaticae et logicae.

E.—Quid est quod dicis? Quaestio theologica solvitur grammaticae et logicae doctrina?

R.—Tacitus citius audies. Noli corvizare. *Si* enim *corvus* sineret se *pasci tacitus, plus dapis et minus rixae haberet.*[2] Ne mireris, si quaestio dicti solvatur facultatibus dicendi. Ne impedias cursum meum, qui deficientis non es accepturus bravium.

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[54] Ovid. *Met.* I, 175.

[55] Cf. Gilbert, *Prologus;* ed. M. Grabmann, *Gesch. der schol. Methode* II (Freiburg i.B., 1911), p. 419.

[56] *Ms.* novum.

[57] Gilbert died on Nov. 26, 1154, not in January or February as implied in *aquarius.*

[58] This saying is generally quoted in the form: Charitas est fons cui non communicat alienus. Cf. *Sent.* III, 31, 1; ed. Quaracchi (1916), p. 690. Robert Pulleyn, *Sent.* V, 37; PL 186, 860A.

[59] Marg. Si vis festinare ad quaestionum solutiones, hic incipe, ceteris praetermissis.

[1] *Is.* xi, 2.

[2] Horace, *Ep.* I, 17, 50.

E.—Esto ut libet.[3]

R.—Nomen alii et ex alio et propter aliud impositum est: <231va> *Alii*, i.e., rei corporeae vel incorporeae ut hoc nomen 'homo' rei, quae homo est, impositum est *ex alio*, quia ex humanitate hominis, *propter aliud*, i.e. propter intellectum de homine, sua humanitate mediante, constituendum. Unde Priscianus:[4] *Proprium est nominis significare substantiam cum qualitate.* Idem habes in nominis descriptione: *Nomen est pars orationis, quae unicuique subjectorum corporum seu rerum propriam vel communem distribuit qualitatem.* Et nota quod cuicumque aliquod nomen impositum est, illud 'substantia nominis' dicitur. Nec tamen simpliciter 'substantia' dicitur. Dicitur et 'suppositum locutioni'. 'Qualitas' autem nominis vocatur omnis forma vel proprietas, a qua nomen imponitur quave mediante res mente concipitur, sive simpliciter sit qualitas sive non: ut 'scriptor', hoc nomen, rei quae scribit est impositum ab actione scribendi, quae genere actio non qualitas est, sed qualitas hujus nominis 'scriptor'.

Quod vero propter intellectum constituendum vel interpretandum voces significativae sint inventae, testatur Priscianus in libro *Constructionum*[5] sic dicens: *Omnis constructio, quam Graeci syntaxin vocant, ad intellectum vocis reddenda est.* Idem affirmat Aristoteles in libro *Perihermeneias*[6] sic: *Ea quae sunt in voce, sunt notae passionum quae sunt in anima.* De verbo dicit Priscianus:[7] *Proprium est verbi significare agere vel pati.* Actio enim verbi dicitur quidquid ex institutione significat, sive sit actio ut 'seco', sive passio ut 'metuo', sive qualitas genere ut 'albeo', et sic deinceps praeter verbum quod passionem significat. Item verborum aliud adjectivum ut 'sedeo', aliud substantivum ut 'sum, existo', aliud vocativum ut 'vocor'.[8] *Adjectivum* adjectivam significat qualitatem ut 'albeo' quam copulat substantiae de qua est sermo ut 'Petrus docet'. *Substantivum*, quod significat essentiam quam copulat ut 'sum' vel 'Paulus est homo'. *Vocativum*, quod vocationem, i.e., in generali propriam significat qualitatem quam copulat ut 'Paulus vocatur Paulus'. Item verborum aliud transitivum, i.e., collativum unius personae ad alteram ut 'Paulus videt Petrum', aliud non ut 'Paulus tacet'. At *transitivum* ex vi transitionis, i.e., collationis, requirit unum obliquum ut 'Paulus amat Petrum'; quandoque duos ut 'Paulus docet populum fidem', primum ex vi transitionis, secundum ex natura verbi; quandoque tres ut 'fertur Paulum docere populum fidem', primum ratione personae, secundum ex vi transitionis, tertium ex natura verbi.

At cum *substantivum* verbum infinite significet substantiam, i.e., essentiam, cum personaliter ponitur, exigit nominativum ad determinandam confusionem suae significationis: nominativum, inquam, vel proprii nominis ut 'Paulus est Paulus' vel communis, et hoc vel substantivi ut 'Plato est homo' vel adjectivi ut 'Paulus est Apostolus'. Item determinatur confusa significatio vocativi verbi adjectione proprii nominis tantum vel appellativi appropriati ut 'Paulus vocatur Paulus' vel 'vocatur Apostolus'.

E.—Domine, quo vadis? Nam, ut videtur, nimis evagaris.

R.—Docendus viam viatorem doces? Rudes theologus rudimenta ad theologiam audire non potes?

E.—Perge. Audio.

R.—Audi. Notandum igitur utilem esse hanc verborum distinctionem et vim, nam quaedam locutiones intelliguntur miraculose et vere, si attendatur ea distinctio ut si adjectivorum verborum attendatur substantiva constructio ut in verbo Isaiae est videre dicentis: *Ecce virgo concipiet* etc.[9] Nam si personaliter hoc nomen 'virgo' construitur cum hoc verbo 'concipiet', vera quidem locutio sed non miraculosa. Nam et nunc infinitae virgines sunt concepturae et pariturae. Sed si idem nomen substantive construatur cum verbo, et hoc <231^{vb}> ex parte appositi, vera locutio est et miraculosa ut sit sensus: Ecce concipiet virgo et pariet virgo, i.e. pariens virgo. Item, *Deus genuit Deum.* Se Deum vel alium Deum? Neutrum est verum, si transitive intelligatur construi verbum cum obliquis his, scilicet *se Deum vel alium Deum.* At si cum hoc accusativo *alium* construatur transitive, cum hoc accusativo *Deum* substantive, vera est locutio, ut sit sensus: *Deus* alium, i.e., Filium, *genuit Deum.* Similiter in *Genesi*: *Abraham tres vidit et unum adoravit,*[10] i.e., tres adoravit unum. In moralibus exemplariter est videre idem ut: 'Te monachum feci', hoc falsum. 'Te feci monachum,' hoc verum. Et 'hunc militem fecisti', falsum. 'Hunc fecisti militem,' hoc verum. In theologia multa et alia invenies tali consideratione indigentia.

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[3] *Marg.* De nominis causa: unde, cur et ad quid sit impositum.

[4] *Institut.* II, iv, 18; ed. Keil (Leipzig, 1855), p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.* XVII, xxv, 187; ed. Keil, p. 201.

[6] *De Interpret.* I; PL 64, 297A.

[7] Cf. *Institut.* II, iv, 18 and VIII, i, 1; ed. Keil, pp. 55 and 369.

[8] *Institut.* VIII, x, 51; ed. Keil, p. 414.

[9] *Is.* vii, 14.

Ad distinctionem nominum redeo. Nominum itaque aliud concretivum, aliud mathematicum. Concretivum: quod concrete significat substantiam et substantiae formam ut 'album' et 'homo'. Album enim significat rem, quae alba est, et albedinem rei. Unde Priscianus: *Album dicitur ab albedine.*[11] Mathematicum est quasi abstractivum quia significat formam quasi a subjecto abstractam ut 'albedo'. Non autem forma a subjecto abstrahitur, sed nullo habito respectu ad subjectum quadam vi mentis a subjecto abstracta concipitur. Notandum quod nomen in oratione proprie positum significat id de quo est sermo. Quod in grammatica dicitur substantia nominis vel persona vel suppositum. Verbum vero ex officio significat appositum.[12] In logica vero nomen dicitur significare subjectum ex officio. Unde nomen est subjectus terminus propositionis et verbum est praedicatus. Nam significat appositum, i.e., rem praedicatam. Unde Aristoteles:[13] *Verbum est nota eorum quae de altero dicuntur.* Attende quod nomen quandoque significat id cui impositum est, et hoc proprie, ut 'homo est animal'; quandoque id ex quo impositum est, et hoc improprie, ut de eo fiat sermo ut 'homo est species', 'homo est assumptus a Verbo', i.e., humanitas. Sic enim intelligendum est quando fit sermo de homine assumpto, i.e., de humanitate. Aliter enim intelligendo fit laspus vel in Eutychianam vel Nestorianam haeresim. Unde Aristoteles: *Album est accidens, triangulum est species figurae.*[14]

Materiale impositum est nomen quando per nomen fit sermo de seipso ut 'homo est nomen commune et substantivum, album commune et adjectivum'. Item attendendum: quod nomen sumptum, i.e., concretivum, significat pro qualitate, idem principale significat pro substantia. Ut 'homo' humanitatem significat pro qualitate quam hoc nomen 'humanitas' significat pro substantia. Unde cum dicitur 'Petrus est homo', sensus est: Petrus est humanitate. Et praedicatur in prima propositione humanitas Petri, i.e., propositi et non proponendi . Eadem vero humanitas subjicitur locutioni, cum dicitur 'humanitas est in Petro'. Sicut enim hoc nomen 'homo' est appellativum hominum, ita hoc nomen 'humanitas' humanitatum. Et sicut 'album' est appellativum alborum, ita 'albedo' albedinum. Similiter sicut hoc nomen 'Deus' est appellativum deorum, sic et 'deitas' deitatum.

E.—Noli dicere deitatum, cum una sola sit deitas.

R.—Cito a promisso silentio resilis. Recordare hujus prophetici: *Ego dixi, dii estis.*[15]

E.—Procede.

R.—Itaque nomen abstractivum, i.e., mathematicum significat formas proprie, i.e., appellat, prout intelliguntur abstractae a subjecto. Sed pro qualitate significat effectum earum, ut cum dicitur 'albedo est color', i.e., albedo facit coloratum.

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[10] The sentence is taken from *Glossa ord. in Gen.*, xviii, 2; PL 113, 125G.

[11] Cf. *Institut.* VIII, vi, 29; ed. Keil, p. 397.

[12] *Ms* oppositum.

[13] *De Interpret.* I; PL 64, 306B.

[14] Cf. *Categoriae* II; PL 64, 250D.

[15] *Ps.* lxxxi, 6.

E.—Igitur concretivum et mathematicum, a quo sumitur, diversa significant.

R.—Sic est.

E.—Igitur non idem, cum sententia magistri fuerit, quod idem significarent.

R.—Idem significant et diversa. Idem <232ra> quia, quod qualitas est hujus nominis 'album', substantia est hujus nominis 'albedo'. Tamen, quod substantia est hujus nominis 'album', nullo modo est substantia vel qualitas hujus nominis 'albedo'. Res enim participans albedine, quam appellando significat hoc nomen 'album', et effectus albedinis, quam apponendo significat hoc nomen 'albedo', diversa sunt.

E.—Omnium opinatissima sententia est, quod hac propositione[16] 'albedo est albedo' praedicatur species specialissima de praedicamento qualitatis, et hac 'albedo est color' genus subalternum. Omnis autem albedo est qualitas, genus generalissimum. Igitur genera et species praedicantur de suis individuis in quibus ea sunt.

R.—Cave quid dicas, cum sis monachus. Praesumitur enim, si monachus, quod veridicus. Ideoque cavendum sibi, ne labatur in verbo.

E.—Verum dixi.

R.—Non est *omnium sententia*, quia non est mea. Et, ut noster ait Aristoteles, *quolibet proferente contrarium opinioni stultum est sollicitum esse.*[17]

E.—Dic ergo quod sentis.

R.—Audisti superius me dixisse omnia genera et species in primo contineri praedicamento. Sed in aliis praedicamentis inveniri generalissima et specialissima. Unde[18] eadem forma habet et specialem et generalem effectum ut albedo facit *album* (et iste effectus ejus est specialis, immo specialissimus), eadem facit *coloratum* (et iste generalis), facit *quale* (et iste generalissimus). Igitur omnes albedines sunt hoc universale *album*, omnes albedines et alii colores hoc universale *coloratum*, omnes albedines et aliae qualitates hoc universale *quale*. Unde Aristoteles noster describens ab effectu qualitatem ait: *Qualitas est secundum quam quales dicimur*,[19] quasi qualitatis genus, i.e., esse, est facere quale. Sicut enim substantia quaelibet habet esse a forma substantiali, specie scilicet vel genere, ut homo habet esse humanitate et ideo hac specie 'homo' et hoc genere 'animal', sic albedo habet esse suo effectu, quo desinente et ipsa desinit esse.

E.—Adsunt tres monachi. Intercident tuae orationis continuationem, nisi caute amoveris eos.

R.—Novi. Ohe fratres, rumorem de terra udistis transmarina et de statu regum? (Facundior unus illorum ait: Non audivimus de novo. Actu noviter illinc adveniens, dicito nobis. Multum enim a te desideramus audire.)

R.—Non tam noviter adveni. Sed properate ad portam, antequam recedant quos ibi vidi. (Tunc ait: Eamus illuc quam citius ante discessum peregrinorum).

E.—Non decet talem ac tantum virum citra veritatem aliquid pronuntiare qualis et quantus tu es.

R.—Considera diligenter amotionis cautelam. Non invenies eos mendacii falsitate deceptos, verum cauta illusione illusos.

E.—Animadverto verum quod dicis. Perge igitur quo ceperas.

R.—Pergam. Tu sileas. — Cum sint tres species speculativae: naturalis, mathematica et theologica — *Naturalis in motu inabstracta*:[20] nostra enim corpora sicut omnia alia creata moventur sex speciebus motuum, scilicet generatione, corruptione, augmento, diminutione, alteratione, secundum locum mutatione.[21]

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[16] *Ms* praepositione.

[17] Cf. *Poster. Analyt.* I, 3; PL 64, 715B.

[18] Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1270C.

[19] *Categoriae* III; PL 64, 240A.

[20] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152.

[21] Aristotle, *Categ.* IV; PL 64, 289B. Gilbert, *Contra Eut.;* PL 64, 1387C.

Sed a corpore abstrahi non possunt formae. *Mathematica sine motu inabstracta. Haec enim formas speculatur sine materia ac per hoc sine motu.*[22] Quae quia immutabilem sui sortiuntur existentiam, mathematice consideratae, vocantur 'essentiae'. *Quae formae, cum in materia sint, ab ea separari non possunt. Theologica est sine motu abstracta atque separabilis. Nam Dei substantia et materia et motu caret,*[23] i.e., *nec Deus nec ejus essentia potest esse materia. Neque enim ea, qua ipse est, essentia, quae Graece dicitur usia, potest non esse simplex. Neque in eo eidem essentiae adesse aliquid potest, quo ipse sit. Non enim Deus vere simplex esset, si vel ejus essentia constaret ex multis*[24] *vel eidem adessent formae in illo, quarum vel ipse vere esset vel ejus essentia ratione diceretur subjecta materia.*[25] <232^{rb}>

Cum igitur, ut praemissum est, tres sint species speculativae: naturalis, mathematica et theologica, *in naturalibus rationaliter, scilicet ut posito nomine quo id, quo est et id, quod est, significatur, philosophus ea vi mentis qua concreta veri debet, diligenter attendat quid proprie sibi vel id quo est vel id quod est concretionis consortio exigat et quid ceterarum locis speculationum communicet. In mathematicis vero, ubi inabstracta*[26] *aliter quam sint, i.e., abstractim attenduntur, oportebit eum versari disciplinaliter, ut cum ea quae, nisi subsistentibus insint, omnino non sunt, separatim ab eis conceperit, sic eorum propria ad disciplinam faciendam attendat, ut convenientes sibi cum caeteris speculationibus rationes ad ipsam minime contrahat. In mathematicis enim dicitur homo 'species generis', i.e., animalis aut corporis* ut 'homo est animal, homo est corpus'. *In mathematicis vero non generis sed individuorum dicitur species homo. Itaque naturalis concretionis proprietate dicitur genus de specie praedicari. Mathematicae vero abstractionis proprietate non genus sed generis genus de ea, quae non generis sed individuorum tantum species est, vere et consequenter praedicari conceditur,*[27] ut 'socratitas est humanitas, est animalitas, est corporalitas.

In divinis vero, *quae non modo disciplina verum etiam re ipsa abstracta sunt, intellectualiter versari oportebit, i.e., ex propriis theologorum rationibus illa concipere, non ex naturaliter concretorum aut disciplinaliter abstractorum proprietatibus judicare.*[28] Divina autem dico, quae circa sanctam attenduntur Trinitatem, non ea, quae ad bonos mores, scilicet ad merita vel praemia pertinent, nisi praemium voces ipsum Creatorem.

E.—*Siste gradum*[29] Noli lapidoso currere campo.

R.—Plana est via qua incedo et nobis et nostris satis trita. *At non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum.*[30] Verum cum *invia virtuti* sit *nulla via,*[31] tu, cum aliquando sis habitus pro virtuoso, i.e. prudente, quia prudentia cardinalis est virtus, cur viam qua incedo judicas lapidosam?

E.—Quia quod superius asseruisti in distinctione facultatum vel est falsum vel minus planum, immo non est intelligibile.

R.—Ne dicas simpliciter quod secundum quid proponendum est. Non enim ideo est minus intelligibile, quia tibi non est intelligibile. Tamen propone quod tibi videtur falsum vel nimis obscurum. Esse potest forte quod, cum *brevis esse laborem, obscurus fiam.*[32]

E.—Estne eadem species generis et individuorum? Quid est ergo quod tuus ait Aristoteles[33] omnia superiora de inferioribus praedicari et omnis intellectus universalium ex particularibus surgit? Quod si ita est, immo quia ita est, cur dicis in naturalibus homo est species generis, i.e., animalis, in mathematicis non generis sed individuorum species est homo? Nam haec species specialissima 'homo' praedicatur de suis individuis, quae ideo universaliter subjicitur suo generi, ut cum dicitur 'Socrates est homo, Plato est homo, Cicero est homo' et sic de singulis. Cum homo sit animal, omnis homo est animal.

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[22] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] multis essentiis: according to Gilbert (PL 64, 1268A) and the *Ep. ad Urbanum* (fol. 228^{va}).

[25] Gilbert, *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1268A.

[26] *Ms* abstracta.

[27] Gilbert, *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1268BC.

[28] *Ibid.*; PL 64, 1268C. Cf. *Ep. ad Urbanum* .fol. 228^{va}).

[29] Ovid, *Her.* XIII, 102.

[30] Horace, *Ep.* I, 17, 36.

[31] Ovid, *Met.* XIV, 113.

[32] Horace, *Ars poetica*, 25.

[33] Cf. *Categ.* I; PL 64, 169 ff.

R.—Noster Aristoteles ait: *Oportet discentem credere.*[34]

E.—Et cum *fides sit ex auditu,*[35] quaero quis credet quod audiendo non intellexit?

R.—Cogis me duo commiscere officia, scilicet docendi et disserendi.

E.—Unde, quia causa fit discendi.

R.—Igitur *disce, sed ira cadat naso, rugosaque sanna.*[36] Cum in naturali facultate hoc nomine 'homo' concretive significetur res, quae homo est, et forma, qua homo est, secundum naturalis concretionis proprietatem homo est species animalis, quia homo est animal. At cum dicitur 'homo est species animalis', fit sermo de qualitate hujus nominis 'homo', i.e., de humanitate concrete significata. Sed de ejus effectu fit sermo, cum dicitur quod homo est species individuorum eodem nomine quo superius, impropriissima usurpatione, cum improprie etiam ipsa qualitas supponatur nomine quo ipsa apponenda significatur. Multo improprius effectus ejus qualitatis, qui eo nomine nullo modo significatur, sed hoc <232va> nomine 'humanitas'. Igitur humanitas, significata hoc nomine 'homo' pro qualitate, est species generis, i.e., animalis, quae ut significatur hoc nomine dividit hoc genus animalis, cum dicitur 'animalium aliud homo, aliud non-homo'. Sed non eadem humanitas, immo effectus ejus, qui pro qualitate significatur hoc nomine 'humanitas', est species individuorum et praedicatur de eis, cum dicitur 'socratitas est humanitas, platonitas est humanitas' et sic de singulis, quae individua ibi subjiciuntur mediantibus effectibus suis.

Planum est ergo, quomodo haec propositio 'homo est species animalis' exemplum faciat naturalis speculationis et quomodo constituat exemplum concretionis, quia ista locutione 'homo est species animalis' hoc genus animal de hac specie 'homo' praedicari invenitur et sic rebus ipsius speciei composita intelligitur. Hac vero locutione 'homo est species individuorum' non datur intelligi, quid cui componatur, sed quae forma cui effectui supponatur. Et sic exemplum est mathematicae abstractionis, quia proprietas mathemaseos est non genus praedicari sed generis genus, i.e., non id quod est genus sed id quo est genus, non de eo quod est species sed de eo quo est species, i.e., effectum de effectu assignare ut hic 'humanitas est animalitas'. Specie enim individuorum, non simpliciter specie, fit subjectio. Et de eo quod est humanitas praedicatur genus animalitatis, non animalis, i.e., effectus qui pro qualitate hoc nomine 'animalitas' significatur. Qui effectus 'genus generis' dicitur quadam similitudine, quia sicut esse cujuslibet rei 'genus' ejus appellatur, (sicut cum dicitur cujus generis res sit, i.e., cujus subsistentiae) ita, inquam, effectus formae cujuslibet 'genus' ejus dicitur, quia ipsa non habet aliud esse nisi effectum suum, quia forma non ex alterius formae habitu sed ex suo effectu esse sortitur. *In* hujusmodi ergo *mathematicis philosophum oportet versari disciplinaliter,* i.e., propter disciplinam faciendam de his, quae actu inabstracta sunt, abstractionem fingere, non autem inseparabilia separare, sed sic abstractis nomina abstractionum convenientia accommodare velut haec 'humanitas', 'albedo' et similia.—Habes plus quaestionis nunc?

E.—Habeo. Sed nunc supersedeo.

R.—Non diu sedebis. Nam campana vespertina vocat te. Surge, eamus hinc.

E.—Cras, aliis euntibus ad laborem, huc redi apparatus.

R.—Tuus Tullius in *Rhetoricis*[37] jubet vitari apparatus et tu mones me venire apparatum.

R.—Oratori quidem apparatus est vitandus ut vitium, doctori vero quaestiones solvere studenti non ita sed gloriosum. Quod enim ex improviso in quaestionibus videre est difficile, ut tuus in *Elenchis*[38] ait Aristoteles, per vacationem est facile. At inglorium est oratori praemeditatum accedere sicque minus potentem objectionibus adversarii argute adversari incontinenti.

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[34] Cf. *Post. Anal.* I, 2; PL 64, 715A.

[35] *Rom.* x, 17.

[36] Persius, *Sat.* V, 91.

[37] Cf. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* I, 7, 11.

R.—Bene concordas auctores diversos in diversis facultatibus diversa, non adversa, afferentes. Sed me cras hic expectes, verum juxta scriptorium tuum in pomerio. Immutatio, immo innovatio, lunae immutabit statum constitutionis aeriae, ideoque cavendum ut caveatur aeria intemperies tecti vicinitate.

E.—Fiat ita. (Mane facto, loco adest determinato Ratius rationabiliter secum ratiocinans. Ad quem ego: "Benedicite.")

R.—Dominus nos benedicat et de se nos benedicere faciat.

E.—Amen.

R.—Ecce intemperies aeris pluviosi a me praevisa in sero et ideo cauta. Subeamus igitur quod praesto est tectum omni pariete destitutum, ideoque non domus, sed synedra vel exedra vocandum.

E.—Libenter inquirerem, si vacaret respondere, quo prognostico sero in sereno tempore praenoveris futuram, immo nunc praesentem, aeris intemperiem.

R.—Vis ergo, ut geram morem Latinorum qui, cum intendant de principali docere eo omisso incidenti incidenter immorantur ut quemdam <232^{vb}> magnum sua audivi et aliorum opinione dicentem interdocendo "Et quia facta est mentio de oculo, videamus quid sit oculus". Incepit itaque ibi tractare de varietate humorum et tunicarum ipsius oculi. Ille autem novit physicam accuratius quam grammaticam quam docebat. Similiter et quidam de tuis Prioribus in Capitulo docens de Deo ait: *Deus in solis et nudis et puris intellectibus concipitur.* Quae verba sunt Porphyrii[39] de generibus et speciebus ratiocinantis et utrum sint aut non sint disquirentis. Pro eo autem quod dicturus erat 'vel non sint', ponit hoc exemplum: *vel in solis et nudis* et puris *consistant intellectibus* etc. Itaque praelatus ille, ut videtur, aliquando logicam didicisse volens videri aliquid magnum de Deo dicere verbis Porphyrii abutens dixit Deum non esse, nisi forte vim fecerit verbis suum sensum eis imponendo. Quod faciunt stulti quos gloria vexat inanis, quos vester tangit Horatius[40] dicens: *Et forte cypressum*[41] *scit simulare.* Vis ergo, ut sic faciam lege prognostica Virgilii in *Georgicis* posita? Et ibi invenies, quae a me quaeris, nec rusticos nec aves caeli latere. Unde Virgilius de rusticis prognosticantibus ait ibi sic: *Numquam imprudentibus imber obfuit,*[42] i.e., valde prudentibus. Sic enim exponit Priscianus[43] ostendendo 'in' in compositione quandoque esse augmentativum.

E.—Hoc dicendo potuisses aliquid boni dixisse.

R.—Bona quidem sunt quae dixi, sed fortasse non erat his locus. Enimvero, si excessi, tibi imputa. At memor esto in doctrina tua Satyrici dicentis *Tractent fabrilia fabri,*[44] theologica theologi propria facultatis illius, de qua loqueris, non ad aliam extendens facultatem interserendo tuae orationi, quae minime ad rem pertinent, licet a suo auctore posita suo loco sint lucida, ne audias Satyricum tuam arrogantiam comiter et urbane reprehendentem: *Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter assuitur pannus.*[45] Sed singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter, nisi forte in alicujus quaestionis solutione indigeas alterius facultatis juvamine. Unde Boethius, volens construere singularitatem divinae essentiae et pluralitatem personarum, id ostendit diversis diversarum facultatum rationibus: theologicis divinitatis simplicitatem, naturalibus numerabilem personarum diversitatem.

E.—Bene in tua digressione instruxisti praedicatorem disertum atque philosophicum doctorem.

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[38] Cf. *Elenchi* I, 1; PL 64, 1009A.

[39] Boethius, *In Isagog, Porph.* I, 10; CSEL 48, 159.

[40] *Ars poetica*, 20.

[41] *Ms* compressum.

[42] Vergil, *Georg.* I, 373.

[43] *Institut.* XIV, iii, 20; ed. Keil, p. 35.

[44] Horace, *Ep.* II, 1, 116.

[45] Horace, *Ars poetica*, 16.

R.—Unde mihi carbo, ut notem quod aliquid alienum tibi placet?

E.—Quam invitus accedis ad principale solvendum.

R.—Si scires transferre alias quod alicubi dictum est, tibi quaestionis solutio constaret principalis illius, scilicet qua quaerebas, quare a magistro Gilleberto assertum sit 'Deus non est deitas'.

E.—Tu, qui novisti transferre, transfer et transferendo confer.

R.—Cupio quodcumque necesse est.—In naturalibus sunt X praedicamenta *quae si quis ad divinam verterit praedicationem cuncta mutantur.*[46] Translatio enim fit vocabulorum a naturali facultate ad theologiam. Igitur, secundum Augustinum et Boethium, ea quae sunt de praedicamento substantiae vel qualitatis vel quantitatis, relata ad divinam praedicationem, divinam praedicant essentiam. Unde his terminis 'Deus, magnus, justus' idem de Deo praedicatur, ut cum dicitur 'Deus est magnus', 'Deus est justus', 'Deus est Deus', divina essentia his tribus propositionibus praedicatur. Primorum igitur trium praedicamentorum praedicamenta dicta de Deo sic praedicantur de eo ut aliquid eum esse demonstrent. Cetera vero VII praedicamentorum praedicamenta dicta de Deo, ut ait Boethius,[47] sic praedicantur de eo, non ut eum aliquid esse demonstrent, sed ut ei aliquid extrinsecus quodammodo affigant. *Non ergo potest dici relativam* <233ra> *praedicationem rei, de qua dicitur,* aliquid *addere vel minuere* vel *mutare. Non* enim *in eo, quod est, esse constituit sed in eo, quod est in comparatione aliquo modo* ad aliud *se habere.*

Cum ergo sint praedicandi modi in naturalibus X, in theologicis tantum duo: unus ad se, alter ad aliud. Ille vero qui est ad se, pertinet ad substantiam. Ille vero qui est ad aliud, pertinet ad relationem. Cum autem relativis hoc ipsum sit esse ad aliud quodammodo se habere, manifestum est nihil, quod ad se praedicatur, praedicari ad aliud. Igitur nulla relatio est divina essentia. Et ita nec paternitas nec filiatio est divina essentia. Hoc idem probat magnus Basilius in libro quem scripsit *De Trinitate*[48] sic: *Nobis ignorantibus circa singularia, characteres dico autem paternitatem, filiationem, sanctificationem, oportet communi proprium adjicere et fidem confiteri. Commune est deitas. Proprium est paternitas. Quibus copulatis necesse est personam confici, quae est Deus Pater. Unde dicitur: 'Credo in Deum Patrem.'* Igitur cum paternitas sit proprium unius personae, deitas commune trium, cum nullum proprium unius commune sit trium, nulla paternitas est essentia. Item, Isidorus in VII libro *Etymologiarum:*[49] *Deus habet essentiam, habet sapientiam. Sed quod habet, hoc et est. Et omnia unus est ac perinde simplex est, quia non in eo aliquid accidentis est. Sed quod est et quod in ipso est, essentialiter est excepto quod relative ad quamcumque personam est.* Inde concludi potest quod relatio, qua Deus est Pater, refertur ad personam[50] ut Deus Pater ad Deum Filium. Essentia non est.

Enimvero probando hoc regarguendus jure videor, cum idem sit hoc probare ac quod album non est nigrum ostendere. Qui autem inde dubitat, non tantum poena sed sensu indiget, quamvis quidam dicant paternitatem, filiationem esse Deum. *Qui in Deum blasphemi, illos de ipso profitentur errores quorum nomina diffitentur; qui, ut ita dicam, haereticorum catholici in Sabellii, Donati, Pelagii et aliorum hujusmodi pestilentium verba jurati eorum nomina, eo quod publicis edictis damnata noscuntur, cum catholicis detestantur, ut cum blasphemiarum causis sint juste damnabiles, blasphemorum detestatione putentur indemnes.*[51] Homines sine ratione rationatores, sine doctrina doctores, artium ignari, nimirum a via veritatis exorbitant et ideo *pro vero falsum et econverso reputant. Et quod bonum est, malum judicant.* Communia artibus appropriant, et propria communicant. Et vim verborum ignorantes tamen de significationibus eorum judicare praesumunt. Et quae de Trinitate personarum et de unitate essentiae earum praedicantur, confundunt. Omnia vocabula de Deo dicta essentiam praedicare autumnant, non discernentes nec aliquando dicentes quod nominum de Deo praedicatorum quaedam significant essentiam ut 'Deus', quaedam relationem ut 'Pater'.

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[46] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, 4; ed. Peiper, p. 156. Cf. *Ep. ad Urbanum* (fol. 228^{v}).

[47] Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1292D.

[48] Basil, *Ep. CCXXXVI*, 6; PG 32, 883. *Ep. ad Urbanum* (fol. 228^{rb}).

[49] *Etymol.* VII, i, 27.

[50] Cf. *Ep. ad Urbanum* (fol. 228va).

[51] Gilbert, *Prologus*; ed. Grabmann, p. 419.

At significantium relationem, alia significant relationem addictam essentiae ut 'auctor' et 'principium' quae sicut ipsa essentia de tribus dicuntur indifferenter et singulariter; alia significant personalem relationem ut 'Filius' et 'Pater'; alia significant non essentiam, non relationem, sed rationem vel essentiae vel personis accommodam: *essentiae* ut 'singularis', 'eadem' et similia; *personis* ut 'personalis', 'pluralis' et similia. Ideoque sic est distinguendum circa praedicationem essentiae et personarum. Nam eorum quae de Deo praedicantur, alia dicuntur secundum se, alia secundum aliud.[52] Secundum se, qualiter ipsa essentia vel secundum eam aliquid praedicatur: *ipsa essentia* ut 'Deus est Deus, bonus, justus, magnus'; *secundum eam aliquid* ut 'semper esse'. Sed eorum quae secundum essentiam praedicantur, alia per se ut 'Deus semper est' vel 'ubique est' vel 'operatur' vel 'idem est'. Ad aliud ut 'Deus est auctor, principium', *quae auctoritas et principalitas sicut ipsa essentia indifferenter et singulariter* <233$^{\text{rb}}$> *de tribus dicuntur. Nam et unusquisque illorum trium et omnes simul sunt creaturarum omnium unus auctor, unum principium. Quam auctoritatis et principalitatis indifferentiam ex usiae ipsorum, secundum quam de ipsis praedicatur, indifferentia esse putamus.*[53]

Item, de qualibet persona aliquid praedicatur secundum se, aliquid ad aliud: per se secundum personam, non secundum essentiam, ut hoc nomen 'persona'; ad aliud ut 'Pater, Filius'. *Unde et secundum personalitatis rationem quae, proprietatum secuta differentiam, de unaquaque personarum non relative sed per se* hoc nomine 'persona' *praedicatur, minime est illa indifferentia, ut et unusquisque per se et* illi *tres sint una persona.*[54] Et ita *personalitas non singulariter de illis collectis sed pluraliter dicitur propter proprietatum (scilicet quibus* personae *a se invicem aliae sunt) diversitatem*[55] ut 'Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus sunt personae', non persona, sicut sunt unus auctor, non auctores. Unde Boethius: *Substantia continet unitatem, relatio multiplicat Trinitatem,*[56] *i.e., eos qui essentiae unitate sunt unus, relationum quae de eodem dici non possunt diversitas facit esse multos, et specialiter tres.*[57] Itaque constat probatum quod nulla relatio Deus est. Itaque nec paternitas nec filiatio nec processio.

E.—Secundum hoc quod dicis haec maxima falsa est: *Quidquid est in Deo, Deus est.*

R.—Cujus auctoris est haec regula?

E.—In frequenti usu habetur.

R.—Audacter dico non esse topicam rationem sed nugationem, cum ponat plurium quodlibet esse in Deo, cum nihil sit in Deo. Alioquin Deus omnimoda simplicitate simplex non esset.[58]

E.—Quid est ergo quod Augustinus[59] dicit: *In Dei substantia nihil est quod non sit substantia, tamquam aliud ibi sit substantia, aliud quod accidat substantiae. Quidquid ibi intelligi potest, substantia est.* Et alibi:[60] *Sic habetur in natura uniuscujusque trium ut qui habet, hoc sit quod habet,* excepto quod personam habet nec tamen est illa quam habet.

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[52] Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1297C.

[53] *Ibid.*; PL 64, 1297D.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Ibid.*; PL 64, 1298A.

[56] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, 6; ed. Peiper, p. 162.

[57] Gilbert, *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1298B.

[58] *Marg.* Immo videtur sumptum de Homilia XVI super illud Job XXIV in primo: *Ab omnipotente non sunt abscondita tempora.* Deus hoc est quod habet (Gregory, *Moral.* XVI, 54; PL 75, 1147B). Et ab Isidoro libro VII Etymologiarum, ut supra dictum est.

[59] *De Fide et symbolo*, 9, 20; PL 40, 193. *Sent.* I, 8, 8; *ed. cit.*, p. 64.

[60] *De Trinitate* XV, 16, 28; PL 42, 1080.

R.—Non attendendum quo sensu praeter significationem verborum verba accipienda sint. Sensus enim est: *In Dei substantia,* i.e., in Deo qui est substantia, ut intransitive intelligatur (ut creatura salis, i.e., creatura quae est sal), *nihil est quod non sit substantia,* i.e., nihil est esse Dei quod non sit substantia. Quasi: Ne attendas quod aliquid accidat Deo, quod sit ejus substantia ut paternitas, filiatio vel processio, quod ab aliquo minus docto credi possit. Et quod ita Augustinus intellexerit evidenter ostendit dicens: *Quidquid ibi intelligi potest, substantia est,* i.e., quidquid ibi intelligi potest esse rei, substantia est. Quod evidentius exponens ait: *Sic habetur in natura* etc. Ergo auctoritas, inducta per te, est contra te qua intendis probare quod proprietas personae sit persona.

E.—Ad placitum exponis, non meum sed tuum. Sed contra te auctoritas plane dicit: *In personis proprietas, in essentia unitas et in majestate adoretur aequalitas.*[61] Et alia auctoritas, Hieronymus: *Non solum nomina, sed nominum proprietates, i.e., personas, confitemur.*[62]

R.—Bene opponis, putans easdem esse proprietates nominum et personarum. Sed non est ita. Nominum proprietates sunt res eis significatae. Unde proprium est nominum significare substantiam cum qualitate. Proprietates igitur nominum in Trinitate sunt significationes eorum, scilicet substantiae et qualitates: *Substantiae* personae sunt in Trinitate, *qualitates* sunt relationes quibus personae inter se referuntur ut paternitas Patris, qua refertur ad Filium. Contra ergo Sabellii haeresim Hieronymus loquens ait: *Sabellii haeresim declinantes tres personas expressas sub proprietate distinguimus. Non enim nomina tantum sed nominum proprietates, i.e., personas confitemur.* Asserebat enim Sabellius synonyma esse hujusmodi nomina Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus ut mucro, ensis, gladius. Et ideo dicebat: quidquid Patri conveniebat et Filio et Spiritui sancto. Contra quam haeresim loquebatur Hieronymus negans nominum synonymiam, quam Sabellius abstruebat. <233^{va}> Et ita nominum proprietates, i.e., diversas significationes vocat. Aliud enim significat hoc nomen 'Pater', aliud hoc nomen 'Filius', aliud 'Spiritus sanctus', quod non accidit in nominibus synonymis quia, quod mucro, hoc gladius, idem ensis significat.[63]

E.—Audio quod dicis. Sed de auctoritate Hilarii quid sentis, hac scilicet: *Nativitas Filii nihil esse potest nisi natura unde nascitur Filius.*[64]

R.—Ut videtur, non admittis in theologia tropos rhetorum, cum plena sit tropis, quos Augustinus in libro *De Doctrina christiana*[65] non excludit. In auctoritate Hilarii est tropus, i.e., color qui dicitur circuitio attribuens proprietati ipsius rei, quod est proprium ipsi rei. Ut quod proprium fuit Scipionis, attribuit Tullius providentiae Scipionis ut *Providentia Scipionis opes Carthaginis fregit* pro Scipio et Carthago. Similiter Apostolus[66] ait: *Apparuit benignitas Dei et Salvatoris nostri* etc., i.e, Deus et Salvator benignus. Et hoc fit saepe, cum praedicamentum redditur causae. Nam quia providentia Scipionis causa fuit deletionis Carthaginis, attribuitur providentiae quod providi fuit et benignitati quod benigni. Similiter et Hilarius hoc tropo est usus dicens: *Nativitas Filii nihil potest esse,* etc., i.e., natus Filius nihil potest esse nisi natura unde nascitur Filius, i.e., illius naturae, cujus est ille, unde nascitur Filius.

Et attende quod nomen mathematicum saepe ponitur in designatione sumpti, ut praemissum est.[67] Unde non mireris si etiam inveneris 'paternitas', hoc nomen positum pro hoc nomine 'Pater' ut in cotidiano usu scribentes patri spirituali dicimus: Paternitatem tuam deprecamur, i.e., te patrem. Unde cum in quadam praefatione in Missa canatur: *In personis proprietas, in essentia unitas adoretur,* non est verum quod proprietas personarum adoretur, quia nulla est proprietas earum. Nec in essentia est unitas sed in uno. Et est sensus: tres personae proprietatibus distinctae, unum tamen in essentia,[68] i.e., unius essentiae, adorantur. Igitur sit tibi satisfactum de quaestione circa proprietates personarum habita.

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[61] Praefatio in festo Trinitatis. Cf. *Sent.* I, 33, 1; ed. Quaracchi, p. 207.

[62] *Fides Pelagii;* ed. A. Hahn, *Bibl. der Symbole* (Breslau, 1897), p. 289.

[63] Cf. *Ep. ad Everardum* (fol. 240^{vb}).

[64] *De Trinitate* VII, 21; PL 10, 216. *Sent.* I, 33, 1; *ed. cit.,* p. 208.

[65] *De Doctrina christ.* III, 29, 40; PL 34, 80.

[66] *Tit.* iii, 4. Cicero, *Ad Herennium IV,* 32, 43.

[67] Cf. Alan of Lille, *Reg. theol.* XXX; PL 210, 636A.

E.—Utcumque procede ad explanationem principalis propositi.

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R.—Omnium summorum concordat in hoc sententia theologorum quod omnia, quae de Deo dicuntur per figuram, ut testatur Isidorus in VII libro,[1] ei accommodantur per translationem, non secundum substantiae proprietatem. Unde et hoc nomen 'Deus', de quo minus videtur, non proprie sed translative ei convenit. Nam *Graece Deus theos dicitur, i.e., timor, quod eum colentibus sit timor.*[2] Igitur cum Deus proprie sit ineffabilis, verius Deus etiam Deus esse negatur quam affirmetur, si nominis proprietas attendatur. Ergo et jure deitas esse negabitur. Item, cum solus Deus sit vere simplex, propter omnimodam simplicitatem suam ei nihil inesse potest. Igitur cum nulla proprietas vel forma sit in Deo, non potest ab aliqua forma aliquod nomen sibi imponi proprie. Nam quia forma in eo non est, intellectu pleno capi non potest quia, quidquid intelligitur, forma mediante, intellectu concipitur. Unde dicitur Deus incomprehensibilis, ideoque menti invisibilis. Unde auctoritas: *Invisibili soli Deo.*[3] Unde Chalcidius de hyle loquens in *Commento super Platonem*[4] ait: *Sicut tenebrae videntur non videndo et silentium auditur non audiendo, sic hyle,* i.e., primordialis materia intelligitur non intelligendo, quippe omni forma caret.

Eodem modo, omni forma cum Deus careat, de eodem idem vere dici potest. Igitur Deus nec justitia nec sapientia nec essentia, quae in ipso sit, intelligi potest. Igitur nec convenienter ipse dicitur sapientia vel essentia, quae in eo sit. Hoc idem manifeste declarat divinus et summus in *Hierarchia* Dionysius[5] sic dicens: *Affirmationes in divinis incompactae, negationes verae.* Cum enim dicitur 'Petrus est homo', id de quo est sermo Petrus est, cujus humanitas <233^{vb}> sua ostenditur inesse secundum praemissam de significationibus omnibus doctrinam. Itaque ostenditur ibi componi sua humanitas Petro mediante verbo substantivo. Unde ibi est compositio formae ad subjectum, ideoque compago. Est igitur illa affirmatio compacta, quia formam praedicati ostendit et affirmat compingi rei termini subjecti; et negatio ejus incompacta, scilicet 'Petrus non est homo', quia disjungi ostenditur sua humanitas a Petro. Et falsa est negatio. Sed cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus', 'Deus est justus', 'Deus est magnus', his propositionibus secundum rei veritatem non ostenditur vere componi aliqua forma Deo, scilicet vel deitas vel justitia vel magnitudo, cum nulla istarum insit ei. Nec ideo sic dicitur, ut aliqua praemissarum formarum Deo inhaerere affirmetur sed ut manifestetur causa dicti, hujus scilicet 'Deus est Deus', i.e., causa timoris hominibus. Vel secundum alios Deus interpretatur 'videns'.[6] Est videns, i.e. causa videndi. Est justus, i.e. causa justitiae. Est magnus, i.e., causa magnitudinis. Igitur his propositionibus non ostenditur veri nominis compositio formae ad subjectum, quia ubicumque compositio, ibi compositorum et ita plurium coadunatio, immo compago, *circa* quam *compositionem,* ut ait Aristoteles,[7] *veritas falsitasque consistit.*

Ergo praemissae *affirmationes incompactae* sunt, i.e., componentes sunt formam ad subjectum, ut aliud sit ibi suppositum, aliud appositum, quod componatur supposito mediante verbo substantivo. Itaque *negationes verae.* Verius, immo veracissime secundum proprietatem dicendi, sed non existendi, 'Deus non est Deus, Deus non est justus, non est magnus', dicitur. Eodem modo 'Deus non est deitas, non est justitia, non est magnitudo' et ita 'Deus non est essentia', igitur multo minus 'sua essentia'. Cum enim 'suum' sit pronomen possessivum, aliquid significat ut possessorem in hac locutione positum, aliquid ut possessionem. Igitur aut ibi diversitas possessoris et possessionis vere notatur aut falso aut figurative. Si *vere,* igitur aliud est ibi Deus designatus ut possessor, aliud essentia sua. Si *falso* vel *figurate,* utroque excluso, rectius vere negatur: Deus est essentia sua, quam falso vel figurative affirmetur. Igitur potius negandum Deum esse essentiam suam vel misericordiam suam quam affirmandum, cum nugatio videatur implicita. Implicatur enim quod, cum sit essentia, sit sua, cum non habeat essentiam vel misericordiam in se. Nam Gregorius in *Moralibus* et Hylarius et Boethius id plane et plene affirmant. Ait enim Gregorius: *Misericordia dicitur a misero corde.*[8] Unde quia Deus non habet miserum cor, Deus non habet misericordiam. Igitur non est misericors. Igitur multo minus est misericordia. Item, Hilarius dicit: *Deus non habet divinitatem.*[9] Habitus enim nonnisi ex compositione est. Igitur ubi non est compositio, nec alterum habetur ab altero. Unde etiam in mathematicis habitum quodammodo conformamus disciplinaliter, sicut dicimus, quia ibi nulla compositio est, quia non est ibi, quid cui componatur. Nam omnis forma informis est. Nec est secundam facere mathesim ut cum dicitur 'albedo est color', quia quod subjicitur nullius materia, i.e., subjectum esse potest. Forma enim est. Sed id quod praedicatur, nisi disciplinaliter dicatur effectus praedicari, nihil in rerum est natura. Ex quo igitur *Deus non habet divinitatem,* igitur nec deitatem, igitur nec essentiam. Igitur ejus non est essentia. Nec est ergo essentia.

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[68] Cf. *Ep. ad Everardum* (fol. 241^{rb}).

[1] *Etymolog.* VII, i, 35.

[2] *Etymolog.* VII, i, 5.

[3] *I Tim.* i, 17.

[4] Cf. Chalcidius, *In Timaeum Platonis* CCCXVIII; ed. Mullach (Paris, 1867), p. 255.

[5] *Cael. Hier.*, 2; PL 122, 1041C. Alan of Lille, *Reg. theol.* XVIII; PL 210, 630A.

[6] Scottus Erigena, *De Divisione naturae* I, 12 and 14; PL 122, 452C and 460A.

[7] *De Interpret.* I; PL 64, 414C.

Item, subtiliter disquiratur verbum Boethii contra haereticos, Nestorium scilicet et Eutychen, disputantis. Ait enim, sicut praemissum est, *in theologicis intellectualiter versari oportebit.*[10] Actionis duae sunt species, ratio et intellectus, ut idem nomen sit generale et speciale. *Intellectus* vero deseruit theologiae, per quem divinas <234ra> et incorporeas substantias contemplatur. Physicae vero deseruit *ratio,* per quam ex sensibilibus formis praecognitis insensibiles formas et occultas percipimus. Unde dictum est: *in naturalibus rationaliter, in theologicis intellectualiter, in mathematicis disciplinaliter versari oportet.*[11] Haec sunt verba m(agistri) Bar. in Glossis super Johannitium de auctoritate Boethii.[12]

Intellectus tamen pro ratione et ratio pro intellectu ponitur, quia nec sensibus nec imaginationibus praeeuntibus excitatur ibi intellectus ad aliquid concipiendum sicut in naturali speculatione ostensum est. Nec propter disciplinam constituendam cogitatur conformativa speculatione abstractio, sed intellectualiter, i.e., veritate intelligendi percipiuntur ea quae vere abstracta sunt ab his, quorum sunt, ut ideae et divina essentia. Quae quidem vere de eis, quorum est essentia, i.e., de Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto praedicatur singularis, scilicet de tribus, ut in eis est. Nec mirum, scilicet aliam esse rationem praedicandi ipsam quam aliquam illarum subsistentiarum quae sunt in eis quorum sunt. In naturalibus enim ratio praedicandi assignanda est, quod una et eadem singularis existentia vel subsistentia in pluribus esse non potest. Et ideo de numero diversis non potest praedicari. Quidquid enim singulari inest, singulare est. Ubi autem subsistentia talis est, quod non inest, sed actu, non disciplinaliter, abstracta est, nihil prohibet unam singularem de pluribus praedicari.[13]

Sic ergo patet quod catholici vera theologorum ratione proprie concludunt

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[8] Gregory, *Moral.* XX, xxxii, 63; PL 76, 175B.

[9] Cf. *De Trinitate* VIII, 43; PL 10, 269.

[10] *De Trinitate,* 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152. The work does not deal with Nestorius and Eutyches.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Johannitius is known as the author of the *Isagoge in artem parvam Galeni.* The abbrevation may stand for *magister Bartholomaeus* who taught at the medical school of Salerno and corresponded with Peter the Venerable (d. 1156).

[13] Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1262AB.

Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum singularitate essentiae esse unum Deum. Quod autem divinitas vere abstracta sit, inde patet quod non habet cui insit. Deus enim non potest ei esse subjecta materia, i.e. subjectum. Ideo ait, ut praemissum est, Hilarius: *Deus non habet divinitatem.* Cum ea ipse sit, non est ipse divinitas. Item, si divinitas est Deus, igitur Pater et Filius vel Spiritus sanctus vel uterque duum vel quilibet trium. At si Pater est, ipsa generans est; si Filius est, genita est. Igitur quae generat, gignitur. Quod Sabellianam sapit haeresim.[14] Qui Sabellius, cum unam eandemque *substantiam individuam rationalis naturae* esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum assereret, inde conclusit unam personam esse Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, locum ad descriptionem sumendo. Qui ergo antecedens admittunt, videant qua ratione consequens negant, licet in antecedentis assertione omnium opinio concordet, exceptis paucis quos Jupiter aequus amavit.[15]

E.—Negas tu unum Deum esse sanctam Trinitatem qui negas unam personam esse Trinitatem?

R.—Quid dem? Quidve negem? Vel quare postea nosces? Hilarius vero, vir magnae auctoritatis, audet et dicit quod *sicut aliud est quod homo et aliud quod hominis, et aliud ignis et quod ignis, ita aliud est Deus et quod Dei.*[16] Unde in eodem capitulo loquens haeretico ait: *Dividendum est, haeretice, inter naturam et rem naturae,*[17] naturam divinitatem appellans, rem vero naturae ipsam personam.[18] Quae verba intellectu sunt difficilia et interpretatione sunt laboriosa, nisi sic accipiantur sicut sonant. Sunt igitur recipienda vel abjicienda vel interpretanda. Si recipiantur, igitur plane Deus non est deitas. Si abjiciantur, qua fronte tantae fidei propugnator et patronus non recipietur? Si interpretatione indigent, interpretare!

E.—Placet quod dicis. Si quid tamen adhuc habes rationis ad idem probandum, adducas.

R.—Videamus igitur et disquiramus significationem hujus nominis 'Deus' et hujus nominis 'deitas', et utrum Deo conveniant ut propria vel non, et utrum sint synonyma vel non. Quod propria non sint, per hoc probatur quod tribus personis conveniant univoce. Item, Augustinus dicit, quod Deus proprium nomen non habet, in libro *De Doctrina christiana*:[19] *Deus ineffabile est de quo nihil dignum dici potest.* <234^{rb}> *Admisit tamen humanae vocis obsequium et verbis nostris in laude sua gaudere nos voluit.* Et hoc ideo quia Boethius[20] ait, ejus quod est esse nullum est esse, his verbis: *Ipsum esse nullo modo aliquo participat.* Et hoc tam in naturalibus quam theologicis verum est. Nam nulla subsistentia habet aliquid in se quo possit esse ut forma specialis vel generalis ut humanitas vel animalitas.[21] Item, Deus, cum ipse sit subsistentia omnium, i.e., non participat aliquo ut sit vel qualis vel quantus, quia nihil habet in se quo sit. Igitur cum nomen detur ex forma, nullo modo potest habere proprium nomen. Itaque nec 'Deus' nec 'deitas' est proprium nomen Dei, licet videatur quod hoc nomen 'Deus' a 'deitate' impositum sit.

E.—Cum una sit deitas, quae est essentia trium, nonne potest nomen commune illis tribus ab illa forma communi imponi? Et ita videtur quod Deo possit aptari nomen sicut alii rei, licet non proprium. Sed et secundum rationem, cum cuilibet personae aliquid convenit quod non alii, videtur ex propria qualitate ejus sibi proprium nomen imponi posse.

R.—*Si hoc dixero, mors mihi est. Si autem illud, non effugiam manus tuas.*[22]

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[14] Cf. *Ep. ad Everardum* (fol. 241^{rb}).

[15] This seems to be an objection to the use of the Boethian definition in the doctrine on the trinitarian Persons.

[16] Cf. *De Trinitate* VIII, 22; PL 10, 252C. *Sent.* I, 34, 1; ed. Quaracchi, p. 213.

[17] Cf. *De Trinitate* VIII, 26; PL 10, 255B.

[18] According to Otto of Freising (*Gesta Friderici* I, 50; MGH SS XX, 379), Pope Eugene III censured this distinction.

[19] *De Doctrina christ.* I, 6, 6; PL 34, 21.

[20] *De Hebdomadibus*; ed. Peiper, p. 169.

[21] Cf. Gilbert, *De Hebdomadibus;* PL 64, 1319A.

[22] Cf. *Dan.* xiii, 22.

E.—Displicet tibi, si disputationes meas expediri petiero. Cui loqueris? Vis vendere vesicam pro laterna? Solve quaesitum. Aliter infectum erit quidquid rebaris a te perfectum.

R.—Nunc scio quod non est hic *hospes ab hospite tutus.*[23] Cedo. Vim facis mihi. Unde competit mihi adversum te actio unde vi. Quid rides?

E.—Rideo de cautela Graecorum.

R.—Qua?

E.—Vis ut tecum disputem de jure, in quo peritus es, ut sic possis solutionem quaestionis propositae cautius declinare, quam vel ignoras vel mihi invides. Ideoque dixisti tibi competere adversum me, quae minime tibi competeret.

R.—Proba.

E.—Libenter. Recuperandae possessionis gratia alicui dejecto de fundi vel aedium possessione: unde vi interdictum proponitur per quod[24] idem, qui dejecit, possessionem cum sua causa, i.e., utilitate, restituere dejecto cogitur. Sed tu dejectus a me ab hujusmodi possessione non es. Igitur praedictum non competit tibi adversum me interdictum.

R.—Diciturne scientia nobis possessio quae, quando in habitum est versa, 'fundi' nomine censetur quam vi, i.e., tua importunitate, a me extorsisti et ita me quodammodo a fundi possessione dejecisti? Igitur revera competit mihi adversum te praemissum interdictum.

E.—Scienter transgrederis, sensum tuum praeter solitum verbis legalibus ingerens. Quid rides? Flendum tibi nunc potius esset tua falsitate detecta.

R.—Rideo quia dixisti meam te cautelam novisse nec tamen potuisse cavere. Adeo paratus es disputationi: in hoc comparabilis cani venaticio nimis avido, ne dicam minus sagaci, qui insequens aprum occasione oblatum sibi venatur leporem.

E.—*Quo teneo nodo mutantem Protea vultus?*[25] Solve igitur praemissam quaestionem, omissa incidenti de jure.

R.—Tenes memoriter Deum mente incomprehensibilem et ejusdem essentiam minime intelligibilem? Vis igitur nomen imponere illi rei, quam mente non comprehendis, a forma quam non intelligis.

E.—Quidni? Nonne chimaerae vel hircocervo nomen impono, quae natura esse non permittit?

R.—Tamen ea fingendo in mente compingis. Itaque, licet falso, illa animo comprehendis et comprehensis mente nomen a ficta proprietate imponis. Compinge animo si potes aliquid quod caret principio et fine, a quo quodlibet est creatum. Quo nomine appellabis illud? 'Ineffabile' est nominari et ideo nec fari potest.

E.—Non est omnino ineffabile quod vel sic dicitur, scilicet 'ineffabile'. Item, cotidie loquimur de eo et in quaestione propositum habemus, utrum sit sua sapientia et deitas. Et de eo verum et falsum dicimus. Igitur mirandum <234va> est quod eum nominibus significare non possumus. Dicit enim Isidorus: *Decem nomina ponimus, quibus apud Hebraeos dicitur Deus. Primum Dei nomen El dicitur.*[26]

R.—Isidorus bene dicit. Nec nos negamus. Sed nomina illa Deo attribuuntur ex causis potius efficiendi quam ex proprietatibus quae Deo insunt. Unde expositio, ut idem auctor ait, satis indicat quid velint intelligi. Quod autem ita sit, ut dixi, audi nostrum Dionysium Areopagitam[27] ea quae de Deo dixi eleganter ostendentem. Ait enim: *Aliquando dissimilibus manifestationibus ab ipsis eloquiis supermundane laudatur divina natura infinita, invisibilis, incomprehensibilis, ex quibus non quid est sed quid non est significatur. Hoc enim, ut aestimo, potentius*

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[23] Ovid, *Met.* I, 144.

[24] *Ms* quos.

[25] Horace, *Ep.* I, 1, 90.

[26] *Etymolog.* VII, i, 2.

[27] *Cael. Hier.*, 2; PL 122, 1041BC.

est in ipso, ex quo non quid est sed quid non est significatur, et expressum in ipsa potius, i.e., efficacius, et magis proprium Dei natura. Quoniam qui dicit quod non est, dicit quod aliquo modo de Deo potest intelligi. Qui autem dicit de eo quod est, dicit quod nullo modo potest comprehendi. Igitur potentius est et excellentius quantum ad veritatis expressionem dicere quod non est Deus quam quod est. *Ignoramus enim superessentialem ipsius et et invisibilem et ineffabilem infinalitatem.*[28] Quod enim infinitum est, ab humana scientia aestimari non potest. Quod quia ineffabile est, non dicitur. Et quia invisibile est, non cognoscitur. Et quia superessentiale est, non comprehenditur.

De Deo igitur mens humana aliquid capere potest, ipsum non potest. Nec idcirco tamen falsum aestimandum est quod de ipso dicitur, quoniam de ipso tantum est et non ipse quod dicitur. Neque vanum quod de ipso cogitatur, quoniam de ipso est et non ipse est hoc quod cogitatur, quoniam verum dicitur et veritas cogitatur, quae sic ducit ad ipsum, quamvis sublimius et excellentius consistat in ipso.

E.—Licet satis dilucidasse videris obscuritatem Dionysii, movet me quiddam a te dictum, scilicet Deum non posse dici, non posse menti alicujus intimari. Quomodo praedicatur ergo et creditur? Et quomodo se filiis Israel voluit innotesci per hoc quod ait Moysi: *Dic filiis Israel, Qui est, misit me ad vos?*[29]

R.—Hoc mecum facit quod dicis. Nam infinitus sic, i.e., infinite et confuse quoquo modo, immo nullo modo, innotescere voluit per verbum essentiale et infinitum, cui soli convenit esse.

E.—Adhuc unum verbum addam inquirendo.

R.—Hoc *verbum sesquipedale* erit.[30] Sicque facis ut ad propositum finem pervenire non possim. Dic ergo citius quod intendis, quia vespertina synaxis completa et nondum vesperas dixisti et in instanti est, ut vocet te campana ad cenam. Plus autem vacas inquirendi studio quam vesperarum officio. Dic ergo breviter.

E.—Dicam breviter, et utinam solvas leviter. *Nonum* nomen, ut ait Isidorus,[31] Dei est *tetragrammaton, i.e., quattuor litterarum quod proprie apud Hebraeos in Deo ponitur: jot, he, jot, he, duabos ja, quae duplicata ineffabile illud et gloriosum nomen Dei efficiunt.* Hic habes quod nomen hoc proprium in Deo proprie ponitur. Igitur ipsum est proprium nomen Dei. Igitur potest proprio Deus nomine significari. Quod negasti.

R.—Multum te angit tuus defectus, scilicet probandi quod incepisti, Deum scilicet proprio nomine posse designari. Sed prosequere inceptam auctoritatem et habebis propositam quaestionis solutionem.

E.—At tu prosequere. Et, si potes, solve.

R.—Sequitur ergo in praemissa auctoritate, si bene memini, hoc: *Dicitur* hoc nomen *'ineffabile', non quia fari non potest, sed quia finiri sensu et intellectu humano non potest,* i.e., id ad quod significandum est assumptum neque sensu capi neque intellectu definiri potest. Ergo ex quo intellectu capi non potest <234^{vb}> significatio ejus, non est hoc nomen signum rei, quam menti alicujus significet. Igitur illud nomen intellectum alicujus rei non constituit. Igitur a proprietate nominum cadit, quae ideo sunt inventa, ut intellectum de rebus constituant. Unde Aristoteles:[32] *Nomen est pars orationis significativa ad placitum.* Et alibi: *Voces sunt notae passionum, i.e., affectionum quae sunt in anima.* Cum igitur haec vox quae dicitur 'tetragrammaton' non est nota alicujus conceptus mentis, non est proprium nomen Dei vel alterius. Unde etiam auctoritas bene adjungit: *quia de Deo,* i.e., de Deo cujus nomen esse asseritur, *nihil digni dici potest, ineffabile est,*[33] non nominans sed nominatum. Nam non reperitur forma, quae digne possit de eo praedicari. Igitur a forma aliqua sibi non potest nomen proprium vel appellativum digne coaptari. Unde etiam gentilis philosophus ait, scilicet Plato:[34] *Quem tam difficile est invenire quam inventum digne profari.*

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[28] *Ibid.*; PL 122, 1041C.
[29] *Ex.* iii, 4.
[30] Horace, *Ars poetica*, 97.
[31] *Etymolog.* VII, i, 16.
[32] *De Interpret.* I and II; PL 64, 301C and 405A.
[33] *Etymolog.* VII, i, 16.

E.—Revera nunc primo mihi satisfecisti. Sed repete quod proposueras de his duobus nominibus 'Deus', 'deitas'. Probatum vero teneo quod neutrum est proprium nomen Dei.

R.—Nec sunt, ut vero Deo conveniant, appellativa. Ad hoc notandum, quod a naturali facultate sunt translata nomina ad theologiam. In qua translatione ipsum nomen cadit a forma a qua est impositum.[35] Igitur cum dicitur 'Petrus est justus', 'Deus est justus', 'justus', hoc nomen, aliud in prima propositione significat, aliud in secunda. In prima enim significat justitiam creatam attribui Petro; in secunda significat justitiam creatricem Petrum justificantem dici de Deo. Notandum autem quod translatio nominum fit ad Deum vel causaliter vel imaginarie vel adjunctive vel negative. Causaliter ut 'justus' quia justificat; similitudinarie ut Filius 'splendor'; adjunctive ut 'irasci' propter poenam quae irae consequens solet esse, ut Claudianus in libro *de Anima*[36] ponit: *Deus dicitur irasci, non passionis affectu, sed consequentis effectu*; negative 'ut Deus induravit cor Pharaonis', non impertiendo malitiam, sed subtrahendo gratiam. Igitur in divinis translatio nominis fit tantum.[37] Sed retinet illum modum significandi quem habuit in naturalibus. In naturalibus enim hoc nomen 'Deus', quod impositum fuit homini ut Jovi, Herculi et Mercurio ex quadam forma quae dicebatur 'deitas' propter admirabilem potentiam, quam prae aliis hominibus exercere videbantur, qua hominum sibi comparabant reverentiam. Nam Ninus patri suo Belo dicitur primus erexisse statuam quam adorabant rudes. Unde a quibusdam dicebatur Baal, ab aliis Bel.

Itaque hoc nomen 'Deus' a prima institutione est concretivum, cujus mathematicum est hoc nomen 'deitas'. Sed translatum ad Creatorem, imaginarie non proprie significat concretionem quia, ut praemissum est, in Deo nullius formae concretio est. Ergo nec intellectu ab eo potest fieri mathematica abstractio. Fit tamen imaginarie. Unde dicitur imaginarie deitas esse in Deo quia, ut ait Boethius,[38] *omne simplex esse suum et id quod est unum habet.*

E.—Si esse suum et id quod est unum habet, igitur aliquid est ejus esse. Sed omne simplex est esse. Igitur ejus, quod est esse, aliquid est esse.

R.—Audi qualiter intelligendum quod sic dicunt. *In solis theologicis exemplari potest* haec regula. *Omnia naturalia non modo creata sed etiam concreta sunt* composita. *Mathematica vero, etsi nec re nec proportione dicuntur habere quo sint vel aliquid sint, aliqua tamen eorum ex suae rationis partibus constant ut illa, quae ex communibus tam innatis quam extrinsecus affixis colligitur, primarum substantiarum plena proprietas et ea subsistentia specialis, quae ex generibus et eorum potentiis constat. Horum quaecumque et omnium aliorum quae, quoniam hujusmodi partes non habent, simplicia vocantur,*[39] *effectus est* <235ra> *multiplex. Deus vero, ut saepius est praemissum, omnino simplex est. Nam quoniam non habemus ibi cognatos, quibus de ipso loquamur, sermones, a naturalibus ad ipsum verba transumimus dicentes 'in Deo est essentia, qua ipse est, et potentia, qua potens est, et sapientia, qua sapiens est' et hujusmodi. Nec tamen cogitamus ab essentia, qua illum esse praedicamus, potentiam aut sapientiam ejus, quibus quasi aliquid eum dicimus de quo omnino nec scimus nec scire*

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[34] Plato, *Timaeus* (Chalcidio interprete). Cf. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* VII, 5; ed. Cl. Webb I (Oxford, 1909), p. 109.

[35] Cf. Alan of Lille, *Reg. theol.* XVII; PL 10, 633B.

[36] Cf. Claudianus, *De Statu animae* I, 3; CSEL 11, 26. See also Alan of Lille, *Reg. theol.* XXI: PL 210, 613B: Claudianus in libro *De Anima*: Dicitur Deus poenitere, non passionis affectu sed consequentis effectu. Negative autem dicitur Deus subtrahere gratiam vel indurare aliquem. . . Unde auctoritas dicit Deum indurare cor Pharaonis, non impertiendo malitiam sed non apponendo gratiam.

[37] Cf. Alan of Lille, *Reg. theol.* XXVI: PL 210, 633B.

[38] *De Hebdomadibus*; ed. Peiper, p. 169.

[39] *Ms* simplicium (instead of the original simplicia vocantur).

possumus quid sit, ulla ratione diversas. Et tanta in illo est sub hac horum nominum diversitate, non dico rerum unio, sed rei singularis et simplicis et individuae unitas, ut de eo vere dicatur non modo 'Deus est, Deus est potens, Deus est sapiens' verum etiam 'Deus est ipsa essentia, Deus est ipsa potentia, Deus est ipsa sapientia' et hujusmodi. Ipse enim solus, quidquid est juxta hujusmodi nominum diversitatem et unius muneris ejus quod est Spiritus sanctus usu diverso nostro, vere est in eo quod est et ipsum quod est.[40]

E.—Sicut ignorans Caiphas prophetavit, ita et tu.

R.—Quomodo?

E.—Probare proposueras 'Deus non est essentia'. Et ignoranter contrarium probasti.

R.—Tibi videtur. Sed transeunter animadvertisti quod dixi.

E.—Immo diligenter. Dixeras enim in primo: imaginarie deitas dicitur esse in Deo. Postea intulisti: vere dicitur non modo 'Deus est' verum 'Deus est essentia' et ita deitas. Itaque vere dicitur esse in Deo. Dic ergo quomodo Deus vere dicitur esse essentia etc., et imaginarie.

R.—Ante pererratis amborum finibus exul aut Araxim[41] Parthus videt aut Germania Tigrim, quam tibi sufficere possit responsio plena vel plana. Tamen accipe. Dicitur vere de Deo quod sit essentia propter singularem suam simplicitatem. Haec est causa dicendi. Sed imaginarie dicitur esse essentia in Deo, scilicet ad similitudinem naturalium ut essentia dicitur esse in Petro, licet non ita essentia in Deo. Est ergo veritas in dicendo propter causae assignationem, non propter essendi proprietatem; similitudo in essendi ostensione propter naturalium similitudinem. Nam cum Petrus dicitur esse sapiens et Deus sapiens, utraque propositio vera est. Ergo vere dicitur utrumque. Sed Petrus usu muneris Dei quod est Spiritus sanctus sapiens est, i.e., dono Dei, sapientia, in Petro effectum habente sapiens est. Sed Deus non sic. Sed idcirco dicitur esse sapiens quia sapere facit Petrum, cui confert sapientiam, non quia in se ut Petrus habet sapientiam, quae ipsum faciat sapientem.

Redditur ergo praedicamentum causae, cum dicitur 'Deus est sapiens'.[42] Sed redditur praedicamentum inhaerentiae cum dicitur 'Petrus est sapiens'. Habe simile. Dicitur stella clara, dicitur albedo clara. Stella dicitur clara habens in se claritatem; albedo clara, i.e., causa claritatis. Dicitur etiam linea longa et lineatum longum: sed linea causaliter est longa quia causa est longitudinis. Sed lineatum vere est longum quia in se effectum et participium habet longitudinis. Utrobique est veritas et similitudo dicendi, sed dissimilitudo existendi.

E.—Quid est ergo 'solus Deus vere est, sed Petrus vere est et Deus causaliter est'?

R.—Hoc est quod dixi. Impossibile est tibi satisfieri. Ecce compana prandii vocat te. De cetero autem tibi me aliquid soluturum ne expectes. Surgamus et abeamus.

E.—Cras redi.

R.—Amplius non redibo. Vale. Recedo.

E.—Nunc scio quod impatiens es ire. Haec consuetudo doctorum: quando quaestionibus artantur, impotentes solvere rationis responsione, solvunt, immo effugiunt, irae et indignationis ostensione. At contra qui peritus est in solutione, gaudet oblata sibi solvendi opportunitate, et hoc ideo quia in contradictione exercetur sapientia. <235^{rb}>.

* * *

His inter me et amicum meum actis, adest nunc nuntius significans magnae auctoritatis praelatum adesse. Fratres igitur de hospitio, dira novitate perculsi, festinant piscatoribus auditum sed dirum insinuare rumorem. Capiuntur pisces parvi et magni. Sed inter eos capi voluit piscis authenticus tantae auctoritatis ventre dignus. Vivus est aspectui tanti patris et pastui oblatus, ut prius delectaretur oculus et sic suavior excitaretur appetitus sicque devotior praepararetur admirabili lucio ventris tumulus, non sine aromatum mixtura tumulando. Adfuit forte noster Ratius et attendens diligentiam praelati diligenter piscem attendentis et sollerter inquirentis, utrum potius frustra secaretur an integer elixaretur aut certe condimento aromatum ventri ejus incluso assaretur. At domestici sui ipsum incathedratum circumstantes diversi diversa sentiunt. Quaestiones propositas sollerter solvunt et caventes, ne a sententia domini sui in aliquo dissentiant. Tunc Ratius, visu et auditu recreatus, ait mihi: "Everarde, Everarde. Hae quaestiones circa lucium, immo de lucio, propositae tuae quaestioni sunt dissimiles qua quaerebes: qua ratione diceretur Deus solus vere esse et Deus causaliter esse et Petrus vere esse."

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[40] Gilbert, *De Hebdomadibus*; PL 64, 1320BD.

[41] *Ms* Axarim.

[42] *Ms* cum dicitur 'est sapiens'.

E.—O discretissime, quantum studium tuum semper diversum fuit a studio praelati, cujus animus intentus est patinis, immo semper est in patinis, tuus semper in disciplinis. Suus quaerit quid bene sapiat palato corporis, tuus quid bene sapiat palato mentis. Hac igitur curiositate omissa gulae, sis curiosus circa solutionem quaestionis theologicae nunc ad memoriam tibi reductae.

R.—Si satiari posset tuus animus, facerem quod hortaris.

E.—Cibus, bone Rati, quem mihi apponis, talis est qui edentem reddit adhuc esurientem. Et potus, quem propinas, bibentem reddit magis adhuc sitientem. Igitur non gravet te, si esuriens quaerat avide sibi cibum et sitiens potum.

R.—Instantia improbitatis tuae vincit me quia, ut tuus ait Virgilius, *labor improbus omnia vincit.*[1] Nota ergo quod solus Deus vere esse dicitur, quia solus immutabilem sortitur essentiam. Et tamen alia de causa causaliter dicitur esse, quia ipse solus suprema causa est omnium entium. Petrus esse dicitur vere quia essentia sibi componitur vere, i.e., rationis veritate, forma substantiali ei assistente. Habes igitur qualiter intelligendum quod solus Deus vere esse dicitur et qualiter, quia causaliter, et tamen Petrus vere esse perhibetur, sed aliter quam Deus.

E.—Crede mihi. *Numquam sic homo locutus est.*[2] Intelligis tamen quod sicut dicitur 'solus Deus bonus est et tamen Petrus' sic intelligendum est 'solus Deus vere est et tamen Petrus'?

R.—Sic.

E.—Regredere igitur ad principale.

R.—Tot sunt interposita, quod vix principale recolere potest memoria. Recolo dictum superius quod hoc nomen 'Deus' in naturali facultate a prima institutione est concretivum et hoc nomen 'deitas' mathematicum. Utrumque igitur, translatum ad theologiam, cadit a sua significatione prima. Nam cum in Deo non sit vera concretio, nec ibi vera est formae abstractio. Sed cum hoc nomen 'Deus' rem, de qua est sermo, significet pro substantia, i.e., pro persona, et deitatem pro qualitate, i.e., essentiam, et hoc nomen 'deitas' deitatem significat pro substantia et effectum ejus pro qualitate. At, sicut praemissum est, nomen ex duplici significatione duplex sortitur officium, scilicet supponendi et apponendi, et duplicem in propositione locum, scilicet ut sit subjectus terminus et praedicatus. Cum ergo dicitur 'homo est homo' et 'Deus est <235va> Deus', in eo quod hoc nomen 'homo' est subjectus terminus subjicit locutioni rem, quae est homo. Et in eo quod est praedicatus terminus praedicat et apponit rem, qua est homo, i.e., humanitatem. Sic et hoc nomen 'Deus'. Sed hoc nomen 'humanitas' et hoc nomen 'deitas', cum dicitur 'humanitas est humanitas', 'deitas est deitas', utrumque, quando est subjectus terminus, subjicit locutioni qualitatem nominis hujus vel 'homo' vel 'Deus', i.e., humanitatem vel deitatem. Sed cum est praedicatus terminus, significat praedicando et apponendo effectum utriusque proprietatis. Et est sensus: 'humanitas est humanitas', i.e., res, quae est humanitas, est humanitas, i.e., facit hominem; et 'deitas est deitas', i.e., res, quae est deitas, facit Deum. Et est sensus: facit hominem esse hominem humanitas; et Deum esse Deum deitas facit.

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[1] Vergil, *Georg.* I, 146.

[2] *John* vii, 46. Cf. John of Salisbury, *Hist. Pontif.*, 10; ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), p. 22.

Nam hoc nomen 'Deus' et hoc nomen 'deitas', translata a naturali facultate ad theologiam, eundem modum retinent significandi, etsi non eandem significationem in theologia quam haberunt in naturalibus. Sicut verum est 'homo est homo', et non potest esse verum 'homo est humanitas', sic est verum 'Deus est Deus', sed non potest esse verum 'Deus est deitas'. Nam sicut homo humanitate non facit hominem esse hominem, sic Deus deitate non facit Deum esse Deum.[3] Talis enim secundum mathesim esset sensus: 'Deus est deitas', i.e., Deus facit Deum esse Deum. Quod nihil est dictu. Secundum igitur praemissam rationem relinquitur quod Deus non est deitas. Aliquando vero in scripturis sanctorum reperitur 'Deus est deitas' et 'Filius est sapientia Patris', sed et causa praemissa est et alia assignari potest causa dicti. Cum enim in naturalibus Davus dicitur ipsum *scelus*, non mirum si Deus dicatur virtus. Item, alibi in Terentio[4] dicitur: *Tu, quantus quantus es, totus sapientia es. Si*[5] *enim de aliquo, qui non modo est sapiens sed etiam coloratus et magnus et multa hujusmodi, ex sapientiae prae ceteris omnibus abundantia dicitur 'Tu, quantus quantus es, totus sapientia es', tamquam nihil aliud sit quod sibi esse conferat nisi sapientia sola, multo proprius Deus dicitur ipsa sapientia et aliis nominibus ut est 'Deus est sua divinitas, sua sapientia', cui diversa non conferunt ut sit.*

Et hoc ideo a nostro philosopho dici solet, ut esset evidens distinctio inter essentiam Dei et personam. Concretivo enim nomine hoc, scilicet 'Deus', pro supposito significatur persona, ut cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus' pro qualitate essentia, quae ibi praedicatur. Eodem modo 'Deus est Pater', 'Deus est Filius', 'Deus est Spiritus sanctus'. *Talia* enim in his propositionibus *sunt subjecta qualia praedicata admittunt.*[6] Paternitas enim et filiatio, quae ibi praedicatur, de eodem et secundum idem praedicari non possunt, ut ille sit illius Pater cujus est Filius, quod esset si Deus esset Pater Filii et ejusdem Patris idem Deus Filius esset. Cum igitur hoc nomen 'Deus' ibi positum confuse significet et ita ibi indefinitive personam subiciat, sed determinate et finite ratione propositi, licet non proponendi, ideo nomini confuso characterica adjiciuntur nomina ut dicatur 'Deus generans est Pater, Deus genitus est Filius, Deus procedens ex utroque est utriusque Spiritus sanctus'. Nec magister concessit simpliciter converti hanc: 'Trinitas est Deus', sicut nec hanc: 'quilibet trium est homo'. Ait enim ex concessione huius 'Deus est Trinitas' concludi hanc 'Deus qui est Pater est Filius'. Sed ex hac 'Deus generans est Deus qui est Pater', ergo Deus generans est Filius. Ex hoc igitur sequitur confusio personarum, quam jubet Athanasius <235^{vb}> vitare sicut divisionem substantiae. Sic enim in *Symbolo*[7] dicit: *Neque confundentes personas* ut Patripassiani *neque substantiam separantes* ut Ariani.

Sed dicunt quidam hac propositione 'Deus est Trinitas' fieri mentionem de divina essentia ut hoc nomen 'Deus' in qualitatem faciat. Et sicut ista est vera 'essentia divina est Trinitas' ita et haec 'Deus est Trinitas'. Utramque igitur magister negavit. Et haec una causarum quapropter Deus negatur esse essentia et veritas et similia: propter inconvenientia et haeresim damnatam, quae inde sequitur, si haec 'Trinitas est essentia' et ejus simplex conversa concedatur, licet apud sanctos patres hujusmodi locutiones saepe inveniantur. Sed alia est perfectio locutionis secundum syntaxim, alia secundum lexim, alia secundum resim.[8] Haec enim perfecta est secundum syntaxim, i.e., secundum grammaticam perfectionem: 'Alba chimaera sedet', sed imperfecta quia falsum implicans et affirmans secundum lexim, i.e., secundum perfectionem logicam quae attenditur secundum veritatem et falsitatem intellectus, quam non attendit perfectio grammatica quae consistit in congrua dictionum ordinatione. Sed haec: 'Alba sedet chimaera' perfecta est perfectione reseos, cujus potius est ornatum locutionis attendere quam veritatem et falsitatem. Quem ornatum ille attendit qui in ecclesia dicendam hanc praefationem instituit: *In personis proprietas, in essentia unitas, et in majestate adoretur aequalitas.*[9] Secundum lexim nihil est falsius, secundum resim nihil verius, cujus est potius attendere quid de quo dicatur propter quid quam quid de quo simpliciter.

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[3] *Ms* sic Deus deitate non facit esse Deum.

[4] Terence, *Andria*, 665; Quid ais? o scelus. Terence, *Adel.* III, 3, 40. Cf. Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Libellus*, 2; PL 185, 588B. Robert of Melun, *Sent.* I, 5, 40; ed. Martin-Gallet (Louvain, 1952), p. 243.

[5] Gilbert, *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1270A.

[6] Boethius, *De Trinitate*, 4; ed. Peiper, p. 156.

[7] Symbolum 'Quicumque'.

Item, dicunt[10] quidam, cum Deus simplex sit, cujus simplicitatem dicunt significari hoc nomine 'deitas': *Quidquid est Deus, est deitas.* Videntur itaque asserere synonymiam in hujusmodi nominibus. Quod si ita est, cum Deus sit Pater, ut concedunt, deitas generat et eodem modo, quia secundum eos est Filius, generatur. Ex hoc, ut praemissum, est Sabelliana haeresis. Omnes ergo hujusmodi locutiones recipimus, scilicet 'Deus est deitas' et 'Deus Trinitas' et converso '*in personis adoratur proprietas et in essentia unitas et in majestate aequalitas*', attendentes potius ut sancti viri et litteratissimi scriptores antiqui quid de quo secundum quid dicatur, et hoc secundum resim, quam quid de quo secundum lexim. Sed si forte ventum esset ad discussionem veritatis quae attenditur secundum lexim, non concederetur haec propositio: '*Adoratur in personis proprietas*' quia secundum veritatem non est aliqua in personis proprietas. Nec, si esset, personarum proprietas sed personae proprietati subjectae essent adorandae. Et sic de similibus est judicandum.—Videturne tibi, frater Everarde, disputatum satis super haec quaestione, utrum Deus sit deitas, sit sua essentia?

E.—Sufficienter et satis rationabiliter et, ut verum fatear, non est quid refragari debeat. Restat tamen, ut respondeas argumentis et rationi beati Bernardi qui nunc est vere et juste in catalogo sanctorum, cujus assertioni auctoritatem addidit spectata et approbata sanctitas fere a cunctis.

R.—Nota unicuique artifici in sua facultate credendum ut logico in logica, geometrae in geometria, et fabro in fabrateria, et theologo in theologia. Sed iste sanctus de quo est sermo, nullius artis artifex inventus, in artibus exercitatus parum, in quaestionibus theologiae nihil, in moralibus vero theologicis multum. Inde est quod de quaestionibus artium vel theologiae tantum non ei quantum exercitato credendum quia, ut dicitur, juvenis <236ra> a studio artium prudenter indoctus recessit in qua aetate ad theologiam audiendam non ad aliquem theologiae doctorem accessit. Sed de morali facultate plurimum est ipsi credendum in qua multum viguit, ut in scriptis suis moralibus innotuit. Nam quod de fonte Spiritus sancti plene hausit in *sermonibus super Cantica Canticorum* conscriptis, per mellifluum et subtile et exornatum ipsius eloquium apparuit.

E.—Cave quid dicas dicendo ipsi non esse tantum in theologia credendum quantum credi debet in ea exercitato plurimum. Hoc est improbabile et opinioni religiosorum contrarium et manifeste falsum. Nam quomodo subtilitatem theologiae ignoraret qui scientem omnia scivit, cum quo unus spiritus fuit, cum Dominus de eo et similibus in Evangelio dixerit: *Quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis.*[11]

R.—Iterum ad disputationem ventum est. Vis probare mihi quod, quia Veritas hoc dicebat, quidquid Christus noverit, noverit et beatus Bernardus. Nam si quidquid Christus a Patre audivit, Bernardo notum fecit. Sed quidquid ipse Christus scivit, a Patre audivit. Ergo quidquid Christus scivit, Bernardo notum fecit. Sed nihil Christus Bernardo notum fecit quod Bernardus non noverit. Ergo Christus nihil scivit quod sanctus Bernardus non scivit. Ergo sicut Christus omnia sciens est, et beatus Bernardus. Hoc forte monachis suis persuadebis, at non mihi.

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[8] Cf. Gilbert, *Contra Eutychem*; PL 64, 1383A.

[9] Praefatio in festo Trinitatis.

[10] *Ms* dicit.

[11] *John* xv, 15.

E.—Hoc ego non credo, scilicet quod aliquis tantum sciverit quantum Christus.

R.—Ad quid ergo inductae sunt auctoritates tuae?

E.—Ad hoc ut probarem ipsum plene et bene theologiam novisse.

R.—Cum quinque sint facultates, scilicet naturalis, i.e., physica, mathematica, civilis, theologica atque rationalis,[12] dic cur magis ei adjudicas scientam quaestionum theologiae absque studio et doctore sibi provenire quam physicae vel mathematicae, i.e., quadrivii, vel civilis, i.e., rhetoricae et legum peritiae, atque rationalis, i.e., dialecticae, cum haec scientia sit ceteris subtilior, gravior, et usurpanti sibi periculosior? In aliis errare grave quidem est docto viro opprobrium, sed in hac errare criminosum. Nam hujus error haeresim inducit.

E.—Et si theologiae quaestiones ignoraverit, quomodo libros de theologia componere potuit? Quomodo tuum magistrum in pleno Remensi Concilio, ne dicam convincere, sed de haeresi convenire praevaluit? Cujus etiam argumenta contra ipsum tuum facta adhuc scripta reservantur posterorum memoriae.

R.—Sicut aliud est loqui de logica, aliud scire logicam, ita aliud est loqui de theologia et aliud scire theologiam. Sed scientia theologiae duobus modis intelligitur: in practica et theorica sicut cujuslibet alterius facultatis. Theorica est scientia naturam rerum contemplans, cujus summa in symbolis continetur, scilicet articulos fidei. Et ad quaestiones ejusdem ostenditur quarum solutiones cum ipsis nonnisi longo doctrinae studio habentur. Cujus practica in scientia morum consistunt, i.e., in scientia recte vivendi et scientia recte vivere docendi. Hanc scientiam habuit sanctus Bernardus et beatus Martinus et beatus Benedictus et alii plures sancti, quibus Christus nota fecit homo quaecumque a Patre audivit ad opus hominum, scilicet ad recte vivendum et ad Deum habendum. Quod autem opponis, quomodo sine scientia quaestionum theologiae potuit summum theologum de haeresi accusare, dico quod in hoc facto zelum Dei habuit. Sed magistrum Gillebertum plene non intellexit nec causam dicti attigit, sicut Cyprianus, magnus martyr, et Origines et Hieronymus et etiam magnus Gregorius, qui contradicit Hieronymo in judicando de principe <236^{rb}> Graecorum qui detinuit angelum ad Danielem missum, quorum alter interpretatur de bono angelo, alter de malo.[13] Eodem modo quod circa dicta magistri Gilleberti videbatur verum beato Hilario, non videbatur verum beato Bernardo. Attamen hoc non est imputandum beato Bernardo quantum aliorum ad hoc ipsum inducentium praesumptioni et arrogantiae, qui quod non potuerunt intelligere putabant se intellexisse. Quibus sanctus vir credidit inductus caritate quae omnia credit.[14]

E.—Vellem, si placeret tibi, ut mihi ostenderes quid beatus Bernardus intellexisse putaverit, quod non intellexit de dictis tui Gilleberti.

R.—Hoc Boethius ait: *Qui homo vel qui Deus est, refertur ad substantiam qua est Deus.*[15] Et magister evidentius adhuc determinans ait: *non quae est Deus.*[16]

E.—Bone Rati, nisi rationabiliter apertius dixeris, nec est intelligibile quid ambo in hoc senserint.

R.—Acquiescam tuae petitioni, quoniam justa, utilis et honesta est. Justa est, quoniam justum est docere indoctum scire desiderantem. Utilis est, quoniam inutile talia ignorare quorum scientia ad salutem spectat. Honesta est, quoniam decet scire quis confligentium de hoc involucro verborum melius senserit et uter illorum duorum magnorum verius Boethii mentem attigerit.

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[12] Cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1281A.

[13] Cf. Jerome, *In Dan.* X, 20; PL 25, 557B, Gregory, *Moral.* XVII, xii. 17; PL 76, 20A.

[14] I *Cor.* xiii, 7.

[15] *De Trinitate,* 4: ed. Peiper, p. 157.

[16] Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1290B.

Boethius decem modos praedicandi in naturalibus distinxit quos ad duos modos theologiae redegit. Omnis enim theologica praedicatio vel secundum se est, ut illorum quae in tribus praemissis naturalibus continentur praedicamentis, vel secundum aliud, ut eorum quae sunt praedicamentorum septem posteriorum. *Sic ergo praedicatio alia est, qua*[17] *vere inhaerens inhaerere praedicatur*[18] ut trium primorum praedicabilia praedicamentorum, scilicet substantia, qualitas, quantitas . *Alia quae, quamvis secundum formam inhaerentium fiat, tamen ita exterioribus datur, ut ex ea nihil alicui inhaerere intelligatur* ut ad aliquid, quando, ubi, etc. Cujus praedicationis differentia sic internoscitur ut in his exemplis: *qui est homo ut Plato vel Cicero vel Trypho vel qui est Deus ut Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus. Quod dicitur illorum quilibet esse homo et istorum quilibet esse Deus, refertur ad substantiam, non quae est, sed qua est homo vel Deus, i.e., non refertur ad subsistentem sed ad subsistentiam. Non enim subsistens tantum sed etiam subsistentia appellatur substantia, eo quod utraque accidentibus, diversis tamen rationibus, substant. Subsistens ergo est substantia, non qua aliqua rerum est aliquid (nihil enim subsistente est aliquid), sed est illa substantia, quae est aliquid. Subsistentia vero est substantia, non cui quid innitatur quo ipsa aliquid sit, sed qua solum subsistens est aliquid, i.e., est homo vel Deus ut quilibet illorum praenominatorum.*[19]

Ex calumnia hujusmodi verborum magistri verba Boethii exponentis manifestum est arguentes magistrum Gillebertum in artibus non fuisse exercitatos. Nam si naturalem facultatem novissent, inter substantiam subjectam et substantiam subjecti discernere scivissent, i.e., inter subsistens et subsistentiam; si moralem, cum moralis facultatis sit pars theologia, scirent utique, cum dicitur 'Pater est Deus', quod in hac propositione praedicatur hoc termino 'Deus' essentia, i.e., substantia, i.e., usia divina, non persona, non substantia, i.e., non subsistens. Et ita si novissent rationalem facultatem, non ignorassent hunc terminum 'substantia' duo significare ut quodlibet nomen, ut praemissum est, scilicet substantiam et qualitatem.[20] Hoc enim nomen 'substantia' significat rem omnem, quae substantia est, pro substantia; et substantialem formam quae est subsistentia omnium substantiarum, i.e., generalissimum primi praedicamenti pro qualitate. Dicitur ergo substantia Cicero et Plato et <236va> quodlibet aliud subsistens. Dicitur et substantia quaelibet subsistentia, i.e., substantialis forma ut humanitas. Sed in theologia substantia dicitur quaelibet persona, i.e., Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus. Et dicitur substantia essentia quae est communis tribus personis, i.e., usia divina. Cum dicitur Plato, Cicero, Trypho est homo, 'homo' iste terminus refertur, i.e., pertinet ibi, i.e., ponitur ibi, ad significandam humanitatem, i.e., substantiam qua quilibet illorum trium est homo. Nam sicut nomen habet duplicem significationem, scilicet substantiae subjectae, i.e., rei quae est substantia et qua non est substantia, et substantiae subjecti, i.e., substantialis formae, i.e., substantiae qua est homo et quae non est homo, ita iste terminus 'homo' habet duplex officium, i.e., subjiciendi rem locutioni et praedicandi rem quae ostenditur inhaerere rei de qua est sermo. Eodem modo cum dicitur 'Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus', hoc nomen 'Deus' refertur ibi ad substantiam, i.e., ibi ponitur ad significandam divinam essentiam. i.e., usiam quae Latine hoc nomine 'substantia' significatur, qua usia quilibet illorum trium est substantia, i.e., Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus. Sed non refertur ibi ad substantiam quae est Deus, i.e., non ponitur ibi ad significandam substantiam quae est Deus, i.e., ad significandam personam, sed essentiam, quia ponitur ibi ad significandam substantiam non subsistens, appositum non suppositum, formam non materiam, usiam non personam. — Habes igitur quam rationalis calumnia praedicto verbo fuerit irrogata.

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[17] *Ms* quae.

[18] Gilbert, *ibid.*

[19] Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1290B.

[20] cf. Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1279D.

E.—Parcius haec. Parcius propter sanctum virum. Videtur tamen ut dicis sic posse intelligi auctoritas Boethii.

R.—Videturne tibi accusatio adversus magistrum provenisse ex ignorantia artium? Unde Papa Eugenius: *Quomodo judicabimus quod non intelligimus? Loquitur enim iste homo Deo, non hominibus.*[21] De magistro loquens Eugenius haec ait.

E.—Hujus controversiae inter praenominatos magnae opinionis viros habitae causa fuit confusa significatio hujus nominis 'substantia'. At tu qui Graecus es, aperi et apertius edoce, si in aequipollenti hujus nominis 'substantia' sit tanta confusio apud Graecos.

R.—Non est. Nam quod Latinus vocat substantiam, i.e., substans accidentibus, i.e., rem quae est substantia, Graecus vocat hypostasim. Et quod hi substantiam, i.e., subsistentiam, illi usiosim, i.e., substantialem formam. Et quod in theologicis Latinus dicit divinam substantiam, Graecus vocat usiam. Igitur et quod hic personam sonat, ille prosopam. Ergo haec tria nomina apud Graecos hypostasis, usiosis, usia, aequipollent huic nomini 'substantia' apud vos.

E.—Adhuc restat tibi parum addendum sufficientiae solutionis.

R.—Quid?

E.—Respondere objectis a beato Bernardo in libro *De Consideratione*, quae videntur facere contra hoc, scilicet Deus non est deitas.

R.—Quid dicam? Nihil ibi positum recolo digno nodo. Magis enim est persuasorium, quod ibi inducitur, quam assertioni contrarium. Non est argumentatio sed quaedam ornata persuasio ad quosdam. At quia vir talia inducens magnae fuit auctoritatis et sanctitatis, rectus ac timens Deum, suas rationes magistro contrarias inducam et earum instantias. Iste est modus opponendi sancti patroni tui: *Quid est Deus? Quo nihil melius cogitari potest. Si approbas, non oportet assertiaris esse aliquid quo Deus sit et quod Deus non sit. Hoc enim sine dubio melius. Quomodo non melius Deo, si Deus non est, quod dat Deo ut sit?*[22] Huic respondeo instari posse in Creatore et creatione. Nam quomodo creatio non est melior Creatore, si Creator non est, quae dat Creatori ut sit Creator? Similiter instantia est in incomprehensibili et in incomprehensibilitate, et in ingenito et <236^{vb}> in ingenitura, et in indeclinabili et in indeclinabilitate, et in aliis infinitis, de infinito et infinitate, nisi forte mundi creationem, a qua Deus Creator est, dicant esse Deum.

Item sic beatus Bernardus: *Negas, inquiunt, Deum habere divinitatem? Non. Sed quod habet, hoc est. Negas divinitatem Deum esse? Non. Sed non alia quam quae ipse est. At si tu aliam invenisti, adjuvet me Trinitas Deus. Adversus illam tota me contumacia erigo.*[23] Idem potest objici de Creatore et creatione. Item, beatus Bernardus: *Multa dicuntur esse in Deo, et quidem sane*[24] *catholiceque, sed multa unum. Alioquin si diversa putemus, non Trinitatem habemus, sed centenitatem.*[25] Haec ipse. Ad haec ego: Cum de Deo praedicentur relationes ut paternitas et creatio, rationes ut personalitas et indifferentia et diversitas personalis, et essentia ut deitas, beatus Bernardus inter haec non distinguens haec omnia dicit Deum esse. Inde est ut etiam ipse *Pater* dicatur ab eo esse *paternitas et unus unitas et aeternus aeternitas. Et conversim et eodem modo in aliis omnibus, quae de Deo quacumque ratione praedicantur. At Boethius scribens Johanni Romano diacono de istis specialiter, quae his nominibus, scilicet 'Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus' praedicantur, ostendit illa et de diversis*

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[21] Cf. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici;* I, 55; MGH SS XX, 382.

[22] *De Consid.* V, 7, 15; PL 182, 797A.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Om. in Ms.*

[25] *De Consid.* V, 7, 15; PL 182, 797B.

praedicari[26] *et esse diversa non solum a se invicem verum etiam ab essentia quae diversis nominibus una de eisdem dicitur, de quibus illa diversa, salva Dei simplicitate, praedicantur*,[27] etiam centenitate exclusa.

E.—Boethium non audeo arguere erroris nec beatum Bernardum, cujus laus ubique praeconatur de summa theologia. De quo vere praedicatur quod plura didicerit orando quam disputando et plura sub fago quam in disputationis areopago. De tot disputatoribus tuis tam nominatis, tam exercitatis, ostende mihi vel unum, cujus tam praeclara, tam gloriosa extant opuscula sicut hujus viri sancti.

R.—Nescio quid comparationis ingerit tam frequens commendatio a te facta de beato Bernardo, ac si dares intelligi me contra id quod dicis vel aliquid dicere vel opinari. Probabile enim hoc est, quia id omnibus vel pluribus sapientibus notis atque praecipuis in religione videtur. Igitur absit quod aliter sentiam. Nec si aliquid sensit aliter de dictis magistri quam magister vel quam debuit, quod non dico, sed eis quos ipse, abundans charitate omnia credit, credidit in delatione magistri fuisse veraces, quia ipso garruliores sed non facundiores illius accusationis praesumptores, cujus non fuerunt intellectores. Mirandum est vero quod, omnibus litteratissimis Franciae viris episcopum in scriptis suis commendantibus, ausu temerario quidam monachi in accusatione tanti doctoris prosiliere, excepta et salva auctoritate sancti Bernardi per omnia. Nolo itaque, quod tu vel alius dicat me in hac parte aliquid asserere contra scriptum vel dictum sancti viri. Non est ita. Non enim sedeo Gilleberti defensor nec viri sancti accusator, sed relator assertionis utriusque. Sic de me sentias.

Objicit adhuc sanctus de magistro et suis loquens: *Non multa, inquiunt, sed unam tantum divinitatem, quae omnia illa sunt, Deo, ut sit, conferre asserimus. Asseritis ergo, etsi non multiplicem, duplicem Deum. Et non ad merum simplex pervenistis neque ad id quo melius cogitari non potest. Tam non est simplex quod vel uni obnoxium fuerit formae quam nec virgo vel uni cognita viro.*[28] Hactenus beatus Bernardus. Ad haec ego, salva auctoritate sua: Hoc magister numquam excogitavit quod duplex esset, cum ipse, ut praemissum, evidentissime et subtilissime probet Deum omnimoda simplicitate <237ra> esse simplicem. Nec asseruit Deum obnoxium alicui formae, cui ut materia subsit. Hoc enim esset expositioni, quam super hunc locum Boethii facit, contrarium. Ait enim, ut superius dictum est: *In theologicis versari oportet intellectualiter.*

Post etiam rhetorico beatus Bernardus utitur argumento hoc modo: *Deus non partibus constat ut corpus, non effectibus distat ut anima, non formis substat ut omne quod factum est, sed neque formae, ut istis visum est. Magna laus videlicet Deo, ut se ab informitate vendicet, forma una esse contentum. Hoc est dicere cetera pluribus, Deum nonnisi uni, debere quod est. Quid? Cujus beneficio sunt quae sunt? Ipse se pro esse suo alteri beneficio inclinabit? Laus ista, ut vulgo dicitur, blasphemiam valet. An non pluris est nullo egere quam uno?*[29] Haec sanctus. Ad haec, salva auctoritate ejus, haec possunt dici: In hac ratiocinatione, immo in hoc sermone, asserit beatus Bernardus visum fuisse magistro Deum substare formae et quod Deus inclinet alteri beneficio se pro suo esse, i.e., humiliet. Ad haec valde dubius respondeo. Nefas enim est asserere hunc sanctum aliquid contra veritatem magistri dictis vel scriptis imponere. At in episcopi scriptis vel dictis nihil potest inveniri, unde sensus hic elici possit. At cum sanctus concedat divinitate Deum esse Deum, quod Deus inclinet se alteri pro suo esse potest sancto objici et eodem modo dixisse quod ipse objicit alteri. Dicit autem sanctus sic: Deus *ipse sibi forma, ipse sibi essentia.*[30] Ad haec ego: Si Deus, et Pater. Sed si Pater, igitur et Filius vel non. Sed si Filius, ipse sibi est essentia. Eodem modo tota Trinitas. Ergo tam Pater quam Filius est commune tribus personis. Igitur communicatur tribus. Igitur Filius participatur a tribus ut essentia. Item, Filius seipso est Deus. Igitur se Filio est Deus. Sed nullo est Deus, quo Pater non sit Deus. Igitur Pater Filio est Deus. Igitur filiatio Filii est essentia Patris, ut asserit. Igitur Pater filiatione est Deus. Et similia in hunc modum. Ut si Filius se Filio est Deus, igitur tota Trinitas eodem est Deus. Igitur Filio. Quod absurdum est auditu.

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[26] *Ms Patri.*

[27] Gilbert, *De Praedicatione;* PL 64, 1303A.

[28] *De Consid.* V, 7, 16; PL 182, 797C.

[29] *Ibid.:* PL 182, 797D-798A.

[30] *Ibid.;* PL 182, 798A.

Ponit etiam auctoritatem Boethii dicendo et per hoc quod dixerat probando: *Hoc vere est unum, in quo nullus est numerus, nullum in eo aliud praeter id quod est.*[31] Sic invenio ab ipso auctoritatis positam continentem litteram 'quod', ut ipse eam in libro suo *De Consideratione* ponit. Sed procul dubio non est 'quod' nominativus, sed 'quo' ablativus. Igitur exemplar, in quo sanctus hoc legit, fuit liber mendosus aut scriptoris vitium. Hanc auctoritatem magister sic exponit: *Hoc vere et tale unum, in quo nullus est essentiarum numerus, quia in eo nullum aliud potest esse praeter quam id unum, quo solo est. Vere. Non est enim a divinitate aliud, quod Deus sit, nec est unde divinitas ipsa sit, nisi quod ea Deus est.*[32] Addit Bernardus de auctoritate: *Non enim subjectum fieri potest. Forma enim est.*[33] Sed non declarat. Magister autem declarat sic: *Neque enim, quod juxta principalem suam essentiam in se aliquid habeat, subjectum fieri potest. Quare? Est enim forma. Et quod per hoc* Boethius *recte probaverit illud non posse subjectum esse, per se nota mathematicorum propositione declarat dicens: Formae enim subjectae esse non possunt.*[34] Hic etiam habes quod episcopus negat cum Boethio Deum non substare formae, quia forma est. Quod sanctus, ut videtur, affirmat episcopum asseruisse.

Ponit etiam pater monachorum unam clausulam de Trinitate et unitate sic: *Dicamus itaque tres, sed non ad praejudicium unitatis. Dicamus unum, sed non ad confusionem Trinitatis. Neque enim nomina* <237^{rb}> *vacua sunt neque absque significantia cassae voces. Quaerit quis quomodo hoc possit esse. Sufficiat ei tenere sic esse atque hoc non rationi perspicuum, nec tamen opinioni ambiguum sed fidei persuasum. Sacramentum hoc magnum est et quidem venerandum, non scrutandum, quomodo pluralitas in unitate aut ipsa in pluralitate. Scrutari hoc temeritas est. Credere pietas est. Nosse vita aeterna est.*[35] Haec ego audiens vehementer obstupesco. Ipse[36] enim multum laboravit et laborando disputavit quod Deus esset sua essentia et qualis unitas in Trinitate et Trinitas in unitate, et quod Deus simplex esset et sicut personae ipsae sunt Deus sic et proprietates personales sunt Deus. Et adduxit auctoritatem Boethii ad probandum quod *ipse* Deus *sibi forma, sibi essentia.* Nec ignoravit quin Boethius Trinitatem personarum naturalibus rationibus probaret atque singularitatem essentiae theologicis contra diversos haereticos, Nestorium scilicet et Eutychem, quorum Nestorius juxta pluralitatem personarum posuit diversitatem naturarum, alter vero, i.e., Eutyches juxta identitatem naturae posuit identitatem personae. Quod autem hoc esse non potuit, immo quod aliter et qualiter esse debuit, Boethius perscrutando et, ut ipse ait,[37] *diutissime investigando* quid Catholici super hoc sentire deberent, Boethius ipse liquido ostendit. *At sacramentum hic magnum est et quidem venerandum, non scrutandum. Scrutari temeritas est, quomodo pluralitas in unitate et unitas in pluralitate.*[38] At noster philosophus econtra audenter asseruit et veraciter docuit et se scire probare testatus fuit, quomodo sit una essentia trium personarum et quomodo tres personae unius essentiae. At hoc est quod aliquoties dixi: Quidam claustrales litterati, sed in scholis minime exercitati, qualiter[39] in libris orthodoxorum patrum inveniunt, in libris suis transcribunt, sed qualiter intelligendum sit, nec sciunt nec inquirere a scientibus solliciti sunt quia, quod ipsi nesciunt qui sancti sunt, peccatores scire minime credunt.

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[31] Boethius, *De Trinitate;* ed. Peiper, p. 152. Bernard, *De Consid.* V, 7, 17; PL 182, 798C.

[32] Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1273CD.

[33] Boethius, *De Trinitate;* ed. Peiper, p. 152.

[34] Gilbert, *De Trinitate;* PL 64, 1273D.

[35] *De Consid.* V, 8, 18; PL 182, 799B.

[36] He means St. Bearnard, but again confuses Boethius, *De Trinitate* with the Boethian *Opusculum* against Nestorius and Eutyches.

[37] *De Trinitate*, 1; ed. Peiper, p. 149.

[38] Bernard, *De Consid.* V, 8, 18; PL 182, 799B.

E.—*Si verbis audacia daretur*,[40] dicerem mihi videri melius in hac parte Beatus Bernardus sensisse quam te vel magistrum tuum.

R.—Everarde, duobus vitiis cares, et utinam sic omnibus, scilicet vitio adulationis et hypocrisis. Sed cum his careas, cave praesumptione indicreti judicii et praecipitis, quoniam *stulti, dum vitant vitia, in contraria currunt*.[41] Hoc tamen omisso, perge quod coeperas.

E.—Bonum est mihi, quia meritorium, patienter audire me vocari stultum, dum per hoc eligar a Deo meo. Nam stultos hujus mundi elegit Deus, ut confundat fortia.[42] Nos igitur stulti secundum hoc simus, vos autem fortiter sapientes.

R.—Ne digrediaris. Sed ostende quod proposueras.

E.—Recipisne hanc auctoritatem Gregorii super *Exodum* de visione mosaica? Auctoritas enim posita est: *Loquebatur Dominus cum Mose facie ad faciem*.[43] Gregorius: *i.e., manifesta visione. Loquebatur enim secundum opinionem populi ore ad os loqui putantis Moysem, cum per subjectam creaturam, scilicet per angelum et nubem ei loqueretur et appareret. Nam ejus substantiam nec hominum nec angelorum quisquam, sicuti est, videre potuit. Unde Regi saeculorum immortali, invisibili, etc., et alibi: Lucem habitat inaccessibilem*.[44] Item, ad idem et de eodem magnus Dionysius ait sic: *Ad simplicem veritatem* <237va> *analogice sursum ducimur, quam neque intelligere possibile neque toto quomodo est videre: eo omnium eam praecipuam esse, omnibus quoque incomprehensibili virtute supercaelestibus mentibus superstabilitam*.[45] Si ergo Deus et supercaelestibus mentibus est incomprehensibilis, ergo et Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus eisdem est incomprehensibilis. Ergo et tota Trinitas et itidem ipsa divinitas incomprehensibilis est eisdem. Ergo et Trinitas in unitate et unitas in Trinitate.

At tuus, ut ais, philosophus econtra audenter asseruit et veraciter docuit et se scire et probare testatus fuit, quomodo sit una essentia trium personarum et tres personae unius essentiae. Ergo ipse plus de Deo comprehendit quam alii homines vel angeli, quod noster abbas, vere theologus, se nescire ut ceteri perhibuit, humilibus consentiens et humiliter. Si enim aliquis hoc sciret, non solum sciens vel sapiens sed etiam beatus esset. Unde Johannes Evangelista loquens ad Patrem ait: "*Haec est enim vita aeterna ut cognoscant te Deum et quem misisti Jesum Christum*.[46] Et noster sanctus in quadam dicit homelia: *Sapiens est, cui quaeque res sapiunt prout sunt, cui in se sapientia prout est sapit. Is non modo sapiens sed beatus est. Hoc enim est videre Deum sicuti est*.[47] Quomodo tuus magister scivit quod nec angeli ad plenum sciunt, quia nec Deum nec Trinitatem plene comprehendunt? Hoc igitur edoce et hanc quaestionem solve. Et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

R.—Solutio praemissa est.

E.—Cum haec quaestio nunc primo tibi facta sit, quomodo et ubi ejus solutio praecessit?

R.—Ibi ubi dictum est: quia ineffabilis est, non dicitur; quia invisibilis est, non cognoscitur; quia superessentialis est, non comprehenditur. De ipso tamen mens humana aliquid capere potest, ipsum capere non potest. Et lingua humana de ipso aliquid dicere potest, ipsum non potest. Et veritas de ipso dicitur, quae ducit ad ipsum, quamvis sublimius et excellentius consistat in ipso. Inde de ipso humana mens concipit, credit et dicit tres personas esse unius substantiae et trium personarum unam essentiam. Igitur scit tres personas esse unum Deum hoc modo: Personae sunt tres peronae tribus personalitatibus sed sunt unus Deus una deitate. Sed Deus sunt deitate, unus vero unitate sibi addicta. Sed sicut sunt personae personalitatibus et tres tribus sibi addictis unitatibus, ita essent tres dei, si tres ibi inessent deitates.[48] Hoc intelligitur de Deo. Dicitur quia scitur. Et contra haereticos inducitur. Et aliter dicentes haeretici judicantur. Nisi enim sic esse sciretur, nequaquam sic confitendum esse haereticis probaretur. Quia ergo tres personas esse unum Deum scitur, Trinitatem in unitate esse et unitatem in Trinitate scitur. Et hoc est: pluralitatem esse in unitate et unitatem in pluralitate.

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[39] *Marg.* vel quod.

[40] Ovid, *Met.* I, 175.

[41] Horace, *Sat.* I, 2, 24.

[42] Cf. *I Cor.* i, 27.

[43] *Ex.* xxxiii, 11.

[44] *Glossa ordin. in Ex.*, xxxiii, 11; PL 113, 289B.

[45] *De Nomin. div.*, 1; *Dionysiaca* I (Paris, 1937), p. 32. (Hilduin).

[46] *John* xvi, 3.

[47] *Serm. de diversis* XVIII, 1; PL 183, 587D.

Sed hic tropus attenditur rhetorum, cum rerum proprietas pro eis, quorum est proprietas, ponitur ut pluralitas personarum pro pluribus personis et unitas pro uno, ut sit sensus: pluralitatem esse in unitate, i.e., plures, scilicet personas, esse unum. Est igitur elocutio vera sed locutio falsa, cum dicitur 'pluralitas est in unitate'. Accipienda enim verba sunt non ex sensu quem faciunt sed ex quo fiunt.

E.—Miror te, prudentem virum, dicere: Hoc scitur, cum potius persuasum vix credatur, cum fides dicatur esse supra opinionem <237^{vb}> et citra scientiam.[49]

R.—Respondeo tibi ut *Bucolicorum* rusticus rustico: *Et, si non aliquo nocuisses, mortuus esses.*[50] Sed attende quod de Deo aliud scitur, aliud nescitur, aliud creditur. De Deo scitur quod vere sit, ut Mercurius probat in *Trismegisto*: *De Deo nescitur quid ipse sit.*[51] De ipso vere creditur quod humanatus sit. Et ex hac fide quasi fundamento substrato processit quattuor Evangeliorum in scriptum redacta scientia et super hac expositio multimoda.

E.—Cave, ne ab animo elabatur quod inceperas, scilicet respondere correctioni expositionis magistri positae a beato abbate. Cum enim Boethius diceret: *Si dicimus Pater Deus, Filius Deus, Spiritus sanctus Deus, Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus unus Deus* est. *Si igitur eorum una divinitas una substantia est, licet Dei nomen de divinitate substantialiter praedicari. Ita* praedicatur: *Pater veritas est, Filius veritas est, Spiritus sanctus veritas est. Pater, Filius, Spiritus sanctus non tres veritates sed una veritas est.*[52] Quod magister sic exposuit: *i.e., unus verus.*[53] At beatus Bernardus insultanter ait: *Noster commentator melius dixisset 'i.e., veritas'.*[54] Quasi: si auctor dixisset 'verus', commentator melius sic exposuisset: 'i.e., veritas', quam econtra. Dilucida igitur, cur episcopus sic exposuerit et qua de causa sanctus episcopum sic exponentem reprehenderit.

R.—Ab initio omnium talium data est solutio quaestionum, ubi distinctum est inter significationem concretivi nominis et mathematici. Nomine enim concretivo subjicitur locutioni res, cui nomen est impositum mediante proprietate a qua impositum est, ut cum dicitur 'est corpus album'. Nam hoc nomine 'album' dicitur de re, quae alba est, quod ipsa sit corpus, quae mediante albedine, a qua nomen impositum est, locutioni subjicitur. Sed eadem albedo eodem nomine praedicatur, cum dicitur 'corpus est album'. Ibi enim albedo praedicatur. Praedicari enim est aliquid suo subjecto inhaerere ostendi ut 'corpus est album'. Hic enim ostenditur albedo corpori inhaerere. Sed albedo quae nomine concretivo ibi ponitur, nomine mathematico imposito locutioni subjicitur mediante effectu suo, a quo hoc idem nomen est impositum, ut cum dicitur 'albedo est albedo'. Et eodem nomine effectus albedinis praedicatur. Est enim sensus: 'albedo est albedo', i.e., albedo facit album. Eodem modo cum dicitur: 'Pater est verus', hoc nomine veritas praedicatur a qua hoc nomen 'verus' impositum est. Ostenditur enim veritas inhaerere Patri. A cum dicitur 'Pater[55] est veritas', ostenditur veritas facere verum, scilicet Deum, quod nequaquam vere de Patre dicitur. Non enim Pater se verum facit sicut Patris veritas Patrem verum facit. Subintelligitur 'Deum', unde usitate dicatur. Usitatius enim solet dici 'Pater est verus Deus' quam 'Pater est verus', licet utrumque vere dicatur. Sed 'verus' superflue videtur adjunctum huic nomini 'Deus.' In hoc nomine enim 'Deus' intelligitur. Est enim nomen absolutum 'Deus', sicut 'ratio', non indigens aliquo adjectivo nisi ad exclusionem falsorum deorum. Ait enim Augustinus in libro *De Civitate Dei,*[56] quod Hermes dixerit: *Homo facit deos quando facit suam imaginem et arte includit daemonem quem colit.*

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[48] Cf. Gilbert, *De Praedicatione;* PL 64, 1309A-1310C.

[49] *Summa Sent.* I, 1; PL 176, 43. Nicholas of Amiens, *De Artic. fidei*, 17; PL 210, 601D.

[50] Vergil, *Ecl.* III, 15.

[51] Cf. *Liber XXIV philosophorum*, xxiii; ed. Cl. Baeumker, Beiträge XXV (1927), 213.

[52] *Utrum Pater* etc.; ed. Peiper, p. 165.

[53] *De Praedicatione;* PL 64, 1307C.

[54] Cf. *Serm. in Cant. Canticorum* LXXX, 8; PL 183, 1170B.

Igitur locutio vera est, cum dicitur 'Deus est verus', sed falsa cum dicitur 'Deus est veritas'. Sed elocutio vera est, cum dicitur 'Deus est veritas'. Causa igitur consequentis praedicationis ostendendae corrigendo et improprietatem praedicandi ad proprietatem reducendo exponit magister sic auctoritatem Boethii hanc: *Deus est veritas, i.e., verus* <238ra> Sed quod Deus esse verus dicitur, causa haec est quod veritatis virtutem humanis inserit mentibus, sicut 'justus' dicitur quia justum facit hominem justificando.

E.—Multum miror, cum sis vir prudens, quare tantum laboras in expositione hujus auctoritatis *Deus est veritas,* dicens locutionem falsam sed elocutionem veram. Intelligo enim, ut asseris, ibi facere veritatem tropum coloris rhetorici, cum ibi ponatur nomen principale pro sumpto, mathematicum pro concretivo, scilicet hoc nomen 'veritas' pro hoc nomine 'verus'. At Boethius probat Deum esse tantum unum et vere simplicem per hoc quod *in eo nullus est numerus,* quia *nullum in eo* est *aliud praeter quam id quod est. Neque enim subjectum fieri potest. Forma enim est quae vere forma* est *neque imago est et quae esse ipsum est et ex qua esse est. Formae enim subjectae esse non possunt.*[57] Ad quod opponitur sic: Si hoc nomen 'forma' est nomen principale, i.e., mathematicum, ut hoc nomen 'essentia' vel hoc nomen 'deitas' vel hoc nomen 'veritas', cur hoc nomen a magistro conceditur et recipitur et per hoc tam a Boethio quam ab ipso probatur Deum non substare formae et ita simplicem esse? Cur reliqua mathematica non conceduntur de Deo praedicari? Si concedendum videtur 'Deus est forma', ita concedendum videtur 'Deus est essentia'; et si unum proprie, et reliquum; et si unum vere, et reliquum, cum dictionibus his idem de Deo dicatur. At si nec unum illorum, nec aliud. At cum hoc nomen 'forma' de Deo dicitur ad aliud probandum, nequaquem de Deo induceretur nisi idem de ipso proprie diceretur.

Item, si Deus est essentia sua et ipse non est eadem essentia sua et tam ipse quam essentia sua est aliquid, *quis tam diversa conjunxit?*[58] Verum si non sunt diversa, cum utrumque illorum sit, unum est alterum. Itaque Deus est essentia sua. Item, cum dicas 'Deus est veritas' ex sensu hujus propositionis Boethium dixisse, scilicet 'Deus est verus', et eodem modo et veritas, et essentia eodem modo, de Deo dicantur, quid aliud est Deum esse essentia vel veritate quam seipso esse, cum hoc idem Augustinus, Boethius et beatus Bernardus dicant, licet more[59] Graecorum, ne dicam brutorum, non rerum sed rationum inexpertorum, hoc superius opposueris. Item, si Deus est forma et haec propositio vera est secundum resim et non secundum lexim, et haec similiter 'Deus est deitas'. Cum beatus Bernardus hanc affirmet 'Deus est veritas' et magister Gillebertus eandem admittat in oratoria facultate, unde controversia fuit inter eos, cum secundum te et tuam expositionem inveniantur idem dixisse sive in eodem sive in diverso genere orandi? Item, cum Deus vere simplex sit et nomen mathemathicum magis accedat ad simplicitatem quam concretivum, proprius videtur de Deo dici 'Deus est veritas' quam 'Deus est verus', ut praemissum videtur.

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[55] *Ms* veritas.

[56] Cf. *De Civitate Dei* VIII, 23; CSEL 40, 392.

[57] *De Trinitate,* 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152.

[58] Boethius, *De Cons. phil.* III, prosa 10; CSEL 67, 66.

[59] *Ms* mores.

R.—Sentio de Everardo quod Ovidius de milvo praedam saepius eandem contravolante et non apprehendente. Sic Ovidius enim ait: *et easdem circinat auras.*[60] Eodem modo et tu. Nam dum quaesita iterum et iterum quaeris, nec adhuc capis nec captas, easdem auras circinas.

E.—Quia *in admirabili genere causae* versaris, pulchre et boni oratoris more a ridiculo exordiris. Nec, ut mihi videtur, quaesita quaero sed dictis tuis oppono. Si quid habes, redde. Si non, sile.

R.—*Quod habeo, tibi do.*[61] Sed illud satyricum quod mihi, quia meis, oblatrasti, <238^{rb}> tibi et tuis relinquo quia id Cicero[62] *vitium vulgare* appellat. Est enim inter exordia vulgaria ponendum. Objicis de hoc nomine 'forma' quod, cum proprie vel[63] vere dicatur de Deo, cur reliqua mathematica ut 'veritas' et 'essentia' quae sunt ejusdem significationis, eodem modo non dicantur de Deo. Respondeo quod nullum nomen proprie vel vere de Deo dicitur. Igitur nec hoc nomen 'forma'. Non enim vere Deus est forma. Non enim ibi veritas est dictionis, etsi sit ibi veritas dicentis. Nam cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus' vel 'verus', verus est hic dicens et veritas in hoc dicente est. Sed non est ibi veritas dictionis, i.e., enuntiationis. Non enim ibi est compositio deitatis ad Deum vel veritatis, quae significatur hac propositione 'Deus est Deus' vel 'Deus est verus'. Non enim eodem modo verum dico dicendo 'Deus est Deus' et 'homo est albus'. In hac enim 'homo est albus' ostenditur albedo inesse homini quae ei componitur. Sed hac propositione 'Deus est Deus' notatur quidem compositio quae ibi non est, nam non deitas componitur Deo, et tamen dicens verum dicit quia, qualiter potest, suum explanat intellectum. At cum Boethius dicit 'Deus est forma', subjungens 'qui *vere forma* est *neque imago est et quae esse ipsum est et ex qua esse est*',[64] ibi causam dicendi assignat, non proprietatem existendi.

Magister etiam Gillebertus asserit quod ita sit ut dixi, sic exponens: *Oportebit ipsam formam inspicere quae vere forma est,* haec ait Boethius de Deo loquens *ac si* Boethius *dicat*: *Multa sunt quae vocantur formae ut corporum figurae et alia quae in subsistentibus creatione vel concretione fiunt quibus id, cui insunt, aut aliquid est aut aliquid esse doctrinae ordine demonstratur. Sed haec omnia prae se habent sua principia, ex quibus aliqua ratione deducuntur aut ad illa spectant. Ideoque mutuata ab alio nuncupatione potius quam rationis veritate 'formae' nominantur. Essentia vero, quae principium est, omnia creata praecedit, illis omnibus ut 'esse' dicantur impertiens et a nullo alio, ut ipsa sit, sumens. Ideoque vero nomine forma est neque imago est. Et cum de ea quis loquens dicit 'essentia est', sic debet intelligi: Essentia est illa res quae est ipsum esse, i.e., quae non ab alio mutuat hanc dictionem et ex qua est esse, i.e., quae ceteris omnibus eandem quadam extrinseca participatione communicat. Non enim de quolibet suae essentiae proprietate dicitur 'est', sed ab eo qui non aliena sed sua essentia proprie est, ad illud quod creata ab ipso forma aliquid est et ad ipsam creatam formam et denique ad omnia quae de ipsis vere dicuntur, quoniam ex eo tamquam ex principio sunt, dictio ista transumitur, ut de unoquoque divinae formae participatione recte dicatur 'est'. Quod non omnino a naturalium esse diversum est. Nam et in naturalibus subsistentium esse ex forma est. De quocumque enim subsistente dicitur 'est', formae quam in se habet participatione dicitur.*[65] Homo enim forma substantiali est ut est animal, corpus, etc.

Habe igitur, ut praemissum. Cum dicitur 'Deus vere forma est, quae ipsum esse est et ex qua esse est', causa dicendi assignatur, non proprietas essendi, i.e., ante enim quam Deus esse alicujus creaturae esset, Deus erat in se immutabiliter et aeternaliter et verum esse. Sed tunc nullius. Et haec ad primum tuae questionis membrum dicta sufficiant.

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[60] Ovid, *Met.* II, 721.

[61] *Acts* iii, 6.

[62] *Ad C. Herennium* I, 7, 11.

[63] *Om. in Ms.*

[64] *De Trinitate*, 2; ed. Peiper, p. 152.

[65] *De Trinitate*; PL 64, 1268D-1269A.

Quod autem <238va> secundo objicis ideo proprie dici formam de Deo, quia per hoc probatur quod Deus vere simplex sit, dico hoc non esse necessarium. Non enim per proprie dicta tantum fides semper alicui fit ut hic: Ponatur in quaestione, utrum omnis virtus sit bona. Quod sic probatur: Omne justum est bonum. Sed omnis virtus est justa. Igitur omnis virtus est bona. Ecce probas duas propositiones: Omne justum est bonum et omnis virtus est justa. Probatur haec: Omnis virtus est bona, licet improprie 'justa' virtus esse dicatur. Id enim tantum proprie 'justum' dicitur quod justitiae est subjectum. Virtus vero non est justa a participatione, nec dicitur, sed ab effectu, quia eum in quo virtus est justum facit.

Tertio membro breviter respondeo. Deus et sua essentia neque idem neque diversa sunt. Idem non sunt. Nam si Deus et sua essentia idem essent, tunc Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus et sua essentia idem essent. At quid idem nisi Deus? Sic igitur quantitas videretur esse in Trinitate. Diversa esse non possunt, quia in nullo conveniunt. Quorum enim nulla est convenientia, eorum nulla est diversitas vel differentia. Itaque Pater et Filius, quia in essentia conveniunt, idem sunt. Quia vero suis differunt personalibus proprietatibus, diversae personae sunt.

Annexo hujus quaestionis respondeo. *Providentia* igitur *Scipionis fregit opes Carthaginis,* teste Tullio. Pro Scipione et Carthagine dicitur haec propositio: *Providentia Scipionis opes Carthaginis fregit.* Nec tamen Scipio est providentia sua, ubi causa dicti explanatur, quia providentia Scipionis fuit causa cur Scipio opes Carthaginis fregerit. Similiter cum dicitur 'Deus est veritas', 'Deus est essentia', ex sensu harum propositionum dicitur 'Deus est verus', 'Deus est existens'. Et in primis est tropus, scilicet color rhetoricus, scilicet circuitio; in secunda non, quia praedicamentum causae redditur, cum Deus sit causa omnis veritatis et omnis essentiae, sicut providentia Scipionis fuit causa fractionis opum Carthaginis, i.e., ipsius Carthaginis.

Quod vero dicis Deum seipso esse, hoc orthodoxos patres dicere non nego. Verum enim hac propositione dicunt 'Deus est seipso et sapiens et justus et Deus' et similia. Nec hoc magister umquam negavit. At idem magister in *officio* faciens *interpretum,* interpretandi observans proprietatem, ut in *Prologo* primo super Boethium ipse testatur, *verborum transpositiones in ordinem, schemata in consequentiam, novitates in regulam, addens singulorum causas, reduxit et non modo dicta sed dictorum rationes attendit.*[66] Unde cum novum et raro auditum sit quod aliquid in aliqua facultate seipso dicatur esse, omne enim naturale, quod est ex forma substantiali, habet esse essentia et ipsa essentia habet esse effectu suo, sicut omnis proprietas, quod magis doctrinaliter dicitur quam vere, nec hoc 'Deus est seipso' usitate, etsi vere, dicitur. At usitate et vere dicitur 'Deus est Deus deitate' et 'Deus est essentia'. Non autem dicitur sic consequenter esse Deus seipso vel se Deo. Et ideo non dicuntur tres personae unius Dei vel unius existentis sed potius unius deitatis vel essentiae. Inde est quod ab omnibus generaliter dicitur 'trium personarum est una essentia, una deitas', non 'unus existens' nec 'unus Deus', quod dici oporteret si diceretur usitate 'Deus se uno existente' vel 'se uno Deo est Deus', quia tunc *uno existente* vel *uno Deo* <238^{vb}> Deus esset Deus. Et ita Pater et Filius et ita tota Trinitas uno Deo esset Deus et ita tres personae essent unius Dei. Magister itaque non negavit Deum seipso esse Deum, sed proprietatem dicendi posuit asserendo Deum deitate esse Deum, sed[67] Deum esse deitatem vel essentiam, ne in haeresim Macedonii incideret qui, ut in *Ecclesiastica* legitur *Historia,*[68] dicebat Spiritum sanctum esse divinitatem Patris et Filii. Caveant igitur sibi qui dicunt divinitatem esse totam Trinitatem et ita Spiritum sanctum, ne Macedonianae haeresis contrahant labem.

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[66] Gilbert, *Prologus;* ed. Grabmann, p. 419. In point of time, it is the second prologue.

[67] *Supple*: negavit.

[68] Cf. Meginhard of Fulda, *De Fide;* ed. A.

Quarto membro tuae quaestionis sic respondendum accipe. In hoc inter magistrum et beatum Bernardum fuit controversia quod beatus Bernardus dixit hanc esse magis propriam 'Deus est veritas vel deitas vel justitia' quam hanc 'Deus est verus vel Deus vel justus', quod non esse verum multis modis superius ostensum est. Quod igitur in oratorio genere orandi, i.e., loquendi, episcopus verum esse judicavit, vester abbas in omni loquendi genere et facultate recipiendum approbavit. Quod ideo sic esse asseruit quia visum est ei, quod magis divinae simplicitati congruat nomen mathematicum quam concretivum, scilicet hoc nomen 'veritas' quam hoc nomen 'verus', vel 'deitas' quam 'Deus', cum utrique eorum secundum grammaticorum syntaxim proprium aeque sit significare substantiam et qualitatem. Sicut enim hoc nomen 'album' significat rem, quae alba est, et albedinem rei, sic hoc nomen 'Deus' significat rem, quae Deus est, et deitatem rei. Et sicut hoc nomen 'albedo' significat pro substantia rem, quae albedo est, et effectum albedinis pro qualitate, ita hoc nomen 'deitas' significat rem, quae est deitas, pro substantia et effectum ejus pro qualitate cujus esse est ea Deum esse Deum. Itaque hoc nomine 'Deus' deitas praedicatur ut cum dicitur 'Deus est Deus'. Hoc nomine 'deitas' effectus praedicatur ut cum dicitur 'deitas est deitas'. Nec magis congruit simplicitati semper mathematicum nomen quam concretivum ut hoc nomen 'creatio' quam hoc nomen 'Creator'. Diversa igitur qualitas orandi peperit interpretationis illius phantasiam. Quod enim secundum resim tantum judicavit episcopus Pictavensis verum, secundum lexim et resim abbas Clarevallensis judicavit accipiendum. Quod enim unus tropice dictum putavit, alter proprie. — Utrum satisfactum sit, responde.

E.—Sic in eo quod paene.

R.—Habes causas dictorum a magistro notabilium, scilicet horum quod his propositionibus 'Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus sanctus est Deus' substantia praedicatur, non quae est, sed qua est Deus. Item, cur dicatur Deus non esse deitas. Item, quod paternitas non est Deus. Item, et causam hujus expositionis *veritas, i.e., verus.* Satis igitur factum reor esse tibi super inquisitis. Sciasque me jam lassatum esse. Laboravi enim te quaerentem sustinens. Igitur me ad mea fata remitte. Vado. Vale. Ne plus dubites audita tenere.

* * *

E.—Noli abire. Adhuc modicum tibi restat viae.

R.—Immo multum quia ferme ducentorum dierum.

E.—Intelligo non itineris sed laboris incepti.

R.—Quid?

E.—Solutio scilicet hujus: utrum aliquid sit coaeternum Deo quod non est Deus, utpote hoc enuntiabile 'Deum esse' et similium; et utrum hoc enuntiabile sit veri nominis enuntiabile et hujusmodi propositorum de Deo.

R.—*Vitando Charybdim cecidi in Scyllam.*[1] Attamen ex quo cogis me: sicut Charybdis est jam transfretata sic et Scylla est transfretanda. Sed jam auditurus es rumorem. Appropinquat enim Byrria cursitando. Quid, mi Byrria, <239ra> quid sic asthmatizas? B(yrria)—Otium et alienus cibus faciunt te derisorem. Sed surge cito auditurus nuntium ab uxore tua tibi missum. Sosias tuus ecce post me venit, claudicando tamen, qui te foris, ego intus quaesivi. Tu autem non inventus repertus es.

R.—Quomodo?

B.—Nam qui macer esse solebas, dilatatus es et impinguatus cibis hujus domus inflativis. Sed antequam transalpinaveris, te mihi reddes. Equi vero tui jam pacifici sunt nec recalcitrant. Jam enim habent mansuetudinem propter diaetam monachalem. *Acrior* ergo *illos cura domat,*[2] scilicet famis. Sed diaeta abbatialis

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Hahn, (Bibliothek der Symbole, Breslau, 1897), p. 360. Augustine, *De Haeresibus* LII; PL 42, 39.

[1] Proverb.

[2] Vergil, *Georg.* III, 539

larga et delicata recalcitrationem equinam in te convertit. Factus enim ab hac es, ut mihi videtur, *sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus*[3] qui, omissis negotiis tuis, cum Gallo gannis hic de Gallorum nugis. Sed hae nugae tua seria turbant.

R.—Ne quidquam conqueraris de fame equorum, quia Conversi de eis satis sunt solliciti. Quin etiam nimis audacter sed acriter in dominum tuum inveheris. Verum. *Quid facient domini, audent cum talia servi?*[4]

E.—Ecce experimentum hic habes verbi Salomonis hujus, scilicet *qui servum suum delicate nutrit, sentiet eum contumacem.*[5]

B.—Negotia tua omnia sunt peracta. Tantum manicas tuas super sinum tuum positas cancella. Nam de verribus regiis non est tibi magna cura. Attamen, domine mi Rati, tibi respondeo dicenti quod equorum tuorum Conversi sunt solliciti. Verum dicis. Solliciti sunt de equorum recessu, non esu.

R.—Sosias adest. Sosias, adhuc imitaris Jacob claudicando?

S(osias)—Claudico quidem sed non sum luctatus cum angelo sed cum equo tuo, qui jam non indiget freno.

R.—Estne tibi crus solidum?

S.—Non est sed consolidatum.

R.—Poteris equitare?

S.—Potero de naturali aptitudine sed non de facultate. Nam equus, qui vix se feret, quomodo me ferret?

R.—Quid est quod audio? Laborant ita fame equi hospitum?

S.—Prima nocte vel secunda ut multum adventantium equi sunt equi hospitum. Postmodum non judicantur hospitum sed hostium, nisi forte sint magnatum quorum auctoritatis timor, non charitatis obsequium, facit eis necessaria abunde administrari.

R.—Eamus ergo.

E.—Quid? Infectam relinques petitionem meam de solvenda quaestione proposita?

R.—Audis quot me circumveniunt incommoda. Oportet me loqui nuntio mihi transmisso. Insuper providere equis meis in pabulo. Nam si sint nimis macerati, non poterunt sufficere ferendo oneri nec itineris labori. Sed ecce tuorum nunc apparet charitas quam ita extuleras. Quid taces? Responde.

E.—Rumoribus, ut ait Tullius, credi non oportere.

R.—Idem ait rumoribus credi oportere.

E.—Crede veritati. Tamen mos famulorum quandoque divitum est abundantius administrari exigere pabula equis suis de alieno quam de suo. Et ut proverbialiter dicitur: *Non bene fur per furem capitur.*

R.—Vado locuturus nuntio. Sosias vero solvet tibi propositam quaestionem qui sedatum habet cerebrum nec cogitando nec loquendo fatigatum ut ego.

E.—Nunc certe vilem me reputas et illitteratum qui dicis laicum mihi quaestionem soluturum.

R.—Ne indigneris quod laicus iste sit. Nepos enim meus est et filius sororis meae Sophiae, apprime instructus a me. Nec cures quis te doceat, bene dum docearis. Unde scias, nemo quaerit. Sed scire necesse est. Tantummodo praebe aures et recole verbum Apostoli dicentis: *Graeci quaerunt sapientiam, Judaei* <239^{rb}> *signa.*[6] Sosia, doce hunc monachum quomodo hoc verum *Deum esse* et *Trinitatem esse unum Deum* et similia sint ab aeterno nec tamen aliqua aeterna nec Deo coaeterna. Ac distinquas ei inter enuntiabilia veri nominis et imaginaria. Sed incipe a capite, scilicet a descriptione veritatis posita ab Aristotele et a nostro doctore.

S.—Vis ut doceam *indignantem Minervam?*[7]

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[3] *Ps.* xxxi, 9.

[4] Vergil, *Eclog.* III, 16.

[5] *Prov.* xxix, 21.

[6] *I Cor.* i, 22.

[7] Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis* I, 31, 301.

E.—Audiam te libenter quia audio te novisse doctrinam doctoris nostri.

S.—Veritas sic describitur: Veritas est ratio substantiae rei. Res est ut Petrus. Substantia ejus est quaelibet forma secundum quam habet esse aliquid vel alicujus modi vel secundum quam est ad aliquid. Substantia large accipitur. Non enim attenditur tantum secundum primum praedicamentum in quo tantum substantiae, i.e., substantiales formae continentur. Sed extenditur usque ad omnia decem praedicamentorum praedicabilia. Substantialis autem forma facit rem esse aliquid ut humanitas Petri facit ipsum hominem. Albedo facit ipsum esse alicujus modi, quia album. Paternitas facit ipsum se ad aliquid habere, i.e., patrem filii. Et sic cetera percurre praedicamenta. Est ergo Petrus humanitate homo, albedine albus, paternitate pater. Sed et humanitati adest compositio qua componitur subjecto, i.e., Petro. Et illa dicitur *ratio substantiae rei,* i.e., ratio, immo compositio, conjungens duo extrema, i.e., formam et subjectum, quod secundum Hilarium dicitur veritas.[8] Nam illa compositio sive compago praedicati ad subjectum non est in numero rerum naturalium sed de praedicabilibus rationalis facultatis, ut illa quinque de quibus tractat Porphyrius dicens: *Cum sit necessarium Menanti nosse quid genus, quid species, quid proprium, quid differentia, quid accidens.*[9] Ideo ratio dicitur, quia veritas quamlibet proprietatem in subjecto existentem comitatur. Unde sicut Petrus est homo humanitate sic est verus homo veritate humanitatem comitante. Sed hanc veritatem intellectus concipiens dicitur verus. Et propositio illum intellectum enuntians dicitur vera, sed imperfecta oratio, scilicet Petrum esse hominem. Non enuntians sed significans verum propositione enuntiatum dicitur 'verum' et 'quoddam verum' per magnam improprietatem, quia res subjecta proprietati, quam comitatur veritas, dicitur proprie 'verum' et 'quoddam verum', licet apud logicos usus obtineat tantum appellari 'quoddam verum' quodvis enuntiabile ut picta imago Petri vel sculpta Petri nomine et 'Petrus' et 'homo' dicitur. Unde dicitur de pictura 'Ecce Petrus, ecce homo'. Unde Aristoteles: *Aequivoca dicuntur quorum nomen commune, ratio substantiae diversa.*[10] Nam hoc nomen 'Petrus' et hoc nomen 'homo' convenit aequivoce homini, scilicet Petro et statuae ipsius. Unde *ut animal, homo et quod pingitur,*[11] i.e., quod est animal est homo et quod est pictura est homo. Quia ergo, ut praemissum est, humanitas est in Petro, cui assistit veritas, ideo Petrus dicitur et est verus homo. At humanitas non est in statua vel pictura Petri. Ideo nec statua nec pictura Petri dicitur verus homo, quia ratio substantiae, i.e., humanitatis, assistens humanitati ipsius Petri, diversa est, i.e., ita est Petri quod non statuae vel picturae ipsius. Inde est, etsi pictura dicatur homo, non vere, i.e., non veritatis ratione dicitur homo sed imaginarie. Inde statua dicitur imago Petri quasi imitago. Verum sicut humanitatem <239va> Petri comitatur compositio ita quamlibet formam circa subjectum. Inde est quod quaelibet substantia est *substantia* usiosi, i.e., forma substantiali, sed *vera* veritate sibi addicta. Est ergo veritas ratio substantiae rei, ut ostensum est, i.e., compositio formae ad subjectum, et non tantum substantialis sed accidentalis. Sed tamen principaliter substantialis, secundario accidentalis.

Nam in naturalibus substantialia faciunt rem esse et accidentalia probant. At in theologicis accidentalia faciunt res esse et probant. Unde Plato vel Petrus est homo humanitate. Sed probatur esse homo accidentali lineamentorum effigie. Pater autem paternitate Pater et ita persona in Trinitate. Sic et Filius filiatione et Spiritus sanctus spiratione. Sed eadem paternitate probatur esse Pater Filii qua refertur ad Filium. Aristoteles vero probat descriptionem veritatis a me datam esse convenientem sic dicens in libro *Perihermeneias*: *Circa compositionem et divisionem veritas falsitasque consistunt,*[12] i.e., circa composita et divisa, ut cum dicitur 'Petrus est homo', circa humanitatem Petri et ipsum attenditur compositio. Item, cum dicitur 'Petrus non est lapis', circa divisionem attenditur veritas. Item, cum dicitur 'Petrus est lapis', circa haec composita attenditur falsitas. Nam quia ostenduntur componi quae vere divisa sunt, inde est falsitas, i.e., falsa compositio. At cum dicitur 'Petrus non est lapis', quia ea quae vere divisa sunt vere divisa esse ostenduntur, inde est veritas, quae non est compositionis sed divisionis.

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[8] Cf. *De Trinitate* V, 3ff., PL 10, 131 fl.

[9] Boethius, *In Isag. Porph. comm.* II, 7; CSEL 48, 16.

[10] Boethius, *In Categ. Arist.* I; PL 64, 163C.

[11] *Ibid*

[12] *De Interpretatione* I; PL 64, 414C and 415C.

E.—Cum dixeris compositionem formae ad subjectum esse veritatem et hic cum dicitur 'Petrus non est lapis' non ostendatur compositio formae sed divisio, videtur quod non solum compositio sit veritas sed divisio.

S.—Bene inquiris et subtiliter. Inde summus philosophus noster, Pictavensem episcopum dico, vere dixit: *Omnis affirmativa propositio aliquid significat verum et omnis negativa aliquid significat falsum,*[13] quia *omnis affirmativa,* cum praedicatum significat componi subjecto, sive componatur sive non, quod significat, *significat verum* ut sit substantiva constructio. Aeque enim significat verum quod significat 'Petrus est lapis' sicut haec 'Petrus est homo' ratione significandi, quia formam praedicati significat componi subjecto. At si componatur, dicti esse judicatur verum; si non, judicatur falsum. Et ideo propositio falsa est quia significat verum quod est falsum. Item, *omnis negativa aliquid significat falsum,* quia significat praedicatum dividi a subjecto, sive dividatur sive non. Quod si dividatur, quia significat falsum quod ejus affirmativa significat verum, ideo aliquid falsum significat. Si autem non dividatur et dividi significat, manifeste falsum significat. Igitur haec propositio 'Petrus non est lapis' non est vera, quia sit compositiva formae praedicati subjecto sed quia negando significat id, quod ejus contradictoria falsa significat verum, cum illud sit falsum. Ob illius igitur compositionis false affirmatam significationem judicatur vera.

E.—Subtiliter dicis, sed minus intelligibiliter.

S.—*Non est in medico semper reveletur ut aegrum.* Si non potes videre quod dico, tibi imputa, non mihi. Sed hoc scias utiliter quod circa naturaliter composita, formam dico et subjectum, attenditur ratio quae est veritas. Circa eadem fallaciter composita attenditur falsitas, i.e., ratio. Item, circa divisa naturaliter attenditur divisionis veritas, non tamen veri nominis ita sicut circa composita. Circa eadem falso composita <239^{vb}> attenditur falsitas, quae nihil in rerum natura est. Unde vera dicuntur esse, falsa autem non. Verbi causa: ostende formam componi ei, cujus est, ut nivi albedinem. Habes veritatem. Compone illi, cujus non est, ut corvo albedinem. Habes falsitatem. Unde sicut judicatur verus in dicendo, qui formam attribuit ei cujus est, sic falsus qui attribuit ei cujus non est. Item, sicut falsus qui dividit ab eo cujus est, sic verus qui dividit ab eo cujus non est. De hac veritate sic ait Hieronymus: *Veritas naturae ratio quidem est, secundum quam dicitur verus aer et vera aqua et vera scientia, qua haec substantiae veritas comprehenditur, falsitas ejus absentia, et falsa scientia quae hanc sub veritatis capit obtentu.*[14]

Est et alia veritas, scilicet moralis, quae virtus est, quae fit officio conservandae pacis et officio divinae laudis. Ex his enim veritas-virtus 'veritas' dicitur et falsitas, si hoc fine vel officio, quantum in homine est, cogitatio ejus sermoque privetur dicitur et 'vitium'. Hac igitur virtute quis 'verus' dicitur, etiam cum de rerum substantia fallitur; et hoc vitio 'falsus', etiamsi de ea non fallitur. Ex hac finis et officio ratione Apostolus, proposita sua considerans, mutationis quae videtur removet levitatem. Quae prorsus levitas nulla est, si eodem fine et eodem officio, quo proposuerat se venturum, remansit. Hac igitur veritate homo verus est qui, etsi dicat falsum, tamen putat esse verum. Non tamen est verus veritate, quae est ratio naturae, sed veritate virtutis, quae est habitus mentis bene constitutae.

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[13] Cf. Gilbert, *Contra Eutychem;* PL 64, 414C and 415C.

[14] Cf. *In Tit.* i, 2; PL 26, 593B.

E.—Cum ergo Deus sit simplex, ut tuus asseruit et disseruit amicus, nulla forma ei inest. Ergo nulla ei compositio. Ergo ratio compositionis non comitatur aliquam formam in eo. Ergo nec deitatem. Ergo Deus non est verus Deus secundum quod ostendisti. Quid taces? Quid me inspicis?

S.—Tu es rota praecurrens. *Et facis in claustro rota quinta quod addita plaustro*, si bene te novi. Conclusio tua vera est secundum naturalem philosophum, sed non secundum theologicum. Hoc nomen enim 'Deus', sicut cetera, Deo convenit per causam. Deus enim dicitur a *theos* secundum quosdam sive a *theoro* quod est videre[15] quia *omnia nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus*.[16] Ideo per causam Deus dicitur quasi videns. Nam cum dicitur 'Deus est verus Deus', non ideo dicitur quod Deus sit deitate, quae ei insit, et veritate ei addicta verus, quia non est ibi compositio deitatis ad Deum, quia non est ibi materia cui forma ostendatur componi. Sed quia ipse causa omnis veritatis, i.e., omnis compositionis, i.e., rationis naturae et veritatis-virtutis et exterioris et interioris visionis, i.e., corporalis et spiritualis visionis, ideo 'verus Deus' dicitur. Nam, ut ait Augustinus super Johannem: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, omnia, scilicet omnis materia, omnis forma, omnis compago*.[17] Ipse enim suprema ratio naturae est quae res conservat in suo esse. Unde Ambrosius: *Rerum tenax vigor et vigens tenor*.[18] Tenet enim formam in subjecto cui componit eam, quo tenaci tenore res permanet in suo esse. Ideoque de se congrue dicit: *Ego sum veritas*,[19] i.e., suprema ratio substantiae rei, i.e., compositio. Inde ait Augustinus: *Ubi inveni veritatem, ibi inveni Deum meum*,[20] quia ipsa veritas Deus dicitur. Et Deus verus Deus dicitur ad remotionem falsorum deorum. Cum igitur in Deo aliqua forma non sit, tamen ipse forma vere sit, nec ibi compositio est. Igitur nec ratio substantiae rei sed ibi imaginaria compositio.

Propositio <240$^{\text{ra}}$> enim qua dicitur 'Deus est Deus', ut ait Dionysius, *incompacta* est, i.e., compositionem non significat. Nec de inesse est sed, ut ita dicam, de esse. Nec est vera quia compositum intellectum verum significet, sed causa praemissa, scilicet quia Deus est causa spiritualis visionis. Est enim *lux in tenebris lucens* et est *lumen quod illuminat omnem hominem in hunc mundum venientem*.[21] Itaque dictum hoc: Deum esse Deum, non veri nominis enuntiabile verum sed imaginarium. Et suo modo dicitur fuisse *ab aeterno* et concedi potest *aliquid*. Sed non fuit nec est *aliquid aeternum* nec Deo coaeternum, quia non est ejusdem naturae vel rationis cujus est Deus. Sicut nec haec propositio 'albedo est albedo' significat aliquid verum quod de genere sit verorum. Non enim ibi ostenditur fieri compositio. Sed et haec veritas mathematica dicitur.

Est igitur veritas alia ethica, alia logica, alia mathematica, alia theologica. Ethica qua homo dicitur verax veritate virtutis; logica qua quis verus homo dicitur veritate naturae; mathematica qua dicitur compositio formae ad subjectum vera vel scientia vera; theologica qua Deus dicitur verus.

Sed ecce Ratius adest.

R.—Frater Everarde, est soluta quaestio tua?

E.—Est utique plene et plane,[22] sed nec leviter nec breviter. Sed beneficium solutionis obfuscavit maleficio insultationis dicendo quod facerem *in claustro rota quinta quod addita plaustro*.

R.—Jocose dixit quia mos est Graecorum jocosa interponere quandoque seriis, juxta verbum sapientis: *Interpone tuis interdum seria ludis*[23] et econtrario, et hoc causa recreationis.

E.—Scio et ignosco.

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[15] Isidore, *Etymol.* VII, i, 5. Johannes Scottus, *De Divisione naturae* I, 12; PL 122, 452C.

[16] *Hebr.* iv, 13.

[17] Cf. *In Joh. Tract.* I, 13; PL 35, 1386.

[18] *Breviarium*: hymnus ad Nonam.

[19] *John* xiv, 6.

[20] *Confessiones* X, 24, 35.

[21] *John* i, 5 and 9.

[22] *Ms* plene.

[23] Cf. *Disticha Catonis* III, 6: ed. M. Boas (Amsterdam, 1952), p. 159.

S.—Revera serio dixi.

R.—Cur?

S.—Quia oneri est claustro.

R.—Quomodo?

S.—Propter diversitatem studiorum. Nam, ut ait Boethius, *omnis diversitas discors.*[24] Iste enim ex consuetudine habet docere vel doceri. Sed monachorum quasi professio est nec docere nec discere. Negligunt autem verbum sapientis: *Turpe est nil velle doceri.*[25] Item, Everardus insenuit studio litteraturae. Nunc oportet ipsum operam dare agriculturae vel omnibus odiosum esse. Dispar enim studium discidium facit animorum. Mallent enim ipsum vel ligna secare vel segetes metere vel vindemiare quam dubitabilia theologiae aut nodosa enodare. Nec, si vellet, liceret sibi unius dictionis significationem alicui interpretari. Abominabilis enim apud eos prudens disputatio sed amabilis et commendabilis otiosa, immo nugatoria, locutio, licet aeterna clausura damnetur a beato Benedicto et a beato Patre eorum, dicente Bernardo in libro *De Consideratione*: *In ore laici nugae sunt nugae sed in ore sacerdotis nugae sunt blasphemiae.*[26] Quomodo igitur in ore monachi sunt licitae?

R.—Frater Everardus humilitatem Christi imitatus est qui, cum esset liber, factus est servus magis eligens partem Mariae quam Marthae.

S.—Idem Parisius facere potuisset. Sed in hoc videtur incredulus, quasi Deus in nullo loco nisi in claustro vellet vel posset gratiam misericordiae sibi conferre, cum non sit ex meritis praemium gloriae.

E.—Sicut praemium gloriae non est ex meritis, ita non est sine meritis sed cum meritis. Sed unde David: *Cum sancto sanctus eris et cum innocente innocens eris*, ex hoc: *cum electo electus eris in caelo.*[27] Consequens prophetiae relinquo Sosiae qui <240^{rb}> mavult in saeculo morari cum perversis saecularibus quam in claustro cum sanctis claustralibus. Igitur Sosias si novissime dicta et extremo tacuisset, non Sosias sed Sophia mihi fuisset. Sed forte dissimulatorie loquitur volens admoneri fieri monachus.

S.—Adhaerebo ordini invento, immo praecepto in paradiso, non instituto in monte Cassino vel in Cistercio. Et non obliviscar communionis doctrinae et beneficientiae operum misericordiae. Ut Paulus ait: *Talibus enim hostiis promeretur.*[28] Nam ut ait Augustinus in libro *De Doctrina christiana*: *Charitas quae sibi homines nodo unitatis astringit, non haberet additum refundendorum et quasi miserendorum animorum, si homines per homines discerent nihil.*[29] Inde est quod est majus vinculum dilectionis et frequentior praeventio honoris et mutui exhibitionis obsequii inter scholares quam inter claustrales.

E.—Multum commendas scholarium doctrinam et morum honestatem. Vis ut ego probem tibi quod, quanto aliquis claustralis alio sive claustrali sive saeculari litterato est melior, tanto est doctior?

S.—Vis recurrere ad Pauli auctoritatem: *Eligit stulta hujus mundi Deus ut fortia confundat?*[30] Nolo haec tria audire sed abire.

E.—Nolo hoc dicere. Sed quod dixi, evidenter ostendam, *ni refugis.*[31]

R.—Sosia, modicum audiamus monachum, cujus in scholis fuit consuetudo improbabilia proponere et probabilia ad ea probanda inducere.

S.—Dicat ergo. Timeo tamen ne *mons pariat et nascatur ridiculum mus.*[32]

R.—Dic, Everarde, dic.

E.—Quanto quis peritioris discipulus doctoris fuerit et amplius quovis alio ejus doctrinam intellexerit et memoriae et exercitio commendaverit, tanto doctior alio erit. Concedis?

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[24] Boethius, *De Hebdomadibus;* ed. Peiper, p. 169.

[25] Cf. *Disticha Catonis* IV, 29; ed. Boas, p. 229.

[26] *De Consid.* II, 13, 22; PL 182, 756.

[27] *Ps.* xvii, 26.

[28] *Heb.* xiii, 16.

[29] *De Doctrina christiana*, Prologus, 6; PL 34, 18.

[30] *I Cor.* i, 27.

[31] Vergil, *Georg.* I, 117.

[32] Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 139.

S.—Concedo.

E.—Sed doctor peritissimus fuit Jesus Christus. Et ejus doctrina quam plus commendavit et docuit haec fuit, cum dixit: *Discite a me, quia mitis et humilis sum corde.*[33] Doctrina igitur ejus fuit mansuetudo et humilitas. Ergo si quis hanc doctrinam melius noverit et exercuerit, tanto aliis doctior erit, quia tanto aliis erit melior, et non solum in hoc saeculo sed in futuro. Igitur cum ita sit, immo quia est, quomodo commendabilior est vita scholarium quam claustralium, quorum ordinata cohibetur disciplina non tantum manus sed et lingua et animus? Qui in schola Christi existentes dicunt cum David: *Quoniam non cognovi litteraturam, introibo in potentiam Domini. Domine memorabor nominis tui solius.*[34] Scientes itaque quod *scientia* scholarum *inflat* et *charitas aedificat,*[35] a Domino conditam virtute petunt scientiam orantes: *Domine, bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me.*[36] Sic agendum esse docet Jacob dicens: *Si quis indiget sapienta, petat a Domino, et dabit* sibi *affluenter.*[37] Unde beatus Bernardus: *Sapiens est cui quaeque res prout sunt sapiunt et ipsa sapientia in se sapit prout ipsa. Et non solum sapiens est sed etiam beatus. Nempe hoc est videre Deum facie ad faciem.*[38]

Confer ergo bonitati claustralium bonitatem scholarium: Infirmatur monachus, unus vel duo custodes adhibentur sibi, diligenter lectum ipsius sternentes, pedes ipsius lavantes, aquam manibus et mensam cibis parantes, nocte et die si opus est ante ipsum vigilantes, cum magna devotione et oratione devota praemorientem inungentes <240va> et viaticum afferentes et mortuum in ecclesiam propriis deferentes humeris, mortuum solemniter sepelientes et cum Psalmis et Missis animam citra sepulchrum prosequentes. Haec circa mortuos. At cum scholaris aegrotat, quis obsequio ipsius assistit, nisi praedives sit? Quis admonet eum de sacramentorum perceptione? Solus famulus vel aliqua ejus obsequio assueta claudit oculos morientis. Vel duo vel tres adsunt clerici. Quis ibi psallit? *Vae soli.*[39] Proh dolor. Saepius miserabilius decedit. Ecce commendatio, immo commendabilis vita scholarium. De fine vero quid dicam? Circa vivos attende disciplinae rigorem. Peccat quis in conventu, vel silentium rumpendo vel signum illicite dando vel quidquam quod non debet agendo: qui publice peccat, sic oportet ipsum publice poenitere. Compara vigilias somnolentiae, sobrietatem crapulis, jejunia commessationibus, asperitatem victus et vestitus deliciis saecularibus et scholaribus, insuper pudicitiam impudicitiis, praeter haec scientiam scientiae, mansuetudinem iracundiae, humilitatem elationi humanae. Et praefer praeferendum praeferendo.

R.—Frater Everarde. Sosias noster obmutuit. Non omnes qui talia agunt vere humiles sunt opinione mea.

E.—Nec dico. Sed bona quae dico sunt opera virtutum, licet non sint virtutes operum de quibus judicantur boni homines esse. Occulta enim judicare non est hominis sed Numinis. Ea vero quae vos duo deseruistis de quaestionibus, si scripsero, gravia forte nimis videbuntur quaerenti, amice.

R.—Ad haec respondeo verbis Augustini dicentis in libro *De Doctrina christiana* sic: *Illis qui haec, quae scribimus, non intelligunt, hoc dico: ita me non esse reprehendendum quia haec non intelligunt, tamquam si lunam veterem vel novam sidusve aliquod minime clarum vellent videre quod ego intento digito demonstrarem, illis autem nec ad ipsum digitum meum videndum sufficiens esset acies oculorum, non propterea mihi succensere deberent.*[40] — Mi Everarde, vale. Et quid Sosias dixerit, ne attendas. Experta et sibi placita commendat et ea sola, non tamen solus, nimis pueriliter, ne dicam stulte, miratur. Tibi potius utramque viam vivendi experto credendum est. Et quantum lumen solis praecellit quantaecumque facis, tantum antecellit vita religiosi et discreti claustralis vitam etiam boni

[33] *Matth.* xi, 29.

[34] *Ps.* lxx, 15f.

[35] *I Cor.* viii, 1.

[36] *Ps.* cxviii, 66.

[37] *Jac.* i, 5.

[38] *Serm. de diversis* XVIII, 1; PL 183, 587D.

[39] Proverb.

[40] *De Doctrina christ.*, prol., 3; PL 34, 16.

saecularis. Nam vita nostra multis vitiis est obvoluta. Et sicut equus incedens sine freno plus discurrit obliquando et viam tritam deserendo sic omnis actus noster obliquatur plus actu vestro qui ordine regitur.

At, ut salva pace tua dixerim, multum erratur in claustris quod negligitur plus debito: moderamen discretionis in rebus administrandis. Et nimis amatores estis cujuscumque consuetudinis vestrae sive scriptae sive in usum redactae, spiritualia evangelica praecepta et beati Benedicti regularia dispensantes vel negligentes, scilicet de pauperum et hospitum receptione, de possessionis augmentatione et retentione, et de talento multiplicando, de scandalo fratrum vitando, de personis corripiendis et corrigendis, de colatura culicis, de transglutione cameli, et de acceptione personarum et de absolutione non-subditorum, de largitione eleemosynae in <240^{vb}> via discipulo interdictae licet fame vel frigore egeno deficiente, de superfluitate equorum, aedificiorum et agrorum, de desiderio vitae et mortis timore, de allatorum immoderata coram judice saeculari repetitione, etiam cum lite. At cum discretio mater virtutum sit, circa haec universitas vestra minus discreta videtur: assimulata in multis *diffidentiae filiis.* Et cum paupertas sit humilitas et humilitas custos omnium virtutum, cur ita sollicite paupertatem fugitis, qui tanto opere paupertatem fingitis et commendatis, qui humilitatem vestram extollitis?

E.—Claustralibus haec cur imputas?

R.—Quia discreti talia non reprehendunt nec se murum pro domo Domini ponunt. At si Johannes Baptista tam fuisset amator pacis et timidus offensae majoris ut claustrales sunt, justitiae pro defensione gladio non succubuisset. At, frater Everarde, vale. Constans esto. Videbis enim auxilium Domini super te.

E.—Mi Sosia cum avunculo vale.

R.—Vale, frater Everarde, vale. Si rediero, habebis me comitem, non ducem, in investigatione quaestionum trium facultatum, quas proposuisti tractare.

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